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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE
For the YEAR 1798.



LONDON:

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PREFACE.

IT has been justly observed, that the most extensive and inveterate wars have generally been those, not of ambition, but of opinion. In our days, a new principle of war has arisen, much more extensive in its influence and effects than any difference of opinion on any subject: for, never yet was there any doctrine, whether merely speculative or religious, so general, as a love of property and a disposition to plunder.

The trouble, which this new principle occasions to the annalist, will readily be perceived by our readers, in perusing the History of Europe; comprehending, also, the effects of European principles, passions, and projects, in Asia, Africa, and America, and their re-action on our quarter of the world. It is not an easy matter to arrange, into any tolerable order or shape, so great a variety of counsels and actions, going on at the same time in so many different parts of the globe; to give to each its just position and proportion; and, on the whole, to form a picture that may not be over-loaded and confused, but such as may be contemplated without distraction, and with some degree of both pleasure and advantage.

advantage. The candid reader, when he reflects on this, will find an excuse for the omission of some things, which, perhaps, he might have wished to see recorded in our narrative, rather than under the head of State-Papers, and detached Occurrences; and also for the brevity with which some subjects are treated, in order to make room for others of equal or greater importance.

We never expected nor desired that our work should be particularly palatable to any faction or party; but we confess our astonishment to understand, that any insinuations should have been made, that in our late volumes there is a leaning towards principles of democracy.

It is an odious thing for men to speak of themselves, but it sometimes becomes necessary. Is there a greater disposition manifested in the Annual Register to maintain the claims of human nature, than to display and forwarn mankind of the dreadful dangers of anarchy? What is the inference which remains uppermost on the mind, on a perusal of the account given in the volume for 1794, of the series of circumstances that involved the revolution and disasters of Poland—and to which, though obvious, we deemed it even our duty, in these times, particularly to call the attention of the reader? Is it not this—that the liberty and well being of the people are intimately and essentially connected with a just degree of power in the hands of a monarch? With regard to the grand question, of peace or war, it is maintained, “ That it would become the wisdom
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of intelligent legislators, of all nations, to banish all ideas of attacks on one another, and to bend their united efforts against the common enemy of all: a spirit of innovation and plunder:” and “That that nation will shew the greatest wisdom, as well as magnanimity, which shall make the first advance towards universal pacification, on the principles of reason and justice.” But it is also acknowledged, “that it would be very unsafe, and is not to be expected, that any one nation should throw aside its arms, and trust merely to the mantle of justice, while all or any of its neighbours should still wear the coat of mail and helmet.”*

It does not appear to us to become the annalist, to place himself in a dictatorial chair, and indulge in reflections and exclamations, whether in accusation or defence of any party. If we are sometimes tempted to depart from this chasteness, it is, our readers will perceive and acknowledge, in favour of the great mass and lower classes of the people, whose interests, by all parties, at least when in the actual possession of power, are too apt to be neglected. The apparent indifference and coldness of our manner will not, certainly, be in unison with the heated imaginations of the more zealous of our contemporaries. A time, however, will come, and probably it is at no great distance, when naked truth will be more regarded than the heightened colourings of party zeal and the animosity of faction.

* See p. 15.

It must be admitted that the turn of mind, or bent, of the annalist, will, without any obtrusion of his own opinions, appear, even from his selection of certain facts and circumstances, in preference to others. Whatever may be thought of our views in general, we do not, in the least, fear to be contradicted, when we say, that, in moderation of political sentiment, and an equal respect for the prerogatives of the crown and the interests and rights of the people, the last are not behind the first volumes of this annual production.

Our volume, for 1799, is in such a state of forwardness, as to promise, with certainty, publication in the course of January next, or very early in February. We are desirous, as much as possible, to unite the chronological order with that of cause and effect, rather than part the history of the year into different volumes, and under different periods of time, by resuming subjects often imperfectly developed and understood, when early publication is the principal object.

THE

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1798.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Reflections on the Treaty of Campo-Formio.—Notwithstanding the Suspension of Hostilities between France and Austria.—The Maritime Power of Great Britain confirmed and increased.—The British Ministry, however, renew their Negotiations for Peace.—An Official Note, for this Purpose, sent to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.—The Answer to this.—Reply of the British Ministry to that Answer.—The Directory insist on a definitive and separate Treaty of Peace with England.—Ministers appointed for the Negotiation, by the Directory, on the Part of France.—Their Instructions.—Lord Malmesbury, the Commissioner for Negotiation, on the Part of England, arrives at Lisle.—His Proposals for Peace.—Previous Requisitions of the French Commissioners.—Declined by Lord Malmesbury.—Farther and preremptory Demands of the French Commissioners.—Which, however, they endeavour to soften.—The British Plenipotentiary requires from the French the whole of their Plan for Pacification at once.—Application by the French Plenipotentiaries, for this Purpose, to the Directory.—Procrastination on the Part of the Directory.—Charge of Insincerity and Procrastination against the British Ministry.—Remonstrances by Lord Malmesbury.—His Lordship authorized to treat only on the Principle of reciprocal Compensation.—Last Conference between Lord Malmesbury and

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the French Commissioners.—The Negotiation broken off.—Lord Malmesbury returns to London.—Reflections.

THE affairs of Europe, during the summer and autumn of 1797, from the Orkneys to the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Rhine, to the Mediterranean and Atlantic Ocean, moved in an ellipse, of which the two focuses were Lisle and Udina.

The armistice and subsequent negotiation, between France and Austria, was naturally followed by a negotiation also between France and Great Britain.

The principal ally of this country, whose co-operation was the most powerful, and generally the most to be depended on, had been compelled, by the irresistible urgency of circumstances, to detach himself from the connection he had formed, under the persuasion, that the union of England and Austria would, as in times past, prove an equipoise to the power of France. He would willingly, at the period that put a stop to hostilities between him and the French republic, have been able to include, in the subsequent negotiations for peace, the only associate on whose fidelity he could place a solid reliance, and whose power had proved the fundamental support of the coalition while it lasted; but he was pressed by the necessity of coming to a speedy conclusion with a victorious enemy, whose policy it was, to treat separately with all the parts of the formidable confederacy, which he had, through fortunate concurrences, been able to resist. Great Britain had no share, therefore, in that treaty, by which so many cessions were made to France; nor is it probable, that they would have been

made, could Great Britain have had that opportunity of interposing, which the French negotiators were so careful to prevent.

By the suspension of hostilities with Austria, France was now at liberty to turn its attention entirely to the means of bringing Great Britain to its own terms; but, notwithstanding that it was now become the sole enemy remaining, of the many that had first entered into the coalition, experience daily proved that its enmity alone was more to be dreaded than that of all the other members. Its strength appeared to augment, instead of being diminished by the prodigious exertions and resources it had displayed in the course of this extensive war, sustained chiefly through its persevering spirit and immense opulence. Both its navies and armies had been gradually on the increase; never had its marine been so formidable, nor the victories obtained by its fleets more conspicuous. The three great maritime powers of Europe, France, Spain, and Holland, had proved inferior to the contest; and the empire of the seas, which they had proposed, and strangely hoped, to wrest from Great Britain, seemed more firmly confirmed than ever, by the defeats they had met with, so much against their expectation, and what they had confidently deemed the chances in their favour.

The British ministry was, in the mean time, either desirous, or, what is more probable, as has since appeared, assumed only an appearance of being desirous, to put an end to a war, to which the public had long

long testified an aversion; but policy required, evidently, that the interests of Europe should be consulted collectively, and not consigned to separate negotiations between France and each power in particular. Fortune having seconded the republican arms in so unprecedented a manner, the only method of preventing the exorbitant pretences and demands, resulting from an uninterrupted torrent of successes, was to form an unanimous concurrence, among those who had suffered from them, in the means of procuring an equitable settlement; such as might secure general tranquillity, and prescribe boundaries to that ambitious and enterprizing disposition, which is so commonly the offspring of uncommon good fortune.

The opinion of the political world seriously recommended the adoption of such measures, without which the arrogance and pretensions of France would submit to no limits, and become intolerable to all its neighbours. Its vast extent and central position gave it advantages that could only be counterbalanced by the union of those powers that bordered upon it. Their disunion would, as it always had done, expose every one of them to be treated as a dependent, and compel them to accept of the best conditions that could be obtained, for the sake of living in peace. The present depression of those neighbouring powers had not, it was observed, destroyed their natural strength, it had only suspended it. Ill management and insincerity had been the real and efficient causes of the disasters that had befallen the enemies of France, much more than its own prowess and conduct. Allowing both to have been great,

neither an adequacy of talents nor of resolution had been wanting in their antagonists. It was by employing uncommon expedients, that France had been enabled to call forth so many latent abilities, and it was by imitating the precedents it had set up for attack and defence, that a successful opposition would be made to its arms, irresistible only for want of being encountered with the like weapons. This, it was asserted, might have been done with facility, and without deviating into those excesses that had accompanied the revolution. An organization of their military strength, on the French plan, would, it was confidently affirmed, have given, to the powers engaged in the contest with France, all those advantages from which it had derived such an invariable continuance of success. To the unskilful management of their military concerns, when the insincerity of the different members of the coalition was added, men of penetration quickly discerned the inefficacy that would accompany their ostensible efforts against the common enemy. Though solitary and forlorn, to use the expression of his antagonists, and deservedly abandoned to the destiny which was generally thought to await him, he still continued, in his own words, one and indivisible; and, goaded by desperation, summoned into action those faculties and resources that had lain concealed, in the ignominious indolence of which he accused the former government, active only in the system of domestic oppression, and unworthy of being trusted with the means of rendering a people potent and formidable.

Sentiments of this nature, manifested without disguise, ought, it

was said, to have roused the adversaries of the revolution to a similitude of those exertions to encounter its defenders in the field, which these had adopted with so much success; and to act, at the same time, with that unfeigned confidence in each other, without which alliances are so pernicious to those that make them, by inducing each of the contracting parties to throw the burthen upon his associate, and not unfrequently to impede the progress of the common cause, by unreasonable jealousies.

A similitude of exertions, however, on the part of the allies, was not, in reason, to be expected. For neither were the chiefs firmly united among themselves; nor was there such a fermentation, and ardour of mind, among the mass of their armies, or people. The enthusiasm of liberty, imbibed at first by the army, at the time when that enthusiasm was in its greatest purity, and strength, reacted, as we have seen, on the mass of the people, staggered by the enormities of liberty run mad, and kept the public councils firm in the cause of the republic. Though the directory was, in reality, a manifest oligarchy, it was obliged to assume the spirit, with the cloak, of popular freedom. The animating breath of liberty, degenerating, it is true, often into unjustifiable, and even horrid, excess, yet nourished a race of heroes, and sharpened the inventions of men, as well as their courage. Many circumstances co-operated with the French that were independent of the minds of Frenchmen, but there were others, in their favour, plainly to be traced to the national spirit, roused, and formed, by the present form of their government. The freezing

of the rivers of the north; the driving up of those of the south; the death of the empress of Russia; the succession of Paul I. at so critical a time; the private views, and, perhaps, capricious whims, and passions, that detached one member from the coalition after another: all these, and other, accidents, no doubt, contributed to the success of the republic. But the genius and bravery of Carnot, Jourdan, Pichegru, Moreau, Joubert, and Buonaparte, with even thousands of others, from the private soldier to the commander-in-chief: these advantages were not accidental. On the whole, France exhibited, at this juncture, the advantage of one compacted power over a confederation of many, the triumph of a free over less animating forms of government; and the inefficacy of pecuniary wealth when opposed to physical resources, genius, and valour. Yet these splendid qualities did not entitle their possessors, who were, on many occasions, only the tools of vile and unprincipled upstarts, to the highest glory, which consists in the uniform pursuit of just and noble ends, by an uniform course of just, noble, and heroic conduct.

The period of acting in cordial concert being now past, and the pacifications that had taken place having put an end to the coalition, it now remained to settle affairs between France and the only power that continued in arms against it, so as to bridle the lawless disposition of the former, and set such limits to its acquisitions, as might not leave them too extensive for the tranquillity of its neighbours.

With these professed views, which were founded on the concurrent ideas

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of impartial politicians, the British ministry thought it incumbent on them to renew their endeavours to bring about an accommodation, which now appeared to the world to promise more facility in the accomplishment than had been experienced in the preceding negotiations. The preliminaries already agreed upon had removed the principal difficulties, and the interests that would come into discussion were not apparently of a nature to prove essentially obstructive to the main business, which it was to be presumed, both parties had equally at heart.

Conformably to these sentiments an official note was sent to the French minister for foreign affairs, intimating a willingness to enter into a negotiation for the re-establishment of peace, and for the regulation of preliminaries, to be definitively arranged at a future congress. This note was signed by lord Grenville, and dated the first of June.

The answer, which was returned, by order of the directory, expressed an equal inclination to pacific measures, but signified, at the same time, a desire that negotiations should at once be set on foot for a definitive treaty. The reason they alleged for preferring it to a congress was, that the proceedings of the latter would be tardy, and the result, of consequence, remote; such a method must, necessarily, therefore, militate against the acceleration of a business which both parties had in view to terminate with the least possible delay.

This, doubtless, was a plausible pretext for declining any other than a definitive treaty with Great Britain in particular, without admit-

ting the discussions of any of the general interests of Europe. The directory was anxiously intent upon giving the law to England as it had done to other countries, and was desirous, for that purpose, to remove all obstructions that must have arisen from a junction of the common interests of its allies together with its own. This would have formed a competition of such magnitude, as to have renewed a multitude of those difficulties which they had so fortunately surmounted, by confining every treaty to one party alone. It was not surprising, therefore, that they should express their averfeness to a proposal, which would have taken from them the advantages of which they hoped to make so much use in the negotiations with the British ministry, while treating with it exclusively of all other interference.

The reply to the directorial answer contained an expression that engaged their particular notice. It purported, that the signing of preliminary or definitive articles, would necessarily depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations. This was construed, by the directory, as an evasion of the positive assent they desired to the proposal of treating definitively. In order, therefore, that no consent, on their part, to any other mode of treating, should be pleaded by the British ministry, they took particular care, in transmitting the passports for the expected minister, to specify that he was to be furnished with full power to negotiate a definitive and separate treaty.

Another circumstance, at which the directory took exception, and of which they testified a formal disapprobation, was the choice made

of lord Malmesbury for a minister plenipotentiary. They dreaded his abilities, and acuteness of penetration, and explicitly signified that another choice would have augured more favourably for the happy issue of the business in question.

The ministers appointed by the directory were, Latourneur, lately one of their colleagues, Maret and Pleville, persons of known abilities, and in whom they reposed full confidence. Nevertheless, as it was foreseen that the discussions would involve a multiplicity of matters, on which it would be necessary for the directors themselves to bestow the most minute deliberation, the instructions to the French negotiators restricted them to a punctual conformity with those they had received, and enjoined them to render a progressive account of their transactions to the directory, for its final decision on every particular, as it occurred in the course of negotiation. The eyes of the republican party, and of the military, were peculiarly fixed upon the conduct of government on this important occasion, and it behoved the ruling powers to consult the opinions of both, with particular caution not to deviate from them. The former were solicitous that no concessions should be made in anywise favourable to the interests of royalty, or its partisans, either in France, or even its proximity, could they possibly be obviated. The latter were no less anxious that the vast acquisitions made by their valour should be retained, and that, after so many victories, the fruits of their exploits should not be thrown away. This was the language explicitly spoken by the zealous ad-

herents to the commonwealth, and by the army at large, and they were both too numerous, too powerful, and too firmly united in sentiments and interests, to be disobliged with impunity.

Lord Malmesbury arrived at Lisle, the place fixed for the negotiation, in the beginning of July. His first interview with the French ministers was upon the sixth of July, and on the eighth he put into their hands the plan of the pacification, drawn up by the British ministry. In addition to the stipulations usually particularized on such occasions, and to such terms as neither party would object to, it demanded, from Spain, a cession of the island of Trinidad, and from the Batavian republic a cession of the cape of Good Hope, Cochin, in the East Indies, and its possessions in the isle of Ceylon. On these conditions an entire restitution would be made, on the part of Great Britain, of all that it had taken from France, and its allies, in the course of the war. In consideration of which it required that the prince of Orange's property should be restored to him, or an equivalent in money be allowed, and that France should engage to procure for him, at the general peace, a compensation for the loss of his offices, and dignities, in the United Provinces. Those, also, who, on account of their attachment to the Orange family, or to the former government, had suffered in their property, or been imprisoned, or banished, should be released, and at liberty to return to their country, and reside there, and to enjoy their property, on submitting to the established government. The queen of Portugal should also be included in this treaty, without being

ing subjected to demands of any kind on the part of France.

In answer to these proposals the British plenipotentiary was informed by the French ministers, that previously to the entering upon the main business, it would be necessary for a full and unequivocal recognition of the French republic, that the king of Great Britain should henceforward desist from assuming the title of king of France. Monarchy having been totally abolished by the French, they could no longer permit any claim, though merely nominal and inconsequential, to remain in the possession of any prince, and therefore expected and required that it should be relinquished by the British monarchs in future.

A requisition of this nature had long been in the contemplation of the republican party, and indeed of a numerous part of the French in general, especially of those who professed themselves warm and zealous for the honour and dignity of their country. The assumption of the title of king of France, was, they said, an indignity, the submitting to which, by their former monarchs, was inexcusable, and rendered their memory infamous. The nation fully and legally convened, having adjudged the crown to Philip of Valois, the competitor of Edward the Third of England, the claims of this prince were of course invalidated, and it was equally unjust and absurd in that English monarch and his successors, to insist upon a right which neither arguments nor force were able to maintain. But on a supposition that such a claim were defensible, it rested solely on the right of descent. In this case, allowing that the posterity of Edward the Third was entitled to the French crown,

it did not follow that such a right was vested in the possessors of the English crown, otherwise than as the nearest descendants of that prince. The people of England would not surely have the vanity to consider France as an appendage and heirloom to the crown of England, and to insist that in the succession to the one the right of succeeding to the other was included. Nothing short of so extravagant a supposition could be brought to support the claims of the present royal family of Great Britain to the title of king of France. When the English nation, at the opening of this century, settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, they passed over the birth-right of more than twenty claimants, who were nearer in blood to the Stuarts. While this family existed, it certainly was the nearest representative of the Plantagenets, of which line was Edward, the primitive claimant. It had been the avowed principle of the English, ever since the accession of the Hanoverian family to their throne, that their title to it was founded on the act of parliament that adjudged the succession to them, in exclusion of all other competitors, however nearer a kin to the dethroned family. This title, therefore, could not include rights that were merely hereditary. It could not of consequence bestow the title of king of France, which birth alone could confer, and in virtue of which only, the kings of England had worn it until the reign of George the First.

These arguments were looked upon by the French as unanswerable. All parties, even the staunchest royalists, concurred in asserting their propriety. Long before the re

volution, the French were wont to express their surprise that in the many treaties between France and England, the abolition of this title had not been stipulated. This neglect, as they styled it, of a duty which was due to the French nation, they ascribed to the meekness and imbecility of their former rulers: and it was, they now said, unbecoming the spirit and greatness of the people of France, to be governed any longer by so base and scandalous a precedent.

In answer to the allegations that were urged on this subject by the French plenipotentiaries, it was observed by lord Malmesbury, that the use of this title had been freely allowed to the kings of England for several centuries, without producing inconvenience, or giving offence. To insist on its abolition, after having so long subsisted, was to cavil about a mere word, and create difficulties where none existed. It could not affect the dignity, the security, or the importance of the French republic. Such titles had in fact never been considered in any other light, than as memorials of former greatness, and not as pretensions to actual power. The multiplicity of titles assumed by the kings of Naples and Sardinia, were quoted by him as examples exactly in point. But all the arguments and precedents, adduced by lord Malmesbury, were lost upon the French plenipotentiaries. They treated this matter with as much seriousness and gravity, as if it had been of the highest importance, and the conversation relating to it, ended without any decision. It may, however, be presumed, from the warmth with which the public in France expressed their expectation

that this title would be suppressed, that the demand of the French plenipotentiaries will again be renewed, and insisted upon with unyielding obstinacy, whenever another negotiation takes place.

The next subject, agitated on this occasion, was the restitution of the ships taken by the English at Toulon, or an equivalent for them, and those that had been destroyed. The French plenipotentiaries grounded this demand on the declaration made by lord Hood, when he took possession of Toulon, which was, that these vessels were taken in trust for the king of France, as peace, they said, was to be re-established, the king of England, by acknowledging the republic, admitted that the sovereignty attributed by him at the period of the seizure of Toulon, to the person styled Lewis the Seventeenth, existed in the French government: he ought therefore to restore the ships, which were held only as a deposit until the settlement and recognition of a sovereign and legal authority.

Lord Malmesbury objected to this demand, as likely to defeat the main object of the negotiation. Considering the great advantages that France had already obtained, and the concessions that Great Britain was willing to make, in order to restore peace, this demand ought in equity to be withdrawn. But this reasoning proved of no avail, the French plenipotentiaries telling him, that they were positively bound by their instructions to insist upon a compliance.

The third demand of the French plenipotentiaries, was a renunciation on the part of England, of all the mortgages it had upon the Netherlands in consequence of the money
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lent to the emperor: declaring that they should not consider themselves bound to answer any mortgage on account of money advanced to him, for the purpose of carrying on the war against them. Lord Malmesbury's reply was, that the cession of the Austrian Netherlands to France by the emperor, standing charged with all their incumbrances, the meaning of those words was obvious, and the exception which they required, ought to have been stated in their treaty with him, and not reserved for a negotiation with Great Britain.

To this reply, the French plenipotentiaries opposed their instructions, which, it seems, enjoined them to insist upon absolute compliance with all their requisitions. Conformably to this principle, they signified to lord Malmesbury, that the directory had established it as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for peace with England, that it should engage to make an entire restitution of all the possessions it had taken, not only from France, but from Spain and the Batavian republic. They required him to accede to this proposal, and if not sufficiently authorised to do it, to dispatch a messenger to the British court, in order to procure the necessary powers. The argument on which they chiefly dwelt, for this peremptory requisition, was that the treaties between France and its Spanish and Batavian allies, respectively guaranteed to each other the territories they possessed previously to the war.

This positive and unqualified requisition was represented to them by lord Malmesbury, as tending to a direct and abrupt termination of all treaty. It amounted to an explicit

declaration that unless Great Britain consented to restore all the conquests it had made over all its enemies, no negotiation should take place. Such a demand precluded all room for treating, as it deprived England at once of all the means of negotiation, by setting up the principle of all cession on one, and no compensation on the other. A peace on such conditions would not be heard of in England. If such therefore were the determination of the directory, the negotiation was at an end, and it only remained for Great Britain to persevere in opposing with an energy and spirit, proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be terminated without yielding to such disgraceful terms.

Unwilling to break off the negotiation in so abrupt a manner, the French plenipotentiaries endeavoured to soften the harshness of their proposals, by ascribing them to the necessity they were under of punctually adhering to their instructions. They added, however, that notwithstanding this declaration, they were perfectly disposed to pay due attention to whatever might be proposed on the part of England, provided it were not incompatible with the engagements they had formed with their allies.

In consequence of this declaration, which materially qualified the former, lord Malmesbury, after informing the British ministry of the proposals made by the French plenipotentiaries, and procuring directions on the subject, stated to them the frivolous and illusory arguments, of which they grounded the motives for demanding an entire restitution of all the British acquisitions during the war, previously to a negotiation for peace. It was notorious

torious, he observed, that both Spain and Holland, so far from being desirous of a war with England, were compelled by France to engage in it against their own wishes, as they were duly apprehensive that they undertook, without means to support it, a contest in which they had nothing to gain and much to lose. It could not, therefore, be doubted, that the directory, if pacifically inclined, could readily procure from those powers, their consent to the terms proposed by the British ministry, or could at least take into consideration the plan of a pacification transmitted from England, without refusing at once to treat previously to a restoration of all that France and its allies had lost, on the pretence of being pledged to each other for the recovery of those losses. This plan having clearly detailed the conditions on which Great Britain was inclined to treat, and these conditions having been at once rejected by a sweeping claim on the part of the French government, it was not fitting or reasonable, and could not therefore be expected, that any fresh proposals should originate with the British ministry. It was now incumbent on the directory in its turn to bring forward plainly and without reserve the whole of what they intended to ask, and not in detached and separate parts, which must necessarily retard the progress of the business in agitation.

These representations being founded in strict propriety, drew from the French plenipotentiaries an indirect acknowledgement of their considering them as such, and a promise too of transmit them to the directory: they engaged at the same time to apply to them for such a plan of pacifi-

cation as had been required by the British ministry, which, after producing its own, had an evident right to expect another in return on the part of the French government.

A fortnight elapsed after this engagement from the French ministers. Lord Malmesbury earnestly pressing them, in the mean time, to move with greater speed in a business of such importance: they attributed the delay to the necessity under which the directory lay, of consulting the allies of France in this conjuncture, and of declaring to them, that unless they meant to continue the war, they must release France from its engagements, in order to enable it to meet the proposals of England.

Whatever truth there might be in this allegation it was become necessary to account, in some manner, for the procrastination of an affair at which the public in France was earnestly solicitous to see the conclusion. The partisans of the directory attributed the delay to the backwardness of the British ministry, to accede to reasonable terms, and their endeavours to weary out the patience of the directory into improper concessions. The directory itself did not appear averse to inculcate such a persuasion. In a message to the council of five hundred, it insinuated that the heads of the coalition, vanquished and reduced in good earnest to sue for peace, when a treaty to that end was nearly brought to a conclusion, had suddenly fallen off, and thrown as much delay into the negotiations, as they had before shewn anxiety for their acceleration. This change in their disposition the directory imputed to the hopes which they had lately conceived, that through the failure
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of its finances, the government of France was on the point of a general dissolution, and that from want of pay, a dispersion of its armies was at hand.

An insinuation of this nature was evidently pointed at the British ministry, and clearly implied a charge of their purposely retarding the business of the negotiations at Lisle. This being so contrary to fact, and throwing so much undeserved odium upon the conductors of the treaty on the part of England, lord Malmesbury was directed to clear up the point to the satisfaction of the public. He demanded, accordingly, an explanation of the directorial message from the French plenipotentiaries, solemnly calling upon them to declare to the world, that if the accusation was levelled at the manner in which the negotiation at Lisle had been conducted, on the part of England, it was totally destitute of foundation, and a wide deviation from what they knew to be real truth; which was, that if any blameable delay had arisen, it was imputable to the French government itself, and not to the British ministry.

The French plenipotentiaries admitted, without hesitation, the truth of lord Malmesbury's remonstrances. The words to which he alluded in the message, were not, they said, intended for England, but for the court of Vienna: and they formally assured him, that they were ready to do full justice to the zeal and expedition with which he had acted throughout the whole of the negotiation, and had unremittingly laboured to accelerate it. This testimony they certified he might depend on their confirming to him, in the name of the directory, as soon as

they had made them acquainted with the explanation that he required. This precise and unequivocal disavowal of any design to fix an imputation of delay on the British plenipotentiary and his constituents, was the more necessary and seasonable, that the private agents of the directory were exerting themselves to persuade the public, that the British government was not sincere in its professions for peace, and had sent over a minister to act ostensibly the part of a negociator, but whose mission was merely calculated to quiet the minds of the English, and to appease those murmurs that filled the nation, and began to render the administration apprehensive of the consequences.

The vigour with which lord Malmesbury urged the plenipotentiaries to press the determinations of the directory, was probably lost upon these in the multiplicity of affairs more nearly interesting to them at this critical period. It was now verging towards the end of August, and the parties that were preparing for the scenes that were daily expected, had no inclination to attend to any other occupation. This may serve to account, in some measure, for the dilatoriness with which the negotiation proceeded. Nor was it surprising, that, uncertain what fate awaited them, the directors confined their solicitude to themselves.

The French plenipotentiaries had promised to solicit the directory for fresh instructions; but none had yet arrived: this promise was made on the twenty-third of July, and it was now the twenty-eighth of August. In the conferences between lord Malmesbury and the French plenipotentiaries during the intermediate space,

space, nothing decisive had, of course, been transacted. The intelligence brought, upon this day, announced farther delay. They informed him, that the answer from the Batavian republic to the application of the directory, had been so unsatisfactory, that it had been returned, in hope of procuring a more favourable one. The veracity of this information ill accorded, however, with the influence exercised by the directory over the councils of the Batavian government, and with the well known wishes of the people in the seven provinces to recover a situation of tranquillity.

In the midst of these doubts and uncertainties happened those extraordinary events at Paris, known by the name of the revolution of the eighteenth Fructidor, (September the fourth,) of which we have above given some account. One of its consequences was the recall of the French plenipotentiaries at Lisle, and the replacing them by two others, Trailhard and Bonnier Dales. In the very first conference with these, which was on the fourteenth of September, it appeared clearly, that the negociation must shortly be at an end. They begun it by signifying to lord Malmesbury, that they had it in charge from the directory, to demand of him, whether he was invested with sufficient powers for restoring to the French republic, and its allies, all the possessions taken from them, by England, in the course of the war? To this question they also required an answer that very day. Many arguments were used, by the French plenipotentiaries, to prove the propriety of their demand; they intimated, at the same time, that the negociation could not proceed until an apposite

answer had been given. But the whole of his proceeding appeared so abrupt and peremptory, that lord Malmesbury, after referring them to the answer he had given to that question, two months before, when it had been put to him by the former plenipotentiaries, declared again, in positive terms, that he was authorized to treat on no other principle than that of reciprocal compensation. He accompanied this answer with suitable remarks on the impropriety of their insisting upon the pacific intentions of the directory, while, instead of taking up the negociation in the point where their predecessors had left it. They were commissioned to fling it back to the point from which these had started, notwithstanding he had been told, that the directory was occupied in bringing over the allies of France to coincide in the principles he had proposed to be adopted in the negociation between both parties.

The result of his conference, and of the written notification by lord Malmesbury, in confirmation of what he had spoken, was, that the French plenipotentiaries signified to him, that, as he had not the necessary powers to agree to the restitutions required from England, they were charged by the directory to enjoin him to depart in twenty-four hours for England, in order to procure such powers. The note, containing this dismissal, was dated the sixteenth of September.

Desirous, however, to prevent, if possible, the total rupture of the negociation, lord Malmesbury, after demanding a passport, and intimating that no other answer than this could be expected to such a notification, still gave them to understand,

stand, that in order to obviate all misconstructions in a case of so great importance, he was led, by their pacific assurances, to think, that it would be more satisfactory for both parties to meet once more. A meeting took place accordingly, wherein, without stooping for solicitation, he afforded them every opening, consistent with his dignity, to recall the violent step they had taken: but they did not seem disposed to retract, and pleaded the positive orders of the directory for what they had done. This was the last conference with the French ministers; and lord Malmesbury left Lisse early the next morning, eighteenth of September.

If the question of peace or war had come to be decided by the two nations, faithfully represented in their respective councils, the private policy of their respective rulers would have been soon overborne, and all diplomatic obstacles would have been surmounted. But the art of negotiation has hitherto consisted in a kind of address and artifice, not very properly called ability; first, in displaying a zeal for peace; secondly, in displaying of the opposite party in an opposite light, and, finally, in working up national prejudice, for the purpose of persevering in unadjusted contention. The *fine qua nous* of acquisitions or concessions, are, in general, but covers for the secret views of the contending governments. It had been fortunate, perhaps, if the British parliament had, on the motion of Mr. Pollen, on the 11th of April, 1797, adopted the spirit of his proposition. It might have given additional force to the councils of France, to command peace from their own executive government:

and the directory, or the republican party, on seeing the basis on which peace was proposed, might have dropped their anxiety, if not resentment, for the supposed support given by the British government to the loyalists. In fact, the speeches of several members of the French legislature, on sundry occasions, and particularly that of the felonious expedition against Wales, shew, that kindred minds were not wanting in the national councils of our neighbours. It were well for mankind, and also the individual happiness and glory of nations, if they, who are at the head of their affairs, would adopt the sentiments, and speak on all occasions the language, of justice and conciliation. From sparks of generosity, each tending to kindle each into a flame, the happiest consequences might not unreasonably be expected.

Had the matters in dispute, in the conferences at Lisse, been to be settled by deputies from all nations, orders, and classes of men interested in the issue of the contest, or by the genius and representative of human nature, not partial to one nation, but equally concerned for the welfare and honour of all, some such reasoning would, doubtless, have been used, as the following: "In the present period of intercourse among nations, extended beyond all example; when the progress of navigation and commerce, the establishment of posts and packets, and the art of printing, communicate and interchange every discovery that is made in the four quarters of the world, and unite the nations by such a reciprocity of wants and redundancies, and by so many sympathies of a social and intellectual kind; the prosperity

prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the other, and the prosperity of the whole consists in one common stock, the inviolability of private property and public credit. This is the grand chain by which the general order, among individuals and nations, is sustained and improved. When the right of property is violated by robbery, tyranny, and the destructions of war, civil society is arrested: it is finally dissolved, and man returns to his original state of war, among the beasts of the field.

"The gradations of civil society are marked by the peculiar characters of the wars which have distinguished its progress; and which may be divided into wars of chivalry, wars of conquest, wars of religion, wars of the balance of power, wars of commerce, and, lastly, the war of the rights of men. The fury of this last will be best repressed, by opposing to it the barrier of the rights of nations; which rights equally demand, in each, the protection of property.

"All civilized nations, notwithstanding the passions, the jealousies, and contentions, of different states, are drawn daily into a more intelligible reciprocity of interests. The antipathies of nations, and their religious quarrels, have ceased. The ties that unite them have been strengthened. By letters, commerce, and modern finance, kingdoms are happily led into a species of provincial intercourse. But, on the contrary, while this external intercourse is closer than ever, in times of peace, and not wholly interrupted, even in war, the bonds of internal union are every where slackened: and this, at the present moment, is the characteristic of the

states of Europe, that, even while they are at war against each other, they are in fermentation within themselves. A due regard to property, public credit, and the rights of nations, is the only principle, in the present luxurious and sceptical age, that can impose restraints on both external and internal convulsion. It is the interest of all nations to banish, for ever, all ideas of subjugation and conquest, and to unite, on the principles of mutual benevolence and justice, for repelling the progress of anarchical revolution. They will find partizans in all who possess, and all who are ambitious of acquiring property.

"Montesquieu has shewn that the spirit of laws, under all the varieties of government, is one and the same: the effort of human reason, which, under every calamity and revolution, has hitherto preserved to the human race their civil and political existence. Had Montesquieu lived in these times, he would have discovered the spirit of a new law, corroborative of his own; a new security for the order of civilization. That security is the spirit of the law of public credit: a principle which has found, in the very medium by which the intercourse of mankind is carried on, a power, which, united with the spirit of justice, resulting from legal institutions, seems to sustain the political order of the world. The revolution and independence of America, the intercourse of Asia with Europe, and, above all, the efforts of England in the last war, and of France in this, would have displayed, to his penetrating mind, that great principle in the liveliest colours: a principle, by means of which England and France, without allies, alternately

ternately defeated the greatest hostile combinations. But public credit, which lent to the English ministers, in the American war, the sum of one hundred and twenty millions, and to France, in the present, millions of millions, beyond calculation, must have drawn those resources from some quarter in which they actually existed. Our great luminary of civilization, therefore, in prosecuting his investigation, would have discovered the secret: which is, that public credit is but one power, which embraces, as far as commerce and finance are concerned, the whole circulation of property. This truth is as remote from vulgar comprehension as it would be for a country-dealer to conceive, how the security of his village-transactions should be connected with the credit of the state upon the Royal Exchange: but, national misfortune is a convincing reasoner. Events have taught the proprietors of Europe, that, though the pressure of the sums spent in war be immediately local, this pressure, by re-action, is ultimately sensible in every quarter. The same pressure falls, in the end, on the manufacturer and labourer; who, in proportion as they become more and more enlightened, will be sensible how much they suffer by the

devastations of war; and, in their reluctance to labour for waste, impose restraints on those rulers, who would, on light and frivolous pretences, interrupt the course of peace. In this manner, as knowledge advances, the connection of self-interest, with the inviolability of property and public credit, may be expected to unite and harmonize the nations."

It would become the wisdom of enlightened legislators, to banish all ideas of attacks on one another, and to lend their united efforts against the common enemy of all: a spirit of innovation and of plunder.

It must be owned, that it would be very unsafe, and is not to be expected, that any one nation should throw aside its arms, and trust merely to the mantle of justice, while all or any of its neighbours should still wear the coat of mail and helmet: yet, it is the duty of all governments, as the interest of all nations, to pay homage to the principles of reason and justice, on which alone a general system of political power is to be founded; and that nation will shew the greatest magnanimity, as well as wisdom, that, on these principles, shall make the first advance towards universal pacification.

C H A P. II.

Predominancy of the Republican Party in France.—Influence of this on Peace with Austria, and War with England.—Avowed Design of the Republic to invade, and even conquer, England.—Approved and applauded by all Parties.—Emissaries employed by the French, in different Countries, to sow the Seeds of Discontent, and Revolt from their respective Governments.—Interference of the French in the Affairs of Switzerland.—French Troops enter into the Province of Buzle.—French Party in Switzerland.—And Malcontents in all the different Cantons.—Preparations of the French Republic for the Invasion of Switzerland.—Conjectures concerning the Motives that were at the Bottom of these.—Divisions among the Cantons.—Popular Decree of the Supreme Council of Berne.—Admitting the principal Towns and Districts into a Participation of the Legislature.—This Precedent adopted by Five other Cantons.—Yet Jealousies still prevail, and Divisions.—Solemn Oath taken by the Five United Cantons to defend their Country to the last Extremity.—Yet a Number of French Partizans, even in the Senate of Berne.—In which a Majority declares for entering into a friendly Negotiation, and making concessions to the French.—Heroic Patriotism of Steiguer.—Adopted by all the noble Youth of Berne.—Yet the Mode of Treaty and Concession still pursued by the Supreme Council.—Artifices of the French General, Le Brune.—Negotiations between the Swiss and French—Who insist on a Revolution in the Swiss Government.—Indignation of the People of Switzerland.—The Senate of Berne send Notice to the Swiss General that he was at Liberty to Attack the Enemy.—Treacherous Correspondence of certain French Partizans with the French General.—Who surprizes the Swiss Army in the Night.—Perfidious Practices of Le Brune.—The Cities of Fribourg and Soleure fall into the Hands of the French.—The Retreat of the Swiss Army.—Which makes some resolute Stands.—Orders issued by the Government of Berne for a general rising of the People.—Obeyed.—Consequences of that rising.—The armed Multitude dissolve the established, and appoint a provisional Government.—Decisive Battle between the Swiss and French.—Surrender of Berne.

THE republican party, in France, had acquired such an accession of strength, and energy, in consequence of the events that marked, in so striking a manner, the eighteenth of Fructidor, September

fourth, 1797, that its audacity and enterprising spirit were in a great measure revived. They had, during some of the preceding months, lain, as it were, dormant and suspended, through the endeavours of the more moderate

moderate among them, to introduce a system of tranquillity into the management of public affairs abroad as well as at home, and to calm that restless disposition which led them to create and foment endless agitations wherever their power or their influence extended. But those events gave a new turn to the politics of France. The rulers of the republic, no longer thwarted by the formidable opposition that had stood in the way of the vast designs they had in contemplation, resolved now to pursue them with additional vigour.

The negotiations for peace, between Austria and the republic, were undoubtedly accelerated by these events. They had been protracted from the middle of April 1797 to the middle of October. This procrastination was attributed, by the zealous republicans, to the obstacles that arose on the part of the Austrian negociators, who relied upon a great change of circumstances in their favour through the intrigues of the numerous adherents to the royal cause, that had lately been promoted to places of power in the republic, and some of whom were at the head of the opposition to government, and made a conspicuous figure as members of the legislature in both councils.

But all the expectations they had formed, from the abilities and influence these agents of the royal party had acquired, and were daily increasing, vanished at once by this sudden downfall of their chiefs. It overthrew all the schemes which these had been framing with so much diligence and industry, since the election of the new third, in the month of June, in full confidence that, aided by the multi-

tude of their partizans throughout France, they would maintain the ground which they had gained, until the season arrived of another election of a third part of the legislative body; when they doubted not of composing altogether so clear a majority, that no legal impediments could arise to the designs they had ultimately in view. This victory of the republicans may be reasonably supposed to have influenced the pacification concluded at Campo-Formio: hence also the determination of the ruling party, to break off the negotiation with England, against which, now that it was deprived of its Austrian ally, they presumed they should be able to carry on as successful a war as they had done with the other members of the coalition.

In the solemn audience, given to Berthier and Mongé, the former one of their generals, the latter one of their commissaries in Italy, the project of an invasion of England was explicitly avowed. They were sent, by Buonaparte, with the definitive treaty of peace between the emperor and the republic, which they formally presented to the directory, on the first day of November. They both made remarkable speeches on this occasion: the general expatiated on the victories obtained by the French armies in Italy; the commissary dwelt on the triumphant situation of the republic, which had crushed all its enemies, of whom one only now remained. This enemy was England, of which Mongé compared the politics to those of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander. That prince had undermined the liberty of the Grecian republics through bribery and corruption: by similar means, Eng-

land was labouring to subvert the liberties of France. The English government and the French republic could not, he thence inferred, subsist together. "Destroy therefore, he said, a government which has corrupted the morals of the whole world, but preserve a nation to which Europe is indebted for so great a degree of its illumination. Do not oppress a country that has given a Newton to the universe. Preserve a people highly respectable for their patriotism, and worthy of a better government: raise them to the dignity of a free people; complete that liberty of which they are so fond, and restore them to their natural virtues: let the English people exist with glory; let them be the rivals of the French nation: let them both eagerly concur in spreading new lights, and bringing the human mind to perfection: let there be no other rivalry between them, than who shall most contribute to the happiness of the world."

He concluded this remarkable discourse by hinting that France would spread the flame of liberty to Greece, to Egypt, and even to the deserts of Arabia. This, indeed, was, in the usual strain of most of the speeches pronounced on public occasions throughout France. The emancipation of all nations, from tyranny, was a promise which they constantly held out, as a sanction to all their enterprizes, and as a motive which was to justify whatever they had done, and still intended to do.

Lareveillere, at this time, president of the directory, confirmed, in his answer to Mongé, the sentiments and assertions he had advanced, particularly those relating to England, to which he attributed the evil discords and

the calamities that France had suffered, and against which the republic ought now to direct its last blows.

Throughout the whole of these effusions of republican zeal, the determination to make a terrible example of England, to use their own phrase, was evidently apparent. Conquest was a word familiar to them, in speaking of this country, and even extermination was occasionally used. They considered, in fact, all their successes as preparatory to this their last and greatest exploit. It was represented to all Frenchmen as an act of necessity, for the preservation of the republic, and as an achievement that would crown France with glory, with riches, and with the command of the whole world.

An object of this nature, the accomplishment of which was, at the same time, described as within reasonable hope, filled the imagination, not only of the multitude, but also of the superior classes, with the most flattering ideas. The overthrow of Carthage by the Romans, and the conquest of England by William the Norman, were cited as cases in point; and as proofs of the practicability of such an attempt. In the keenest desire for its success, all descriptions of people, and it may safely be affirmed that all parties, most eagerly concurred, without exception of republicans or of royalists. The ancient animosity of the French seemed, on this occasion, to revive with additional heat. The former of the parties just mentioned considered the English as meanly jealous of French freedom, and apprehensive that its acquisition would enable France to attain a decided superiority over England, in arts, in commerce, and in all improvements. The latter looked

looked upon the assistance afforded by England to the royal party, as proceeding from no other motive than a mercenary expectation of being rewarded, on the restoration of the Bourbon family, with the donation of some of the French islands, and transmarine possessions, and with some commercial advantages in France itself. While both these parties concurred in ascribing the most selfish motives to England for its interference in the affairs of their country, it was not surprising that the long-rooted antipathy of the natives of France to those of England, should supersede the consideration of the detriment accruing to the royal cause, from the ruin of the English, even in the royalists themselves. National pride would prefer, to what they might hope would only prove a temporary depression of their party, the permanent fame and aggrandizement resulting to France from so vast an achievement as the conquest of England.

Ideas of this kind pervaded, at this period, the whole mass of the French nation, and wonderfully contributed to preserve the spirits of the public, amidst the difficulties and hardships that were felt by all classes. It was therefore the chief policy of the government to inculcate the firmest persuasion, that the subjugation of this country was an object seriously in their contemplation. This was done accordingly, and an emulation was thereby excited that visibly operated throughout the whole community; though it may justly be doubted, whether the directory were not, in the mean time, intimately convinced of the impracticability of such an undertaking at the present juncture, even allowing that it were at all prac-

ticable. The circumstances of the British nation were such, at this time, as to discourage every idea of invasion. Its fleets were more numerous than at any past period, and manned with officers and seamen who had carried victory and terror into every part of the globe. The two recent defeats of the Spanish and Dutch fleets were present in the memory of all the people in Europe, and had entirely sunk the spirit of those two nations. They could not avoid noticing, at the same time, that, while they were compelled, by the importunities, and almost the threats, of the French government, to venture out of their harbours, and risk an engagement with the British squadrons awaiting them, the French themselves kept close in their own ports, and left their allies to encounter all the danger. But, exclusive of its navy, Great Britain was in a state of the most formidable preparation, at home, against any foreign attack. The nation was firmly united in a determination to oppose all invaders. The most violent in their disapprobation of ministry, and their averseness to the war, still retained that laudable attachment to their country, which will always induce true patriots to side even with the worst ministers against an invading enemy, however fair and plausible in his pretences and promises to deliver them from domestic oppression. The conduct of the French to those people who had received them with open arms had, however, proved so contrary to the expectation of these, that their good faith was no longer to be relied on, and none were inclined to give them admittance, but those who were utterly unable to resist them.

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Completely aware of this disposition in all the people of Europe, the directory was now convinced that force alone was the instrument to be henceforward employed for procuring an entrance to the French, into those countries that were not subject to strangers, and whose inhabitants, from long and hereditary habits of obedience, were attached to their native princes. Such were unwilling to change their condition, and especially to transfer their allegiance to a people of whose yoke all those on whom it had been imposed, made heavy complaints, and which, even their warmest adherents in those countries they had revolutionized, did not find so light as their fidelity to French principles entitled them to expect.

Influenced by these motives, the heads of the republican party adopted that system which had hitherto made the basis of all those plans on which they had acted most successfully. This was, to sow the seeds of discontent, at their respective governments, among those classes that had most to get by confusions and changes. These being obviously the idle, the unprincipled, and the unemployed; it was principally among these the French emissaries were directed to exert their endeavours to excite dissatisfaction at their rulers, and their modes of governing, together with a desire of imitating the example set them by the people of France. Here they were told, that every man, without exception, was on the clearest level with his richest and highest neighbour, and had as good a chance of rising to honours and preferments, through his courage and abilities, as any individuals whatsoever, how-

ever distinguished by their birth, their family connections, and their opulence.

As it was by holding out these allurements to the French themselves, that the founders of the republic had compassed their object; and as they had employed them, with similar success, in those parts of Europe, where they had now established their power, they resolved to pursue the same course in those countries of which the proximity seemed to invite their next exertions of this kind. Having succeeded in the Austrian Netherlands, in the Seven Provinces, in Savoy, and in a large portion of Italy, they indulged the hope of being no less successful in a country which lay as near to them as any, but of which the principal inhabitants had hitherto, by much prudence and perseverance, preserved its independence, amidst a variety of endeavours, incessantly exerted by the French, and their partizans, to introduce the principles that brought about the revolution, and, thereby, to overthrow the established government.

This country was Switzerland, to which the French revolutionists had long cast a wishful eye, as an acquisition, that would eminently contribute to strengthen their cause. Until the monarchy of France was destroyed, the alliance subsisting of old between it and the Swiss cantons still continued; but, on its destruction, in 1792, the republican party, full of resentment, at the zeal displayed by the Swiss, in favour of the royal cause, was not long in manifesting the intentions they harboured respecting that people. While the fate of the French republic remained uncertain, it re-
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frained from direct attempts to breed confusions in Switzerland; but, as soon as fortune had declared so decisively for France, that no doubts could be entertained of its capacity to resist all foreign enemies, the convention began to assume a tone of authority and presumption in all matters relating to Switzerland, that struck the cantons with the deepest alarm. It did not pretend to a direct assumption of power; but embarrassed their proceedings by interfering in them as a party concerned, and liable to be affected by their conduct. On this pretext, there were few cases of importance wherein they did not represent themselves materially interested, and claim, on this ground, the right of participating in their cognizance and decision.

After laying aside, for the present, the design it had so explicitly and so loudly proclaimed, of invading England, but of which it still made a strong avowal, the directory came to a determination of turning its arms to Switzerland. It began by causing violent complaints against the head of the canton of Berne, to be inserted in the official publications of the French government. Several of its most active agents were secretly dispatched into that and other cantons, in order to reconnoitre the dispositions of the inhabitants in general, and to propagate among them those political doctrines which they had already found means to spread throughout a considerable portion of that nation.

The Swiss were, in the mean time, explicitly accused of having been officially instrumental in seconding every intrigue within their reach, to the detriment of the repub-

lic; particularly, of giving open and constant encouragement to the emigrants of all descriptions, whether priests or nobles, in military or civil employments: the more violent these appeared against their country, the more favourable was their reception, and the more respectful their treatment. These denunciations filled the papers, published under the authority, or the auspices, of the ruling powers, and were looked upon as preludes and intimations of their subsequent intentions relative to the governments of Switzerland.

The directory proceeded at length to an open avowal of its hostile determinations, by insisting peremptorily on the expulsion of the British envoy to the Swiss cantons, Mr. Wickham. The pretence for this insulting measure was, that he had, under a fictitious name, supported, with English money, the intrigues and machinations carried on between the French in Switzerland and their associates in France; one of the consequences of which was the seduction of general Pichegru from his allegiance, and his entering into a conspiracy against the republic. This charge was grounded upon the discoveries which, they alleged, had been made in a secret correspondence that had been intercepted by general Moreau.

The canton of Berne, alarmed at so unprecedented an assumption of dictatorial authority over a free state, sent a remonstrance to the directory: but those who brought it were treated with that haughtiness which had of late characterized the French government in its intercourse with foreign states. They were ordered to leave France; and they returned to Switzerland, fully con-

vinced, that the directory harboured the most hostile designs against their country.

In the mean time, Mr. Wickham informed the government of Berne, that he had received letters of recall. This happily terminated the difference, and put it out of the directory's power to proceed to those extremities which might have been the result of a refusal to dismiss the British minister. But though the moderation and prudence that dictated this measure preserved, for the present, this canton, and the others in its alliance, from a rupture with France, it was obvious, that the latter was determined to seize the first pretext that offered, to break with the Helvetic body.

In order to provoke it to active resentment, by some step too arrogant to be borne by a high spirited people, the directory gave orders to its troops on the frontiers of Switzerland to take possession of that part of the territory of Basle which was subject to the jurisdiction of the cantons. This was a positive contravention of a treaty, by which this territory was secured to them. Unwilling to come to an open quarrel, notwithstanding this outrageous violation of their rights, they had recourse to pacific negotiations, hoping thereby to put an end to all pretences for complaint on the part of France. But the revolutionary spirit that had now spread from thence into the bordering parts of Switzerland soon lighted up a flame that they were not able to extinguish.

The canton of Berne had long been a peculiar object of aversion to the French republicans. Its government was a pure and a lofty aristocracy. It had even, at the

first breaking out of the revolution, undisguisedly and warmly espoused the cause of the unhappy Lewis XVI. and explicitly forbidden the Swiss in the service of France from manifesting any good will to his opponents. On the fatal tenth of August, the Swiss guards acted an open and decisive part in his favour. On many other occasions this canton, which was the most extensive, populous, and rich of any, and possessed a commanding influence over them all, had exerted its utmost power, in opposition to the views of the French republicans, as far as it consisted with the rules of neutrality.

But, exclusive of the enmity of these, a party subsisted, both in this and the other cantons, notoriously inimical to the aristocratical forms of government established in most of them. This party had made a silent progress ever since the meeting of the first national assembly, the construction of which, as being a mixture of the commons as well as of the nobles of France, it applauded as the wisest system of government. These democratic ideas were highly offensive to the ruling families in Switzerland, and several of their abettors were severely punished for avowing and endeavouring to disseminate them among their countrymen. It was not surprising, for this reason, that the French republicans, whose constitution was a pure democracy, should conceive so violent a hatred to the aristocracies prevailing in Switzerland, and determine to overthrow them on the first opportunity.

Elated with the humiliation of the house of Austria, the subjugation of Italy, and the erection of so many republics on the ruins of monarchical

narchical or aristocratical governments, the directory thought the period was come for revolutionizing, in the same manner, the countries of which the Swiss confederacy consisted. Besides the general motive of gratifying their resentment, and extending their power, they were farther stimulated by the pressing requests of the numerous malcontents in the different cantons, who represented the enterprize as attended with little difficulty, from the divided state of the country, and the zeal and vigour with which they would be seconded by the multitude of their adherents.

Emboldened by these representations, and still more by the security derived from the pacification with Austria, against the opposition they would certainly have experienced on the part of that power, they now earnestly prepared for the invasion of Switzerland. The intentions of the directory did not long continue secret; but the Swiss, relying on their native bravery, and on the numbers of their countrymen expert in the use of arms, and trained in foreign services, were confident that, in case of an attack, they would meet it with so formidable a mass of resolute and experienced soldiers, that the French would be incapable of forcing an entrance into Switzerland.

But there were others who eagerly advised them not to wait till the approach of the French, but on the contrary to march immediately into France with all the strength they were able to collect. The population of Switzerland could easily furnish an immense army of hardy, courageous, and well disciplined men. Nothing was, at the same time, more probable, than that, the

moment they shewed themselves on the frontiers of France, they would be joined by multitudes: their high reputation for valour, the long and sincere friendship subsisting between the French and the Swiss, the certainty that these could possibly have no other motive for entering France than to assist the royal cause; these considerations, added to the detestation in which numbers, neutral as to the form of government, still held the present rulers, on account of their obstinate continuance of the war, against the repeated wishes of the nation for peace, would, in a few days, swell their numbers to so decisive a superiority to those of the opposite party, that it would necessarily become intimidated, and willing to compromise matters. But, were hostilities to take place, the likelihood of success, on the side of so immense a force, ought to encourage them to proceed with the most unshaken vigour: the smallest advantages would decide a great deal. Nothing but terror contained multitudes; if that were removed, or only diminished, insurrections against the tyranny exercised by government over all those whom they in the least suspected of disaffection, would quickly multiply, and the republican party be brought into greater danger than it had ever yet experienced.

These surmises were not ill founded. The prodigality of treasure, and the profusion of blood, of which the directory seemed to take no account, when engaged in any undertaking on which their hopes and wishes were keenly set, had deeply disgusted the generality of people. The republicans themselves disapproved of the readiness with which the directory plunged so precipitately

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tately into quarrels with the surrounding nations, as if it were not possible for the fortune of war to change in favour of the enemies of the republic.

But, secure in the attachment of the different armies, and especially of their commanders, the directory was irrevocably intent on the reduction of Switzerland. Their partisans gave out every where, that, next to England, no country contained so much of the money and treasure, exported from France by the emigrants, as the thirteen cantons: but their opponents no less firmly averred, that this undertaking was principally founded on the necessity of finding employment for that prodigious mass of fighting men in France, who were become unfit for any other occupation, and without the help of which government was well known to dread its instant annihilation. Some political speculators asserted, at the same time, that the directory did not venture on a proceeding of such magnitude as the conquest of Switzerland, without having previously obtained the countenance of the Imperial court, to which the republic of Venice had been sacrificed, chiefly for the purpose of being suffered, without molestation or hindrance, to fill up this part of the French plan of European politics.

The artifice and machination used by the French government, on this occasion, was of more service to them than upon any preceding one. As a vast proportion of the Swiss nation was originally of French extraction, these, for the most part, zealously espoused the cause of a people from which they gloried to be the descendants. They originated chiefly from the refugees of

France, driven from their country by the persecution of those who professed the reformed religion, after it had been abolished by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, by Lewis XIV. in 1685. As these refugees did not come empty handed to Switzerland, they were very favourably received; and, as numbers of them were individuals of considerable property, they soon acquired, and transmitted to their posterity, great influence and weight in that country. It was among these the interests of France found the most active and able supporters.

In addition to these, many there were who pretended to be emigrants of the royal party, but in fact were emissaries and spies, sent by the directory to inspect, and to give them notice of all that passed in Switzerland. Through their secret instigations, several places adopted the system first used in France, at the commencement of the revolution: they issued publications, complaining of grievances, and attributing them to imperfections in the form of government, recommending alterations, and intermixing their performances with praises of the French; precedents in the like matters. This practice having continued a long time, before the projected attempt from France, without being repressed, emboldened the malcontents to speak without restraint: but they now went such lengths, that the secret council of Berne, in the territory of which canton these places were situated, sent commissaries to put a stop to their proceedings; but they discovered, on their arrival, that it would be dangerous to carry their orders into execution. The malcontents had formed so strong a party, that they
openly

openly bade defiance to the commissaries, at whose doors they threw insulting hand-bills, and red caps, hinting thereby their determination to abide by revolutionary principles. As the commissaries did not dare to resent this affront, the audacity of the malcontents increased, and they gave the French to understand, that their enemies in Switzerland were wholly spiritless, and that the whole country was ripe for a revolution.

The part of Switzerland wherein the French began their military operations, was the country of Vaud, bordering on that part of France formerly called Franche Comte. A large division of the French forces marched thither, towards the close of December, 1797. This country was become the receptacle of all the malcontents in the thirteen cantons. Here they first set up the standard of open resistance, and held, on the 7th of January, 1798, an assembly of the representatives of that district, elected according to the French plan. These sent a formal deputation to Paris, to testify their devotion to the republic of France, and to claim its assistance against the enemies of their liberty. These enemies were the residue of their countrymen, but particularly the cantons of Berne, Zurich, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Soleure, the most considerable members of the Helvetic body, and those that acted the most decided part on this important occasion.

As soon as they were apprized of the movements of general Menard, who commanded the French troops that had made the irruption into the country of Vaud, they mustered a force fully sufficient to cope with that under his command: but

they unhappily placed at the head of their military, a man totally unqualified for such a station. His name was Veifs, and he was reputed a skilful officer; but he was a warm admirer of the French, and little disposed to act against them with requisite energy. He suffered them to debark from the Lake of Geneva, on the territory of Switzerland, without resistance, and retired before them without striking a single blow. In consequence of this feeble conduct, he was dismissed, and general Erlach, a man of unsuspected attachment to his country, and an excellent officer, was appointed to succeed him.

In the mean time, the assembly, held by the malcontents in the country of Vaud, solemnly demanded of the cantons, the abolition of what they styled the oligarchy, absolute equality of rights for all the inhabitants of Helvetia, the formation of a better constitution, full toleration and religious liberty, and that the whole of Switzerland should be formed into one political body.

The assembly was prompted to make these demands, by the advantageous position of the French in the country of Vaud. It was in the complete occupancy of general Lebrune, who had seized on all the military magazines of stores and provisions, and put the whole country under contributions, from which neither the friends nor the foes of the French were exempted.

These hostile proceedings struck the Swiss diet, assembled at Arau, with the deepest alarm. The situation of Switzerland was the more critical, that the members of the diet were divided in their opinions what measures to adopt. Of the thirteen cantons, five were decisively

sively for a vigorous opposition to the French, and eight as obstinately against it. Of the former opinion, was the canton of Berne, once the head and leader of the Helvetic confederacy, but now, through the intrigues of France, deprived of its former influence, and abandoned by all but the four cantons of Fribourg, Soleure, Zurich, and Lucerne. These, however, were the principal; and, had they remained firmly united, it was confidently believed they would have been able to withstand, successfully, all the attempts of the French to reduce them.

The supreme council of Berne, intimidated by the powerful assistance sent by the directory to the support of the malcontents, readily granted their demands. But this did not prevent the eruption of hostilities. An affray happened, in which a French soldier was killed. General Menard, who commanded the French, thought proper to construe this into a declaration of war, and immediately put his forces in motion. In order to obtain a reconciliation, the supreme council directed that those who had slain the French soldier should be delivered up to the general, with whom they entered into negotiations. They were in a great measure impelled to these concessions, by the apprehensions arising from the conduct of Marigaud, the French envoy, who not only fomented the discontents of the opponents to government, but demanded the release of some people who had been arrested for treason, claiming them as allies of France.

But conciliatory measures were lost upon him, and he still persisted in his treacherous practices. Nor did the negotiation answer the end

which they had proposed. Finding, therefore, that the contest must be decided by the sword, the government of Berne resolved previously to ingratiate itself with the public, by taking a step, which, as it had long been desired by the people at large, they doubted not would render them popular, and unite all parties in the common defence of their country. In this expectation they passed a decree, by which the principal towns and districts in the canton were empowered to elect fifty members to seats in the sovereign council. They took them accordingly in the beginning of February, and the precedent was immediately adopted by the cantons of Zurich, Fribourg, Lucerne, Soleure, and Schaffhausen. Happy it would have been for Switzerland, had this measure been taken long before. It now came too late. The numerous emissaries of France, scattered over all Switzerland, easily persuaded the people that their rulers had condescended to take this step, not through patriotism, but apprehension, that the country would no longer submit to their monopoly of power, and shortly compel them to resign it. This surmise being well founded, the jealousies entertained of them still subsisted, and the government was still distracted by parties that finally wrought its destruction.

The sovereign councils of Berne, in order to give an example of firmness, on this critical emergency, published, on the last day of January, 1798, a declaration, in which the members personally bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to defend their country to the last extremity. Nor were the five cantons that sided with this one, in the least backward

to employ all the means in their power, and to incur every danger for the same purpose.

But, notwithstanding these appearances of a fixed determination to oppose the French, they had a number of partisans, even in the senate of Berne itself. Some approved of their system of equality, and were not averse to admit of a pure democracy, thinking thereby to satisfy all parties: others hoped, by entering into a friendly negotiation, to prevail upon them to desist from hostile measures, and to conclude a pacification upon equitable terms. Actuated by these motives, and despairing, at the same time, to resist an enemy, who had overcome so many more powerful opponents, the majority declared for conciliatory measures, and thought it more prudent to make the concessions required by the French, than to exasperate them by a refusal. Those who differed from the majority, asserted, that the real views of the French were to destroy the liberty and independence of Switzerland, and to rule it as a conquered country, under the pretext of ameliorating its constitution. It was, therefore, the duty of the Swiss nation to imitate its brave ancestors, and to contend for its freedom as they had done, by displaying a manly resolution to shed the last drop of their blood, rather than submit to be their subjects: the people of Switzerland, it was boldly affirmed, were desirous to come forward, and preserve their country from a foreign yoke, and even reproached their governors for not calling upon them for their support, in so just a cause, and when they shewed themselves so ready and eager to venture their lives in its defence. Such was the language of the resolute minority

headed by the intrepid Steiguar. His eloquence carried such energy and conviction, that a determination was formed to collect the whole mass of the Swiss nation, able to bear arms, and with it to fall immediately upon the French. But this bold resolution, suggested and taken up in the heat of patriotic enthusiasm, soon gave way to the representations of the more timorous, whose advice, enforced by superior numbers, brought the hesitating assembly back to the submissive measures at first adopted.

Stung with indignation at the corruption or the pusillanimity of his degenerate countrymen, as he did not scruple to express himself, the brave and dauntless Steiguar threw up his civil functions, and repaired to the army, commanded by Erlach, resolved to share the destiny of his friend, and, in his own words, to perish, sooner than give up the honour of his country.

The example of this venerable old gentleman had a remarkable influence on the youths of all the reputable families in the canton of Berne. They followed him to the army, full of the same spirit that animated him, and alike determined not to survive the subjugation of their country. A farther consequence of this patriotic determination was, that it excited numbers, in all classes, to imitate them. The reinforcements procured by these means to the army of general Erlach, rendered it so considerable, that, justly relying on the bravery and loyalty of those of which it consisted, he warmly solicited the permission to attack the French without any farther delay.

Still, however, the timidity that presided over the Swiss councils, could

could not be overcome by these proofs of national courage and patriotism. Treaty and concession appeared preferable to all other methods of terminating the difference with France. A negotiation, accompanied with an armistice, was accordingly opened with general Brune, the successor to Menard, in the command, and whose secret partisans among the Swiss, gave him out as a man of the strictest integrity, and particularly inclined to pacific measures.

But the truth was, that instead of harbouring those peaceable intentions so industriously attributed to him, his principal end in negotiating, was to gain time sufficient for reinforcements to arrive, before he carried his ultimate designs into execution. The Swiss army, commanded by Erlach, appeared to strong, and well ordered, and so resolutely disposed, that he did not think it altogether safe to attack it, till his own had received the additions that were to be made to it from the French armies in Italy.

The negotiations were carried on in the mean while, precisely in the style and manner peculiar to the French, since the extraordinary successes every where attending their arms. They positively insisted on such new arrangements in the Swiss government, as amounted to a total change of their constitutions, and a substitution of another on the plan of their own. They required also the expulsion of those individuals inimical to their designs, and finally demanded a large pecuniary contribution.

Exasperated at such requisitions, the people of Switzerland publicly testified their averfeness to comply with them. Multitudes crowded

from all parts of the country to the city of Berne, with offers of service, and requesting to be led against the French. Such was the spirit and determination of the numbers that were now under arms, that the senate was unable to deny their request. Notice was accordingly sent to general Erlach, that he was at liberty to attack the enemy on the expiration of the armistice, on the second of March. This decision of the senate, which took place on the twenty-sixth of February, was immediately communicated to the French general, by his secret partisans. He prepared, in consequence, to anticipate the attack intended, and to fall upon the Swiss army, when it should be totally unprepared.

The more securely to compass this point, he proposed new conferences for the settlement of differences. His partisans supported this proposal, as preferable to the danger attending hostilities, and as the more eligible, that a refusal might enable the French to accuse the Swiss of not being sincere, in expressing their desire for an accommodation. These arguments prevailed, and the authority given to general Erlach was withdrawn, contrary to the sense of a large proportion of the senators. These, however, continued to make such urgent and convincing remonstrances on the impropriety of recalling this authority, that it was again renewed on the first of March. This being the very eve of the day, when the armistice expired, the French faction, in the senate, dreading the consequence to their friends, exerted themselves so effectually, that the powers granted to the Swiss general were again repealed, as inconsistent with the

the pacific negotiations now on foot.

The French general lost not a moment in profiting of this backwardness in the Swiss councils, to adopt decisive measures. He assailed, by surprise, the Swiss army during the night of the first of March. Though attacked unawares, the Swiss defended themselves with so much bravery, that the French would have been repulsed, had not treachery come to their assistance. An officer, high in command in the Swiss army, abandoned his charge, and fled: this sudden desertion spread universal alarm and discouragement. The Swiss army retreated to Fribourg, which it was forced to evacuate. Here the French were guilty of great enormities. Mr. Verrer, avoyer of this place, a man of the most respectable character, was one of those who fell in fighting for his country. After shamefully mangling his dead body, they fixed his head on a pike, and carried it about the city, to terrify all those who dared to make any resistance.

The city of Soleure fell into the hands of the French at the same time as Fribourg: but the taking of Soleure was attended with peculiar circumstances of deceit and perfidy on the part of the French. General Shawenburg, who commanded that division of their army which was marching against that place, sent word to the Swiss officers, at the head of the forces stationed in the proximity of that city, to abstain from hostilities, as a suspension of arms had been agreed on between general Le Brune, and the cantons that opposed him. It was not, however, without difficulty and much consultation, that credit was

given to this message. The bad faith of the French, and their talents for deception, were strongly urged: but their solemn and reiterated assurances of veracity, were finally prevalent, and the Swiss troops retired to rest in separate quarters. A few hours after, the French fell upon the Swiss; who thus suddenly attacked, when they thought themselves in safety, were unable to resist the multitude of their assailants, and were either slain, or made prisoners.

The consequence was, that another body of Swiss troops, which hastened to the defence of Soleure, on hearing of this disaster, finding it impracticable to withstand the immense superiority of the French, retreated, after a valiant resistance, and the city of Soleure was compelled to surrender. Nothing could more undeniably prove the dread entertained by the French of the superior valour of the Swiss, than the uncommon pains they took to deceive and circumvent them by every artifice they were able to devise, in order to put them off their guard: and yet the French were full fifteen thousand strong, and the force collected for the defence of Soleure, did not exceed twelve hundred men, who had the courage, nevertheless, to make a most obstinate resistance.

After they had been defeated at Fribourg by superiority of numbers, but more through the treachery of one of their principal officers, the Swiss troops lost all confidence in their commanders. The French were not waiting in spreading dissension and dissidence among them, by raising, through their emissaries, mistrust and suspicion of every man, whose abilities and patriotism they dreaded.

dreaded. By means of their scandalous insinuations, and by distributing money to the peasantry, the cantons that had remained neutral, were prevented from moving to the assistance of those that had taken up arms against the French.

The Swiss army continued, in the mean while, to retreat, not, however, without making some very resolute stands. The third and fourth of March were marked by desperate engagements, wherein, notwithstanding they were hopeless of victory, the Swiss fought like men resolved to make the victors pay dear for it. Struck with their invincible courage, and fearful of its consequences, the French general employed, with additional activity, the base means he had found so efficacious. His secret agents at Berne, excited the inhabitants to a general insurrection against the government, by persuading them, that they were betrayed by their rulers, and by circulating a report, that the senate at Berne had sold the canton, with its people and resources, to the French directory, for the term of five years. Seduced by this absurdity, the furious populace fell upon the arsenal, which was entirely pillaged, and the whole city and neighbourhood thrown into disorder and confusion. Aware of his incendiary practices, the Swiss officers were particularly careful to prevent any communication between the French and Swiss soldiery: but he took advantage of a high wind, to throw from the top of a steeple seditious papers, which were blown into the Swiss camp, that lay close to leeward, and produced considerable desertions.

The defeat of general Erlach, and the loss of Fribourg and Soleure,

with the popular discontent and insurrection, induced the government of Berne, in hope of recovering its authority, and reconciling all parties, to issue orders for a general rising of the people in arms, for the defence of the state. The orders were obeyed; but, when the people were collected and armed, they insisted on the immediate dissolution of the government, and the appointment of a provisional one. This took place accordingly, and was notified to the French general, with offers to disband the Swiss troops, provided he would refrain from hostilities, and confine himself to the posts in his possession. But these concessions were not satisfactory; and he farther demanded, that Berne should receive a French garrison. The provisional government did not seem averse to this proposal, but the people heard it with indignation, and multitudes resolved instantly to march to the assistance of the remaining part of the Swiss army. It was joined accordingly by considerable numbers of their countrymen, whom the provisional government could not restrain from the determination they had taken to march against the French, and, however inferior in number, to have one trial more, for the preservation of their country. The rapid advance of the French soon brought both parties, after three severe actions, to a decisive battle, under the walls of Berne. It was fought with the courage and despatch of men, who were resolved not to survive the ruin of their country. The slaughter was great on both sides: but superior multitudes prevailed, and the Swiss were entirely defeated. In this battle perished, among other brave patriots, the illustrious

lustrious Steiguar. He fell, as he had often declared it to be his determination, fighting against France, for the liberty of Switzerland. He was accompanied in his fall by the whole of that body of young men of reputable families, that followed him to the camp, when he renounced his place in the senate. They would accept of no quarter, and fought till they were slain to the last man. Numbers of them were youths under fifteen. Such heroism, at so early an age, while it reflected the highest honour on their country, could not fail to excite the deepest regret at their untimely fate, not only in their own country, but in all Europe.

The loss of this battle decided, at once, the fate of Switzerland. It began early in the morning of the fifth of March, and was followed by the reduction of the city of Berne, in the evening. The terms of the capitulation granted to it were ill observed by the French soldiers,

who pillaged the inhabitants, and were guilty of many excesses.

The unfortunate remains of the vanquished army, enraged at their defeat, which they imputed to treasonable practices on the part of their commanders, thought themselves justifiable in wreaking upon them their severest vengeance. The brave, but unhappy, general Erlach, was sacrificed to their fury, together with some of his principal officers. To complete the system of treachery and deceit, pursued by the agents of the French government in relation to Switzerland, those members of the former government, who had displayed the greatest zeal and energy for the preservation of their country, and were most noted for their hostility to France, were marked for destruction by its secret emissaries, who persuaded the credulous multitude, that they were the enemies to public freedom, and ought to be made examples of, for its establishment and security.

C H A P. III.

Consequences of the Fall of the Canton of Berne.—High Spirit of the democratical Cantons.—Five of these enter into a League for Self-defence and recovering the general Liberty of Switzerland.—Secured in the Possession of their Country by a Treaty of Peace with the French General Schauenburgh.—Switzerland considered and treated by the French as a conquered Country.—Character of the Swiss, national and individual.—Brief Recapitulation of the Causes of their Rise and Fall.—Motives and Views of the French Government, in the Reduction of Switzerland.—Argument by which the French attempted to justify all their Measures,

THE fall of the canton of Berne was followed by that of the other cantons attached to its fate by a closer connection than that which formed the Helvetic union. This connection arose from the similitude of their governments, which were chiefly aristocracies, and which the mass of the people did not incline to support with the same energy they would probably have done, had they participated in the sovereignty. This was remarkably evinced by the vigorous resistance which the smaller cantons unitedly made to the French, who found it more difficult to reduce these than the larger. The reason was, that they were democracies, and animated of course with that high spirit which usually actuates men who are conscious of their personal freedom and consequence. While Berne and its associates were publicly assenting to the mandates of the French, and accepting of the forms government those thought proper to impose upon them, the cantons of Glaris, Schwitz, Uri, Appenzel,

Zug, and Unterwalden, entered into a league for their reciprocal defence, and the recovery of the general liberty of Switzerland. This resolute determination was carried immediately into the most active execution. They mustered the stoutest and bravest men of their respective districts, and came down from the mountainous country they inhabited, to the intent of animating, by their presence, the people of the plains to join them, and reassume their liberty. The heroism of these brave highlanders could not however prevail upon their countrymen to second their efforts, for the common cause. Partly through fear, and partly through indifference, they remained inactive, and refused to listen to their repeated solicitations to embrace the opportunity given them by this sudden and unexpected insurrection in their favour, of again meeting their enemies in the field, and wresting from them the dominion which they had so unjustly usurped over their country, and exercised with so much arrogance.

But

But neither entreaties, nor menaces to consider them as enemies, produced any effect. Undaunted; nevertheless, at this unfriendly reception, the insurgents determined to prosecute the plan they had formed, which was, to assault the city of Lucerne; and, after carrying it, to proceed to Zurich, which, having reduced, they proposed to attack Aarau, the seat of the new directory and legislature appointed by the French, and to seize upon these, as enemies to their country, and adherents to its foes.

Had these intrepid associates been duly supported, they would, in all likelihood, have brought the French into much danger, if they had not effected their expulsion. They had certainly timed their undertaking very judiciously: the French troops were quartered at a distance from these places, and spread asunder in the cantons of Soleure, Fribourg, Berne, and did not suspect that any insurrection in the lesser cantons would be assisted by the junction of the greater, where their own partizans were so numerous, and where the spirit of the people seemed wholly depressed, by the subjection to which they were now reduced.

Proceeding upon their plan, the insurgents marched to Lucerne, of which they made themselves masters, on the last day of April. Here they had some hopes, that, seeing them begin successfully, their countrymen might be thereby induced to lay aside their fears, and join them. But instead of a junction, they met with a decided opposition from them. The French having collected the forces nearest at hand, moved immediately to the assistance of Zurich, which was menaced by the insurgents. The inhabitants of this

city were now so completely revolutionized, and devoted to the French, that they took up arms in their defence, and essentially contributed to the defeat of the insurgents, who, disappointed in their expectations, evacuated Lucerne, and withdrew to a post of great strength, where they made a stand, and held a consultation, what measures were the most advisable in their present circumstances.

The French had taken an advantageous position, and were now in great force, their troops arriving hourly from every quarter. They had, by a forced march, surprized the town of Zug, where a large body of the insurgents laid down their arms. The remainder disheartened by their ill success, and still more by the spiritless dereliction of their countrymen, thought it most prudent to secure themselves by a retrograde movement to their strong posts in the mountains, and there to maintain their ground till an accommodation had taken place. General Schauenberg, who had sufficiently experienced their valour, did not hesitate to come into their proposals for a treaty, and consented to one, wherein it was stipulated, that he should leave them unmolested in the possession of their country, and that none of his troops should come within their boundaries.

The fact was, that notwithstanding the representations of the French to their own advantage, they had suffered severely in the divers actions with the insurgents, who retreated rather from despair of assistance on the part of their countrymen, than in consequence of absolute defeat. Thousands of the French fell in these encounters, the narratives of which, in the dispatches of

their generals, describe the Swiss insurgents as fighting with extraordinary and astonishing bravery.

But the treaty agreed on between the associated cantons and general Schauenberg was highly displeasing to the directory, who commissioned the general to devise some pretext, and find some means, of breaking it, in order to take possession of the refractory cantons before the ensuing winter. A pretext was found in the edicts, published by the assembly at Arau, imposing a civic oath of fidelity to the new constitution, upon all the Swiss cantons. As this oath was extremely repugnant to the ideas of several, they refused to take it. The French general, on pretence of this refusal, employed the severest threats against the refractory, and terrified most of them into unconditional submission.

But the canton of Unterwalden remained unintimidated, and inflexible; on which, Schauenberg, on the eighth of September, attacked it with an immense force; and, after being repulsed on that day, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, penetrated into it on the next. The stand made by the inhabitants was truly heroic, and worthy of their ancestors. Resolved not to survive the subjugation of their country, they met the French like men who sought to die. Young and old, women and children, threw themselves into the thickest of the fight, content to perish together, with as many as they could destroy of the enemy. The French being ten times, at least, superior in number, resistance was vain. Though some thousands of those were slain, a much greater number of the unhappy Swiss was

sacrificed to the vindictive rage of the enemy. Exclusive of those who fell in the fight, they eagerly sought for victims to their savage revenge in all that remained. They pursued them into their houses, and even churches, and massacred, without mercy, all that were found, sparing neither sex nor age: after which, they set fire to their habitations, and destroyed their very cattle.

In the midst of these cruelties and devastations, about two hundred men, of the canton of Schweitz, who were on their march, to join their confederates of Unterwald, did not arrive till late in the day, when the town of StaaZ, the adjoining villages, and the whole country, was in flames. Seeing what had befallen their countrymen, they unanimously resolved to die, in revenge of their death. They instantly rushed upon the French, and, after slaying thrice their own number, were all cut off, to the last man.

The Gallo-Helvetic assembly, at Arau, decreed a day for public rejoicing throughout all the cantons. They congratulated general Schauenberg on this massacre of their countrymen. Their only regret, they said, was, that they themselves had not had an active hand in this finishing blow to rebellion.

From the time when the canton of Berne, and those united with it in opposing the French, were obliged to submit to them, these had been busily employed in altering the constitutions of those cantons, and introducing their own. In all these changes the French gave out, that they had no other end in view than to establish a system of independence and liberty for the people of Switzerland.

zerland. It was indeed in expectation of such an establishment, that so many of the Swiss themselves had espoused the cause of the French, and acquiesced in the reforms they had proposed. But after the institution of a directory and legislature, precisely on the French plan, when the members of this new constitution proceeded to the exercise of acts of sovereignty, and to assert their independence, they were given to understand, that their powers did not extend so far as they had imagined, and that in whatever transaction France was concerned, however remotely, they were to submit to its direction. In virtue of this pretence, the French commissary-general, who was invested with almost dictatorial power, by the directory, seized, on his arrival in Switzerland, upon all the treasures and stores of every denomination belonging to the state.

A depredation of so enormous and insulting a nature roused the legislative body from the torpid confidence it had placed in the good faith of the French. It immediately resolved to assert the liberty and independence openly acknowledged by the French government, by spiritedly reclaiming the immense property these had laid their hands upon in so fraudulent and injurious a manner. The seal of the Helvetic republic was accordingly affixed over that of the French commissary: but it was instantly broken by his orders, and he sent them formal notice, that their authority did not reach beyond the administration of their domestic concerns, and that the property which had been seized, belonged to the French, by the right of war.

The conduct of the commissary

was fully vindicated by the French government, which published an explicit avowal, that it did not consider Switzerland as politically independent of France, which was entitled, by conquest, to a directing interference in its affairs. The Swiss were haughtily reminded, in this publication, that they were a conquered nation, and held their present liberties from the gift and at the option of France. The treasures, fallen into the hands of the French, had been destined for the support of their enemies, and ought in justice, for that reason, to be considered as a lawful prize. It was, at the same time, more consistent with humanity, as well as good policy, to employ them in maintaining the French troops in Switzerland, than to suffer those to be quartered on the burghers and peasantry. The influence exercised by France over the Helvetic body was necessary for its preservation. It was a protective and not an oppressive influence. Without it the Helvetic nation would relapse into that humiliating situation of domestic dependence of the many upon the few, from which the arms of France had released it.

These reasonings did not prove satisfactory to the Helvetic legislature. Its indignation was farther excited by the researches made in virtue of the orders issued for that purpose, into all the depositories of effects appertaining to the public. This measure was still more aggravated, by declaring them appropriated to such uses as the French executive power should determine. But the resentments of the public rose to the highest pitch, when they beheld the treasures of the state, the accumulations of good manage-

ment and frugality, during a long course of years, taken from their lawful possessors, and transmitted to France. This was viewed, by all parties, as a robbery committed by France upon Switzerland. It was not exercising the right, but the barbarity of a cruel conqueror, intent upon the spoliation and ruin of the vanquished.

Thus fell, after a partial struggle, wherein a very small proportion of its strength was exerted, the most respectable republic at that time existent in Europe. It had subsisted near five hundred years, in the almost uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic peace and liberty. Several of the cantons were, it is true, under an aristocratic government; but the mild and equitable conduct of those, in whom the power of the state resided, was so conspicuous and undeniable, that their authority might truly be said to have been paternal. This was the light in which it was considered by all the impartial world. Their relations with other countries were, at the same time, accompanied with so much honour and good faith, that none of their neighbours ever had occasion to complain of them. They were neither ambitious nor quarrelsome, and fought only their own safety, without the least idea of encroaching on the possessions of others. Their private character perfectly corresponded with their public. Honest, sincere, brave, and open, they seldom failed to conciliate the benevolence and the esteem of the natives of every country in Europe, where it happened to be their lot to travel, or to reside in military, or in other stations. Their courage and their fidelity were equally acknowledged by all nations, and no

people more readily found employment either in armies or domestic situations. Though not celebrated for brilliancy of wit, none exceeded them in sound understanding and solid sense; and they were no less noted for the decent simplicity of their manners.

Europe was universally surprized that a people so judicious and intelligent, both in their public and private concerns, should have been perverted by the illusions of their volatile neighbours, and renounced their domestic peace and prosperity, for innovations, which could not, even in their most successful lengths, have bettered their condition, as individuals, or their prosperity, as a nation. Nor was it less astonished, that, when the real designs of France upon Switzerland became evident and notorious, they did not immediately unite to repel the French, having such examples on every side of the consequences attending a confidence in their promises, and of the despotic yoke they had laid on every people that had sided with them.

No people were furnished with more effectual, nor readier means to repel a foreign invasion. Switzerland, at this period, was reputed to contain nearly three hundred thousand men, that had borne arms in the service of various European powers. Though numbers of these were doubtless elderly, and past the age of action, yet the majority were fencible men, and every way fit for the defence of their country. This also was fortified by nature in such a manner, that it might easily have been rendered inaccessible in most parts, had the inhabitants been true to each other, and acted with their usual prudence, as well as with unanimity.

nimity. This plainly appeared, by the vigorous resistance of the lesser cantons, after the reduction of the greater.

As the Helvetic republic rose and flourished through concord, inspired by common oppression, simplicity of manners, and a spirit of religion invigorating every sentiment of nature and virtue; so its fall is as clearly to be traced to internal disunion and discord, to luxury that invited corruption, and to that degrading philosophy that scarcely admitted any other than selfish and sensual gratification.— Yet political independence, in the regions of the Alps, is one day to be revived; its roots are still cherished by the national elements; and the breath of heaven has charge of its seeds.

The possession of such a country, as Switzerland, was certainly an object of the highest temptation to a people so situated as the French. They well knew that all the powers of Europe hated them as much as when they had destroyed the monarchy, and beheaded the king, and that they now had more reason to fear them than at any former period. They were no less persuaded that the treaties of peace they had concluded with the princes, who had formed the coalition, were compulsory upon these, and would be disregarded the moment they could break them with impunity. The excesses committed by their troops in the empire, had alienated the people of Germany; and the German princes themselves, of the inferior class, were convinced that the French, in their arrangements with the superior powers, would sacrifice them to their convenience. All these considerations had brought much odium upon the French, who

naturally thence concluded, that, were they to experience a reverse of fortune, they would again be assailed by those powers on whom they had imposed conditions of peace, either disgraceful or disadvantageous; and that, were a second coalition to arise, which would, in all likelihood, happen, they would find it much more difficult to be encountered than the first. Their enemies, taught by dear-bought experience, would take more effectual measures; the countries they had subdued and revolutionized would no longer be retained in a subjection to them, palliated by the name of freedom and alliance; but, in reality, more oppressive than the dominion of those princes, whose obedience they had shaken off, allured by expectations which they now saw were ill-founded.

Foreseeing the probability of such events, and that they would be reduced to act upon the defensive, they determined to add to their frontiers a tract of country that would secure them more powerfully than ever against that enemy, whom they dreaded more than any other continental power. That enemy was Austria, whom they justly enough suspected of lying in wait to cancel those agreements that had been made only through compulsion. Switzerland, when duly revolutionized, which they did not despair of accomplishing, would form an inexpugnable barrier against both him and the empire, were he to prevail upon it to join him in wresting from France its acquisitions on the left side of the Rhine.

Such were the motives that induced the government of France, to compass, at all hazards, the possession of Switzerland, and to employ every means for that purpose,
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however ignoble and iniquitous. The sooner that object was attained, the greater would be the facility of reconciling the minds of the Swiss to a change of their condition, by treating them with lenity: which, after plundering it in the first place, they proposed to do afterwards; and convincing them in time, that, excepting the obligation of adhering to France, against its enemies, they still remained their own masters, in every arrangement relating to their domestic affairs.

But exclusive of this prospect, which was in some measure distant, there were objects nearer at hand to set their activity in motion. By executing their designs upon Switzerland, they anticipated similar events that might be in agitation among their enemies, and secured at once the numerous party already formed there in their favour, and which would supply their armies with ample reinforcements. They would become masters of the Swiss arsenals, which were in excellent order, and abundantly replenished with all manner of stores; and, what was of more importance, they would come into the possession of those immense hoards of money deposited in the public treasury, and of those contributory levies, which, in a country of so much opulence, must prove very considerable, and of which they would not, therefore, be tardy in making the requisition.

Inducements such as these were sufficient to excite the cupidity of much more scrupulous politicians than those at the helm of the French republic. These indeed had an answer in readiness to every objection that could be made to their conduct. This was, the necessity they were under of having recourse

to all the means, without exception, that lay within their reach, for the preservation of their country from the multitudes of either open or concealed enemies, that environed it on every side, and that had started up in the very extremities of Europe. They had, by their victories, and the terror of their arms, dissolved the formidable coalition that had literally threatened to annihilate the republic, and enslave the French nation to its former despotism. But this dissolution was merely ostensible: it still subsisted in the hearts of those who had formed it, and would revive with additional rancour, were France to slacken its exertions to keep them in constant depression. In this critical position, the rulers of the republic must feel themselves under the strictest obligation to seize every opportunity of strengthening their hands, and of weakening those of their adversaries, whether avowed or concealed, without being punctilious in the choice of means.

This manner of arguing was justly reprobated by those who looked upon political integrity as an indispensable requisite in all true statesmen. The absence of this qualification rendered the public intercourse between nations nugatory, tended to convert men into unprincipled impostors and ruffians, and to degrade, promiscuously, the character of every man employed in the service of the state. The motives alleged, by the French, in justification of their measures, cut asunder all the bands of political society. Such was the reply of those who felt the necessity of conducting, with truth and candour, the diplomatic correspondence of nations.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Artifices of the Directory for rendering the English odious to the French and the whole World.—To the Intent of keeping alive the Military Ardour of the Multitude. Preparations for an Invasion of England.—Mean and atrocious Artifices of the French Rulers for exasperating the People of France against the English.—Excite their Rage against this Nation to the highest Pitch of Madness.—Other Objects for occupying the public Mind in France besides the projected Invasion of England.—The revolutionizing Policy and Power of the French Republic exercised in Italy as well as Switzerland.—The Humiliation of the Pope followed by farther Degradation.—Reduced to the Necessity of imposing the most grievous Taxes.—Divisions and Distractions in his remaining Dominions.—Illness of the Pope.—Who is relieved from immediate Danger of Death.—But has the Mortification to discover that he is by no Means popular among his Subjects.—Among whom the Spirit of Sedition and Revolt waxes every Day stronger and stronger.—Numbers withdraw from Rome through an Apprehension of popular Violence.—Terror of the Court of Rome.—Situation of Rome compared with that of Paris before the Revolution.—The Court of Rome compelled to have recourse to Measures the most odious.—And which accelerate the Fall of the papal Authority and Influence.—Bold Speculations aiming not at a Reform but a total Suppression of the papal Government.—Joseph Buonaparte, Ambassador, at Rome, from the French Republic.—His peremptory Demands submitted to by the Pope with great Resignation.—An Insurrection of the revolutionary Party in Rome.—Fired on by the Military of the Pope, even in the Court of the French Ambassador's Palace.—In this Affray, the French General Duphot killed.—This used as a Pretext for the farther Interference of the French Republic.—A French Army enters Rome.—Overthrow of the Papal Government, and Substitution of a Republic in its stead.

THE success of the French, in Switzerland, was a new object of animation to those among them who had fixed their expectations on the conquest of England. An invasion of this country had been so frequently announced to the public, that it began to be considered as a duty incumbent upon the executive government not to disappoint the

nation, after so many promissory publications of the reality of such a design. It had been now in the contemplation of the public almost a twelvemonth. It was first formally taken up some time after the events on the eighteenth Fructidor; and the breaking up of the negotiations at Lisle. In order to exasperate the French against the English,

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English, and thereby to prepare their minds for a coincidence with the views of their rulers, an artifice, no less feeble than disgraceful, was employed by the directory.

A letter was forged by their direction, pretended to have been written by lord Malmesbury. Herein he was made to acknowledge, that he had no real intentions to conclude a peace with France, and that he considered it as on the point of a counter-revolution that would render all treating unnecessary: the royal party was predominant in the councils, and the nobility and clergy exerted an influence over the people, that was daily increasing. All he had to do, therefore, was to gain time, by protracting the negotiation under various pretexts.

After publishing this clumsy forgery, as an instance of English duplicity, they issued a proclamation against the British government, accusing it, in their usual manner, of being the artificer of all the mischiefs and calamities occasioned by the war: at London, they said, are fabricated the evils that desolate Europe, and it is there they must be terminated.

This proclamation was followed, shortly after, by a circumstantial and virulent representation of the plan attributed to England, in order to exercise a tyrannical monopoly of the commerce of the whole world, and thereby to render all nations tributary to its avarice. It contained the most atrocious accusations, and described the English as a people lost to all moral principles, and labouring to sacrifice mankind, every where, to their mercenary views.

Behold, it said, with how much art the treacherous policy of Eng-

land extends its baneful influence over every part of the globe. It enslaved Corsica, under pretence of making it free, and seized upon Toulon in the name of Louis XVII. It deceived Naples into a pernicious alliance, and domineered at Leghorn, under commercial pretexts. It subsidized, against France, the royal keeper of the Alps; and it paid the pirates of Algiers for their depredations on the Americans, as, it had done the savages of America for scalping them. It founded a colony at Sierra Leone, not from motives of philanthropy, as it ostentatiously pretended, but solely from views of profit. Through the same avidity, it carries on that inhuman trade on the African coast, which robs parents of their children, and separates husbands from their wives. It invades India, under pretences of trade, and oppresses its sovereigns, under the name of ally. It penetrates artfully, under the same denomination, into China, whence it endeavours to exclude all other nations. After having lost, through its pride and oppressions, the vast colonies it had founded in North America, it has found means to recover them, through bribery and corruption. They are now become its debtors and tributaries, and they have broken those ties, and abandoned those connections, that would have secured their honour and independence. It now aims at converting the chair of their president into a throne for one of the sons of George III. ! Its political speculations embrace the precedents of past times, to apply them to the present and to future periods, in order to secure for ever the subserviency of the universe, to the deep plans

plans it is continually forming for the success of its interested and selfish views. It pursues the like schemes, in every country in Europe. It engrosses the productions of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia. It supplants the trade of Holland, and reduces that of France to its own coasts. It has made of Portugal a mere province of the British dominions; and, proud of its impregnable rock of Gibraltar, it sets the strength and efforts of Spain at defiance. Its gold and intrigues produced the coalition, and still support its remains. It fomented the obstinacy of the French counter-revolutionists. It keeps alive the destructive war that enables it to carry on the exclusive trade of the European nations, and to grow rich at the expence of friends and foes. Thus it erects the standard of its oppressive prosperity, on the ruins of monarchies and republics, indiscriminately, and on the general distress and misery of all princes, states, and people, involved in this fatal quarrel.

Such was the substance and purport of the most remarkable passages in this declamatory publication, which, though received with enthusiastic applause by the violent party, that sought and expected nothing less than the conquest of England, was regarded, by judicious people, as the ebullition of political fanaticism, encouraged by persons in power, to the intent of keeping alive the wishes and ardour of the multitude, for the prosecution of the war, in hope of terminating it in the brilliant manner, with the prospect of which they were led to sooth their heated imaginations.

Nothing was omitted to impress

the strongest persuasion, that this attempt was seriously intended.—Preparations were made in every sea-port. Transport-ships were collected, and seamen assembled from all quarters: the best troops were selected from the different armies, and the most experienced officers set over them. The genius of the most inventive artists was at the same time excited, by the promise of the highest rewards, to contribute to the success of this great enterprize. The general, who was to conduct it, visited every harbour from whence the troops were to embark, and held conferences, with the expertest mariners, on the most advantageous methods of proceeding, in order to secure a safe and speedy passage, and a favourable landing.

To give the greater weight to these appearances, the directory proposed to raise forty millions by way of loan. The bankers of Paris engaged to fill it, and to wait for reimbursement out of the spoils of England. The speeches made in the councils, on this occasion, by the members, and on the part of the directory, and the addresses presented to the legislative body by the deputies of the commercial classes, were perfectly in that vain-boasting style which pervaded all their official discourses and proclamations. The trite comparison of France to Rome, and of England to Carthage, was seldom forgotten in these violent effusions of French enmity to the English nation; and the strongest conviction expressed, that as Carthage had fallen before Rome, England would fall before France.

But, notwithstanding this splendour did offer, from the monied people in

in Paris, the acute speculators in pecuniary matters represented it as a mere illusion. Cash at this time was so scarce, that 4 *per cent.* was its monthly premium on good security. Of those who made the offer of a loan, three only were real bankers; the others were brokers, and money-agents. It was shrewdly suspected that the offer was made at the instigation of the directory, in order, if possible, to levy a supply upon the credulity of the public, for purposes far different from that which was held out, and which numbers of people began to consider much more in a ludicrous than serious light. The newspapers and other periodical publications were filled with pleasantries and jests upon the projected expedition against England, which cool-headed people unanimously viewed, in the relative situation of both countries, as impracticable.

The French government, nevertheless, persisted in assuming an air of gravity and decision, upon this subject, that effectually imposed upon the multitude. The minister of the interior, in order to animate all classes, directed a musical composition, intitled, *The Vengeance of France upon England*, to be performed at the different theatres every evening; and, adding baseness to vain boasting, the minister of the police addressed a circular letter to the various districts of the republic, wherein, after urging them to use their utmost to suppress the robberies and murders that were daily increasing every where, he explicitly ascribed them to the machinations of England, which kept in pay those gangs of thieves and assassins that desolated France. Trembling, he said, at the idea of that

army of heroes, which was preparing to land upon the English shore, and to revenge the injuries done to France, those perfidious islanders were using every atrocious means to divert the storm that was threatening them, and filling every part of the republic with blood and civil broils, in order to keep the French employed at home.

The more to irritate all people against the English, reports were spread, that an attempt to poison Buonaparte had been made by their emissaries, and that there was every reason to believe, that general Fleche had perished in that manner, through their means. None, that knew the character of the English, gave the least credit to these infamous tales; but the multitude swallowed them with avidity. It is indeed but too notorious, that no European nation is apter to believe absurdities, of this nature, than the French, notwithstanding its pretensions to superior discernment and sagacity. These, though well founded, respecting the superior and educated classes, can in no wise belong to the inferior, which are as credulous, and easy of belief, as those of the same degree in the most unenlightened countries of Europe.

Certain it is, that the French government did not lose the pains it took to exasperate the nation against its ancient rivals. The rancour and the rage produced by the numerous falsehoods it propagated, wrought their full effect, and the mass of the people, especially the vulgar and the uninformed, could hardly find expressions of execration sufficiently strong to exhaust their rage against the natives of Britain, and the impatience with
which

which it waited for their extermination.

During the agitation of the public mind, produced by the vast object held up for its contemplation, the directory was seriously employed in devising means to compensate for the disappointment the French would feel when they beheld the prodigious preparation making for the conquest of England, become useless for that great and highly-vaunted purpose. It was necessary, therefore, to convert their attention to some point, on which it might rest with some degree of satisfaction, after being frustrated of the mighty hopes they had been led to indulge, of humiliating for ever the greatest and most dangerous of their numerous enemies.

France had, in the course of 1796-7, completed the humiliation of all the princes and states in Italy. It had crushed their open and their clandestine efforts to resist the torrent of its successes; it had taken paramount possession of all the northern parts of that noble country, under the denomination of republics, founded under its auspices, but, in reality, acting immediately under its influence and directions. The king of Sardinia and the grand duke of Tuscany retained little more than their titles, and the pope, after losing the most valuable possessions of the Roman see, was also reduced to a state of dependence. Naples was much in the same situation, and did not dare to take the least step that might prove offensive to France.

In this formidable posture, Great Britain was the only power that had the spirit to confront the French republic, and the good fortune to obtain such advantages over it, as

to counterbalance, in a very considerable measure, the successes of which it was continually boasting; but of which the permanence and solidity appeared extremely dubious to the wisest of its heads, while this resolute rival remained unsubdued, or was not, at least, compelled to accept of such terms as it should dictate.

This expectation, however, becoming daily weaker in the persuasion of those who had been the most forward to give it countenance, they now watched with avidity for an occasion to indemnify their ambition, for having been frustrated in this great and principal object.

The two countries in which they now proposed to exercise their revolutionizing powers were Switzerland and the papal dominions. It has already been related in what manner they proceeded in the former of those: but, while they were occupied in this business, an opportunity offered to carry on the other with still greater facility and success; as little more was wanted than intrigue, and encouragement to those who were already meditating the execution of the designs they had in view.

The peace granted to the pope by Buonaparte was, at best, but a semblance of reconciliation with France. Deprived of his best possessions, abridged of his authority over the remaining parts, and fallen from the importance formerly annexed to his dignity, he was reduced to the mere shadow of his ancient grandeur; and excited, even among his well-wishers, more sorrow for his misfortunes, than veneration and respect for the high rank he still held in the Christian world.

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His personal conduct had not been marked with due firmness while his fortune stood in suspense. During the treaty with the French general, he had secretly purposed to flee from his capital, with the treasures he was able to collect. This at once diminished the good opinion he had hitherto possessed, and shewed that his timidity was greater than his prudence and discernment. His personal security was restored by the pacification, but he never was able to recover his influence; and the people of Rome ever after beheld him as a pusillanimous and degraded sovereign, unworthy of his station, and deserving of the humiliation that had befallen him.

Sentiments such as these were naturally preparatory to still farther degradation. They were daily strengthened by the principles that had been disseminated among his subjects. These principles were equally inimical to his temporal and spiritual power: the latter, indeed, had suffered a surprising diminution; and, being, in fact, the chief basis of the former, this had been weakened to a degree that shook the whole system of the sovereignty, which he and his predecessors had exercised with such absolute authority.

He now remounted the papal throne by the permission of France; for no other idea can be affixed to the pacification concluded at Tolentino. Whatever the French demanded he was constrained and even glad to grant, from the extreme apprehension he was under, that they would have deprived him of the very power of making concessions, by stripping him at once of both his civil and religious authority, and expelling him from his dominions.

In the mean time, he had lost, with three large and rich provinces, the means of supporting the pontifical dignity upon its accustomed footing: but, what was much worse, he thereby became unable to fulfil the conditions imposed upon him, without recurring to means that would be odious to his remaining subjects. Large sums had been exacted by the French, as the price of peace, and he well knew the consequences of non-payment. To save himself from these, he was obliged to lay a tax of the most grievous nature upon his people. He had purchased the armistice, granted to him by the French general in the preceding year, with half the plate of his subjects; he now demanded the other half, as indispensably necessary for the arrangements he had been compelled to make to insure the public tranquillity.

The reverence for the sacred character with which the pope was invested secured him from popular fury; but his minister, cardinal Busca, was in the utmost danger. This unfortunate and imprudent statesman was considered as the cause of all the calamities that had befallen the papal see, by his opposition to the pacific measures advised by the Spanish minister at the court of Rome, the chevalier d'Azzara, whose mediation, had it been accepted, would have prevented the misfortunes that followed its refusal. The pope, who had long been governed by the counsels of the cardinal, was obliged to dismiss him, in compliance with the universal wishes of the public: but this dismissal could not remedy the mischief he had done; and the pope knew not how to replace him by
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a successor of sufficient capacity to repair the errors he had committed.

There was only one man in his court that seemed calculated, in any degree, to restore domestic tranquillity, and to render himself acceptable to France and Spain, the two powers that held in their hands the destiny of Rome: the first by its force, the second by its influence on the first. Him, accordingly, the pope chose to administer his affairs in their present critical situation. This person was cardinal Doria, a man of an illustrious family and unexceptionable character: his capacity would have confessedly been equal to a less difficult period; but the present was too arduous for him, or, indeed, any man. He had to answer for both foreign and domestic obstacles, mutually supported by each other, and he had no resources to meet either.

The provinces left, by France, in the possession of the pope were distracted by the most violent factions; some were adverse to the French, and others to the jurisdiction of Rome: hence, animosities and quarrels arose that frequently terminated in bloodshed. Some of the leading men in Rome itself, and the towns in its proximity, had conceived designs decidedly hostile to the papal authority; and a revolutionary spirit was daily and visibly gaining ground among individuals of all classes.

Worn down with grief and anxiety at his calamitous situation, the pope was assailed by an illness that brought him nearly to the grave. He recovered; but had the mortification to discover that his life was not an object of popular desire, and that his death would have proved a much more acceptable event.

Among the many faults and errors he had committed, there was one very common indeed to all the bishops of Rome, but which their subjects were the least of any disposed to forgive. This was the vice of nepotism, of which Pius VI. had been guilty in a scandalous degree. He had two nephews, neither of them distinguished for talents of any kind. The youngest he loaded with benefices and preferments in the church, and, at last, created a cardinal; the eldest, on whom he conferred the title of duke of Bracchi, the pope's family name, was noted for his sordid avarice. Through the ill-placed favour of his uncle, he acquired immense riches, extorted from the public by monopolies of the most necessary articles of life, and by donations of lands that were the property of the state.

This conduct of the pope excited the greater murmurs, on account of the contrast it formed with that of the celebrated Gangenelli, his immediate predecessor, who, to his many virtues and eminent qualities, added, conspicuously, that of disinterestedness respecting himself, and impartiality towards the individuals of his family, whom he treated with a decent liberality, but would never raise to high preferments.

These particulars sunk the deeper into the notice of men, that they were aggravated by the consideration of the disasters that had marked a pontificate unusually long, and which offered nothing to the recollection of the public, to indemnify it for the inglorious and unfortunate events of an imprudent and oppressive government.

Thus every circumstance concurred to disseminate a seditious spirit

spirit among the lower classes, and to prepare them to join in any insurrection against the state. The idleness resulting from want of regular occupation, was highly favourable to the designs of the many concealed enemies of the papal government. Their emissaries and partisans daily assumed more audacity. Palquinades and insulting papers were affixed to the doors of persons in office, or connected with the government, giving them to understand that their power would be of short duration, and that the reign of popedom was drawing to an end.

Struck with consternation at these menaces, numbers of people in office or favour determined to withdraw from a place where they did not think themselves secure from popular violence. Among these was the duke of Braschi. Conscious of the extortions he had committed, and of the iniquitous means by which he had arrived at his vast opulence, and pointed out in a peculiar manner as an object of popular vengeance, he found it necessary to absent himself from Rome, to the great grief of his uncle, who found on this occasion that his sovereign dignity could not protect his nephew from the indignation and resentment of the public.

The terror with which the court of Rome had been seized on the approach of the French; under Buonaparte, though removed by the pacification concluded at Tolentino, had left nevertheless an impression of fear that pervaded the whole administration of domestic affairs, and debilitated all the measures of government; not only in its exterior relations, but in the internal police. The Roman populace, long accustomed to vent its censures in a

cautious and indirect manner, began now to lift a bolder voice, and to express them without reserve or fear. Apprehensive of the consequences of this daring and licentious disposition, the government came at length to a determination to put a stop to the disorderly behaviour of the multitude. The military force was augmented, and proclamations were issued, threatening severe punishment to the disturbers of the public tranquillity.

But the authority of government was so little respected, that neither menaces nor chastisements could silence the people at large. They pleaded the privilege of complaining of errors and improprieties in the conduct of their rulers, as a right devolved to them by long prescription. It had been respected even under Alexander the Sixth, and Sixtus Quintus. If such men had forbore from invading it, at a time when the pontifical authority was in its plenitude, surely this was not a season to abridge it, while it had so many more just calls for exertion.

This language, so unusual in the subjects of the holy see, denoted a surprising change in the sentiments of obedience and submission to the higher powers, that had hitherto characterised them in the most violent effusions of their discontent. It deeply alarmed the administration, which resolved nevertheless to pursue the system of severity it had adopted, and imprisoned several individuals that had rendered themselves obnoxious, by the audaciousness of their speeches and conduct.

But the situation of Rome was now precisely that of Paris before the revolution. The distresses of the state had occasioned so many inconveniences and sufferings in the
lower

lower classes, through the stagnation of those businesses that employed them, that fullness and desperancy were visibly gaining ground among them. They now seemed to set at defiance those edicts and proclamations which had formerly kept them in such profound submission.

In the midst of these alarms, government was unhappily compelled, by unavoidable necessity, to have recourse to measures more dangerous than any of those that had been antecedently adopted, and which the public had been encouraged to hope would have been the last of a similar nature. The paper currency, which the difficulty of the times had created, was fallen to half its nominal worth, and the exigences of the state were such that it was become impossible to answer them, without recurring to another fabrication. It was received with the bitterest censure and reprobation from the public, and nothing but the dread of the armed force, stationed in Rome, would probably have prevented an immediate insurrection.

But the most perilous of those measures was, the requisition made upon the ecclesiastical orders, to give in a list of their revenues, and the laying upon these a tax of their sixth part. This was represented as an attempt, unknown to the worst of former times. It was a direct violation of the privileges annexed to the possessions belonging to the church. No sovereign pontiff had yet presumed to treat his clergy with so much disrespect. It was setting up a president that would at once destroy the immunities of the clerical profession in all the catholic countries of Christendom.

Such were the complaints of the ecclesiastics, and their representations of this measure. The insatua-

tion of numbers afforded them ample encouragement to exhale their discontent in the most unqualified language. Profane and sacrilegious were the terms annexed to this regulation, by the numerous bigots in the Roman dominions; and the pope exposed himself to no less odium by adopting it, though evidently in a case of the utmost extremity, than if it had been in the wantonness of power.

This unhappy affair accelerated the decline of his authority and influence, much more than any of the antecedent events of his reign. He had now converted into enemies those who had hitherto remained the firmest props of both his spiritual and temporal power. The members of his administration were publicly insulted, and he frequently experienced the most disrespectful treatment when he appeared abroad.

In addition to these mortifications, more solid mischiefs were meditated. Discourses, it was surmised, by those who sought to terrify government, were now held among the students in the university, upon the nature of the papal jurisdiction in civil and political matters. Herein it was undisguisedly affirmed, that, as a temporal prince, he had no claims superior to those of any other; and that, setting aside his character, as head of the church, he was liable to the censures and penalties that might lawfully be inflicted on sovereigns guilty of mismanagement.

Whether such really were the doctrines secretly avowed and promulgated, certain it is that resistance and insurrection were topics very diffusively in agitation, and that the papal government began at this time to be viewed with an inimical eye by the community at large.

large. It was not barely reform, but total suppression that was aimed at by the discontented party. This gradually increased by the accession of persons of consideration, who thought that the present circumstances required a government of more energy, than as long experience had shewn could be expected from ecclesiastics, who were naturally more taken up with theological theories than with the practical and active knowledge of those things that were of visible utility, and undeniable benefit to the community.

Notwithstanding the dangers evidently resulting from such lucubrations, the papal councils had not entirely lost sight of the facility with which they would be obviated, were the patrons of those who indulged them, the French, to be expelled from Italy. The length to which the negotiations at Udina were protracted, afforded, while they lasted, some faint hopes of this kind. But these were totally blasted by the final treaty of peace that took place in October, and that through the dominions of Austria, at such a distance from those of the pope, that he could no longer expect to be supported by the influence of the imperial power.

Emboldened by this decisive event, the malcontents in the ecclesiastical state, felt themselves more at liberty than ever to pursue their political speculations, unmolested by government, against which they promised themselves the protection of the French republic, whenever they had brought matters to that crisis which they secretly proposed. They presumed the more strongly on this protection, that the ambassador sent to Rome, from the directory, began his

mission in a style of authority, that bore down all endeavours to elude the demands he was directed to make, and that these were in perfect conformity with the designs they had ultimately in view.

This ambassador was Joseph, the brother of general Buonaparte: like him, a man of a cool and steady disposition, intrepid, sagacious, and peculiarly qualified for civil and diplomatic employments. Though remarkably polite and affable, he was equally resolute and firm in the execution of the business entrusted to him, and in maintaining that dignity which the French now arrogated in a superior degree to all other powers.

The demands he was commissioned to make were, that the pope should expel the French emigrants from his dominions, diminish his military force, and set at liberty all persons arrested for their opinions on political subjects. After much hesitation and endeavours to qualify these requisitions, the pope was obliged to comply with them. The reduction of his forces, and even the expulsion of the French emigrants, though highly mortifying to his feelings as a sovereign, were much less humiliating than the authority wrested from him over his own subjects, by requiring their deliverance from prison, for practices that endangered the tranquillity of his dominions.

Through the imprudence or tardiness of his ministers, he had not yet formally acknowledged the Cisalpine republic; and yet he must have known that he was not in a condition to refuse his acknowledgements. Exasperated at this delay, that republic determined to enforce it as well as other claims, and actually

ally besieged and took, after a defence that occasioned some bloodshed, a fortress that stood on the papal territories. Happily for both parties, the quarrel subsided through the pope's recognition of the Cisalpine republic.

That secret party at Rome, which was leagued together for the purpose of effecting a revolution, conceived fresh hopes of succeeding, from the inability of the court of Rome to resist any enemy that acted with daringness and resolution. After holding frequent consultations, on the means of effecting their designs, they came at last to a determination of entrusting them to the French ambassador. Three of them were deputed by the rest, who waited upon him the twenty-sixth of December, to apprise him of their project, and to demand whether they might depend on the assistance of France, in case they succeeded in overturning the present government of Rome, and substituting in its place a republic. Buonaparte gave them no encouragement, and exhorted them to desist from an attempt which he represented to them as rash and impracticable; forbidding them at the same time to apply to him for his countenance in any such undertaking.

Doubtless, however, of the protection of France, in case of their success, the revolutionary party assembled, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1797, but their numbers being small, hardly one hundred, they were easily dispersed by the military sent against them, of whom, however, they wounded some, and slew two or three. As in this affray it was observed that the insurgents had put on the French cockade, a suspicion arose that they had acted at the instigation of the French.

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To remove this suspicion, the French ambassador notified to the secretary of state those persons in his retinue or employment, who were entitled to wear it, disclaiming every other individual that had assumed it.

In the afternoon of this day, the insurrection was renewed, and became more serious. About twenty of the insurgents repaired to the palace of the French ambassador, and one of them told him, that the Romans were now a free people, but hoped for the protection of France. The ambassador answered by ordering him to depart with his associates, advising him at the same time to proceed no farther in so frantic an attempt, as resisting a government that was able instantly to crush them. The insurrection, in the mean-while, was increasing, and the environs of the ambassador's palace were filling with crowds that shouted, live the republic, live the Roman people. The ambassador, putting on the mark of his dignity, was proceeding to the court-yard, intending to prevail on the insurgents there to leave his residence: but, before he could address them, they were fired upon through the gates of the palace, by a party of the military, who pursued, into the court, the croud that was flying before them. The French ambassador demanding of them by whose authority they had entered into his precincts, bid them immediately to retire. They withdrew a few steps, but while he was preventing the insurgents from rushing upon them, they again fired, and slew or wounded several, and then fell back to reload. The ambassador again endeavoured to persuade the military to withdraw, with assurances that the insurgents should be given up: but, as they paid no attention to him,

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him, and seemed preparing to fire another volley, general Duphot, who accompanied the ambassador, marched up to them, to second more forcibly his remonstrances: but, while he was expostulating with them, and seizing the musket of one, and preventing another from firing, a soldier shot him through the body, which, after he was dead, was treated with great indignity. In order to avoid the fury of the soldiers, the ambassador and his attendants were obliged to make the best of their way through a bye lane that led to the gardens of his palace; where, on his return, he found numbers of the insurgents dead or wounded, and of which he ordered the gates to be shut.

It was now six o'clock in the evening, and no person appeared, on the part of government, to put a stop to the violence of the soldiery, that still remained in the front of the ambassador's palace. He wrote to the secretary of state, informing him of his situation, and demanding his immediate interposition. The ministers of Tuscany and Spain, who waited upon him in the mean time, testified no less surprise than he did, that government had not yet interfered. At eleven o'clock he despatched a second message to the secretary, apprising him that he was determined to leave Rome, where he could no longer stay without prejudice to the dignity of his

character, and requiring a passport for that purpose.

Cardinal Doria, the secretary of state, dispatched at length an officer and forty men, as a safe-guard, together with a letter, exculpating government from any participation in the violation of his precincts, and offering whatever satisfaction the French republic should insist upon in consequence of what had happened. A letter of the same tenor was sent to the marquis Massimi, the pope's resident at Paris, enjoining him to assure the directory, that the Roman government was neither privy to, nor able to prevent this unfortunate affair, and was ready to submit to whatever conditions the directory might think proper, in order to atone for it, and recover the favour of the French republic.

This was indubitably the most fatal accident that could happen at this period to the papal government. It was already weak and tottering; but this shook it to its very foundation. It afforded an obvious pretext to the French to exercise their vengeance upon the guilty, and to involve in one general crimination, not only those who had committed the excesses of which they complained, but those also through whose incapacity, negligence, or want of firmness and due care, they had not been prevented or timely restrained.* The personal situation of the pope himself, who was ill at the

* Mr. Duppa, an artist, who resided at Rome during the period of these events, and who relates them with an air of calmness and impartiality that commands respect, says, in his journal, "This event (the death of general Duphot), though it might accelerate, did not produce the revolution. This was determined on before, and would have taken place had no such circumstance happened. A prior of a Dominican convent, with whom I was acquainted, conversing familiarly one day with a French officer, on the circumstances of the revolution, the latter had the liberality and the frankness to say—We were distressed for money, and we were obliged to come: as for the death of Duphot, it would have been of no consequence, if there had not been other objects of greater importance."

time, and the well known disposition of his ministers to live on peaceable terms with France, were it only from the plainest motives of interest and necessity, made it clear, that no occasion for a rupture could possibly be sought by either him or them. The truth was, that the military commander in Rome, hearing of seditious insurrection, unadvisedly sent a detachment of troops to suppress it, with officers unqualified to direct them.

The French ambassador, on leaving Rome, repaired to Florence, where he was followed by the most pressing solicitations of the papal ministry to return. They justly foresaw, that unless an immediate reconciliation with France were purchased at any price, inevitable ruin awaited the court of Rome; of which neither the spiritual nor temporal influence was any longer sufficient to check the determination of its foreign and domestic enemies; both of whom concurred with equal warmth and unanimity to precipitate its downfall by every means resulting from the present opportunity.

The republican party at Rome began now to consider itself in the certain road to success. Though not in readiness to erect the standard of open defiance, it was hourly occupied in preparing it, by propagating revolutionary maxims, and gaining as many proselytes as zeal in the cause, and industry in strengthening it, could procure among a people long incensed at the conduct of its rulers, and that had lost all affection and respect for its sovereign. The real projects of the malcontents were not unknown to government. They did not affect to conceal them. Libellous papers

were stuck up in all the public places, full of invectives against individuals, and explicitly threatening the subversion of the existing government, and the substitution of a better one in its place. The only precaution taken by the revolutionary party, was to conceal the authors of these daring menaces: but they could not remain wholly secret. Several were discovered and imprisoned, and many who lay under suspicion of being their partisans, were treated in the like manner. The assistance of religion was called in at the same time, to reclaim the multitude from its refractory and riotous disposition. They were earnestly exhorted not to forsake the path of piety and obedience to their civil and spiritual pastors, wherein their forefathers had trod so many ages, to follow innovations that had occasioned so much mischief.

But the chief agents, among the malcontents, had provided against all insinuations of this tendency, by drawing carefully the line between politics and religion. This they scrupulously left untouched, and pretended to no more than reform in matters of state and civil regulations. This avowal, which was continually in their mouths, effectually silenced those who made it their business to intermix temporal and spiritual affairs, as being of an inseparable nature, and necessarily connected for the benefit of society. The arguments adduced, by those who denied this position, prevailed over the reasonings of their antagonists, and a total disjunction was gradually formed in the public mind, between the respective concerns of the church and the state.

But the gaining of this point, though of great importance to the

opponents of government, would not have wrought the effects they had in view; if a more powerful auxiliary had not come to their assistance. France, of which they had so repeatedly invoked the aid, and which was, of its own accord, so ready to grant it to all people in their situation, now came to the determination to take them ostensibly under its direct protection. The pretence of avenging the affront offered to the French nation, in the person of its ambassador, was held up to Europe as a justification of this measure. General Berthier, with a large division of the French and Cisalpine army, was ordered to proceed to Rome, and the inhabitants were, at the same time, apprized, that no hostile intentions were entertained against them.

Elate with the expectation of shortly accomplishing their designs, the malcontents testified their satisfaction at the intelligence of his march, by raising commotions, which the government could not quell without calling in the military, and using coercive measures to prevent. A proclamation was also issued, wherein the pope informed the people, that he felt no alarm at the approach of the French, in whose friendly and equitable conduct he reposed entire confidence. But whatever hopes he might have formed of being treated favourably, they were totally disappointed. He deputed prince Belmonte, the Neapolitan envoy, on the 6th of February, as mediator between him and the French general, and to prepare him for a deputation from the court of Rome. But Berthier informed the prince, that his instructions did not permit him to receive any. The deputies were of course obliged to return. They

had, it seems, been commissioned to make the amplest offers and concessions: but he signified a resolution to admit of no other deputies than those of the people.

On the 9th of February, 1798, the princes Giustiniani and Gabrielli repaired to the French army, as chiefs of the Roman citizens in arms, and were graciously received; and on the eleventh the French troops took possession of the castle of St. Angelo, where the people of Rome supplied them with a large quantity of provisions, and gave them every proof of the warmest friendship and attachment. A proclamation was now issued by general Berthier, wherein he declared, that the intent of his mission was, to bring to justice the authors of the assassination of general Duphot and of Bassville, secretary of legation to the French embassy at Rome in 1793, and to take the citizens of Rome under his protection.

The revolutionary party was, in the mean time, making preparatory arrangements for the final execution of the design which they had so long in contemplation. Early in the morning of the sixteenth of February, which was the anniversary of the accession of Pius the sixth to the pontifical throne, on which he had now been seated twenty-three years, the people of Rome assembled in that spacious field called the Campovaccino, and there solemnly proclaimed the resumption of their ancient sovereignty.

The style of this proclamation, which was entitled an act of the sovereign people, was very remarkable. The people of Rome, it said, long oppressed by that monster in politics, a government of priests, had

had several times attempted to shake off that ignominious yoke, but had, hitherto, been prevented, by a combination of craft, superstition, and violence. This government being now fallen to pieces, through its own debility and mismanagement, the Roman people, in order to preserve themselves from anarchy, had collected all their courage and strength, with the view of asserting their sovereign rights. They now unitedly declared, before the supreme being, and the whole universe, that they had taken no part in those iniquitous transactions that had given offence to the French republic, and held them in the deepest abhorrence. They constituted themselves into a free and independent state, and resumed the legislative and executive powers, in order to exercise them by their representatives, conformably to the inalienable rights of men to chuse that form of government which they judge most for their advantage.

After this preamble, the act proceeded to the settlement of the different parts of the executive government. At the head of it were placed five consuls, in whom was vested the power heretofore exercised by the pope and council of state. It appointed a variety of inferior officers, whose denominations were taken from those of the ancient republic; such as prefects, ediles, and several others, which were intended as remembrancers of the constitutional and civil system of their ancestors, and to excite their emulation to rival them.

They lastly nominated eight deputies to the French general, to request the amity and protection of the people of France in this regeneration of Roman liberty. The act was

then signed by almost all persons present that could write, to the amount of many thousands. It was read to the people, and received with universal applause and acclamation. The ceremony concluded by planting the tree of liberty in the most public places of the city.

At noon the deputation waited upon general Berthier, to lay before him the revolutionary act, and the plan of government they had established, and to request his solemn approbation of what the people had done. In compliance with their desire, he entered the city in great state and splendour, and proceeded to the capitol amidst an immense multitude. Here, after invoking the manes of Brutus, Cato, Cicero, and other celebrated names of antiquity, he formally declared, conformably to the intentions of the directory, that the French republic, professing the principle of national sovereignty, acknowledged the independence of the Roman republic; which should consist of the provinces that remained under the papal jurisdiction since the treaty of Campo Formio.

The French general thought it proper, however, to make some alteration in the provisional government they had formed. He added a sixth consul, and such regulations as appeared requisite for the preservation of order in its present state of uncertainty. The directory had reserved to itself the final settlement of the new constitution of Rome, as it had done that of the other republics, founded under the auspices of France. Foreseeing that, in case of stability, the Roman state, by its central position in the heart of Italy, and other local advantages, would, in no long process

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of time; arrive at great importance, the French were peculiarly desirous to secure a permanent influence over its affairs, by forming such a connection with it, as would render the one dependent on the other.

The new founded republic was not averse to an union of this kind, conscious that its existence depended solely on the protection of France, and that without this support the severest vengeance would be taken of the republican chiefs. The French general, and his partizans, carried the system of internal government, established in France, into the organization of the new commonwealth. Communes, municipalities, and national guards, were instituted in every part of the Roman state, with every appendage of power and office annexed to them.

In this great alteration of the principles and form of government, the French adhered, with remarkable fidelity, to the solemn promise they had made with no less prudence than equity, to all the people of Italy, to commit no innovation in religious matters, any farther than to introduce liberty of conscience, and the universal toleration of opinions on spiritual subjects. The great number of free-thinkers lately started up in that country, who were all, to a man, adherents to French principles, rendered a provision of this nature indispensable in every establishment that took place under the auspices of France.

This judicious discrimination, between religion and politics, proved of so much utility on this occasion, that the clergy of Rome submitted to the new order of things without testifying any marked repugnance. On the 19th of February, solemn

thanks were given in all the churches of Rome, on account of this revolution; and no less than fourteen cardinals were present at the ceremonies in the church of St. Peter, exclusive of priests, prelates, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries!

As great pains had been taken, by the party in opposition to the French, to inculcate a dread that rapine and plunder would accompany their entrance into Rome, the French general and his officers were particularly anxious to remove it, by declaring that the severest discipline would be maintained, and that the persons, properties, and newly acquired liberties, of the inhabitants, with the former laws, customs, and usages, they chose to retain, whether civil or religious, should remain untouched and inviolable.

When intelligence of this great event was brought to Paris, the directory received it with peculiar exultation. A message to the council of five hundred was drawn up on this occasion, by La Revellière, one of the directors, wherein he represented the church and politics of the popes and court of Rome in the most odious colours, and exerted all his knowledge and abilities to prove that the downfall of popery was a punishment which it had long deserved.

It was a government, he said, propped up by the credulity of nations, the fanaticism of priests, and the interested support of thrones. It contradicted, in practice, all the maxims it made a shew to profess. It disgraced the Christian name, and destroyed the spirit of the religion it preached, by hypocritically pretending that its kingdom was not of this world; and yet aspiring in

in fact at universal monarchy, and totally forgetting the primitive maxims of the Gospel, recommending with such energy, humility, self-denial, and universal charity.

When delivered from persecution, and invested with authority, it basely returned the favours it had received, by the meanest adulation to princes who had been guilty of the most atrocious murders, or barbarously massacred thousands of their unfortunate subjects: and it filled the east and western empires with the sanguinary agitations of religious disputes.

To confirm its power, and set itself above all laws, it fabricated those forgeries so well known by the name of false *decretals*. In virtue of those titles, it gave masters to nations, appointed kings or deposed them, as ambition or avarice dictated. It absolved subjects from their allegiance, patronized treason, and threw kingdoms into confusion and bloodshed.

No country, he asserted, had suffered more than France, from the tyrannical theocracy of Rome. Its monarchs had been treated with the vilest indignity. It was here the dæmon of the crusades first appeared, under the papal auspices. It was by the French court that, through papal suggestions, those barbarities were exercised on the unhappy templars, the recital of which fills the mind with horror. It was Rome that sanctioned the Sicilian vespers, that signal of death to so many Frenchmen. It was the policy of Rome that fomented the civil wars of the league, and that deluged France with so much blood. From papal councils, proceeded that contentious spirit which lately distracted the French nation

with the most bitter and acrimonious disputes, on the contemptible subjects of Molinism and Jansenism. These feuds and altercations arose from the influence of a foreign priest, styling himself the common father of the faithful! But this sacerdotal reign was now brought to an end by the revolution, and it was in vain the coalition had proposed to restore it, together with the despotism of the abrogated monarchy.

Such was the substance of the most remarkable passages in this message. It concluded by insinuating, that the court of Rome had instigated the murder of general Duphot, and the insult offered to the French ambassador at Rome. Cardinal Busca, it asserted, corresponded at the very time with the conspirators against the French republic; and the congregation of ecclesiastical affairs had just decided, that a true catholic could not in conscience take an oath of hatred to royalty, unwilling to remember that Samuel had threatened mankind, that God would send them kings in his wrath.

This message was received with uncommon applause by the councils, and the republican party. As it coincided with the general sentiments of the enemies to popery, it met, of course, with the hearty concurrence of a great part of Europe. The only exceptions to it were, the charges of an intentional affront to the French ambassador, and of having premeditatedly excited a tumult for that purpose.

In the mean time, general Berthier was occupied in arranging the domestic affairs of Rome, and in providing for the internal tranquillity of the new republic. His
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arrangements bore severely upon the French emigrants, whom their countrymen seemed resolved to treat without mercy wherever they found them. They were enjoined, by a formal proclamation, to quit Rome, and the territory of the Roman republic, in the short space of twenty-four hours: and all their property, of whatever kind, was confiscated and seized for the use of the French republic.

But a regulation that struck the public with just astonishment, was that which suppressed the rights and franchises formerly possessed by foreign ministers, and that allowed them civil and criminal jurisdiction within their palaces and the precincts annexed to it. It was precisely for having violated these, that the French directory had invaded the papal dominions, and put an end to this government.

On the entrance of the French into Rome, the pope was confined to the Vatican, where he was guarded by five hundred men. Seals were also placed on the apartments of all the pontifical palaces, and upon those of all the cardinals that were absent. A contribution was demanded, of four millions of livres in specie, two millions in provisions, and three thousand horses. In order to secure the payment of this requisition, four cardinals were detained as hostages, with four bishops, and four princes. Every person in office, suspected of enmity to the new order of things, was dismissed; and the troops in the papal service were all disarmed.

A variety of revolutionary injunctions were issued on the very day that followed the proclamation of the republic. The wearing of a national cockade was ordained, and the distinctions of knighthood, and of titles of nobility, were prohibited, together with the use of domestic liveries; and the armorial ensigns of the abolished government were taken down from every public place. Strict orders were also given, that all property belonging to the British nation, or its allies, at war with France, whether in money or merchandize, should be notified to the present government, under the severest penalties for concealment.

On the day of the republican proclamation, the cardinals, assembled in the Vatican to confer on the situation of affairs, came to a determination to abdicate, in due form, the temporal government of the state; an act of resignation was accordingly drawn up, and signed by all that were present, without the least hesitation. They were conscious of the intire annihilation of their power, and that to insist on its retention would not only be nugatory, but might endanger their safety and their very lives. Numbers of them were highly obnoxious to the people, and the least symptom of obstinacy might have afforded a fatal opportunity to popular vengeance. Several had already fled, who were known to have participated in the violent measures against the French: the chief of these were the cardinals Albani, York, and Busca.

C H A P. V.

Departure of the Pope from Rome to Sienna.—Extortions and Depredations committed by the principal French Officers excite Insurrections among the Romans.—These quelled, but not without Bloodshed.—The sacrilegious Conduct of the French held in Abhorrence by the Romans.—Organization of the new Roman Republic, on the French Plan.—And Dissemination of French Principles throughout the Roman Territory.—The chief Command of the Military at Rome transferred to General Le Brune.—Striking Contrast between the moral Characters and Deportment of the superior and the inferior French Officers.—Causes of this.—Ecclesiastical Festivals suppressed.—Restrictions on foreign Merchandize.—Arrangements of the new Government, for the gradual Introduction of a more equal Division of Property among the Citizens.—Prudent Acquiescence in these on the Part of the Roman Grandees and Romans.—Scheme of the Nobles, in the Parts of Italy subjected to the French, for wreaking their Vengeance, on Account of their Depressure.—Adopted by some of the noble Families of Rome.—But frustrated by the Republicans.—Character of the Romans at the Period of the recent Revolution.—Began to be changed by that Event.—Conspiracy and Insurrection of the Adherents to Popedom.—In several Places.—Suppressed, after the most obstinate Resistance.—Severe Vengeance of Macdonald.—Forced Loan.—The Humiliation and Submission of the Romans encourages the French in the most wanton as well as cruel Exercise of Power.—Preparations of the French at Rome for a Contest with Naples.—The Government established by the French satisfactory even to the Roman Republicans.—And their Arrogance odious.—Situation and Demeanour of the exiled Pope.—His Holiness still dreaded and persecuted by the French.—Deserted even by the principal Roman Catholic Princes.—But his Resignation and Patience, under Suffering, regarded with Respect and Veneration throughout all Europe.—Review of his Character and Reign.

THE pope submitted to this great change in his fortunes with uncommon resignation. When general Cervoni, deputed from the French commander-in-chief for that purpose, signified to him, that the people having resumed the sovereignty, his reign was at an end, he appeared solely anxious for his

spiritual dignity. On being apprized that this remained inviolate, together with his person, he expressed himself contented.

The utmost endeavours were used, at the same time, to conciliate all classes. In a public harangue made by Cervoni to the people, he told them, that the French republic considered

considered itself as sister to the Roman, and that all its strength and energy should henceforth be common to both. Farther to reconcile the Romans to their new situation, uncommon care was taken to blend political with religious consideration, and to unite orthodoxy with republican freedom. In the proclamation for public thanksgiving, it was specified, that the foundation of society was religion, and that God was the author both of religion and liberty.

This condescension, on the part of the French, was peculiarly acceptable to the Roman people, whose ebullition, in favour of the republican maxims of their ancestors, was accompanied with no less zeal for their present religion. Actuated by motives of thankfulness for the respect that had been shewn to it, as well as for the professions of fraternity from the French government, the consuls of the new republic sent a warm and affectionate address to the directory, wherein every sentiment that could express esteem and attachment to the French nation was conveyed in the strongest terms.

In one instance, however, the French did not yield to the desire of the majority of the Roman people. In the act, proclaiming their sovereignty, it had been specified that the pope should still be acknowledged the head of the church. In virtue of that quality, he deemed himself entitled to remain at Rome, and seemed to have taken that resolution. But the French commander-in-chief, thinking his presence dangerous in the midst of a people so long used to hold his person and dignity sacred, and so apt to be influenced by the numerous clergymen still secretly his partisans, signified to

him the necessity of an immediate removal. He quitted Rome on the 23d of February, with much repugnance, and repaired to the city of Sienna, where he was received and treated, by order of the grand duke of Tuscany, with all the respect and attention that were due to his dignity and misfortunes. Had the prince, in whose territories he took refuge, consulted only his own inclination, every possible honour and deference would have been paid to the unhappy pontiff: but though on peaceable terms with France, the grand duke was sensible of the precarious footing on which he stood with a government that seized every pretext of breaking with those for whom they had a prospect of extorting thereby more than they could expect by remaining at peace with them. The pope was for that reason desired to reside in the environs of Sienna incognito; and the prelates and clergy of Tuscany were forbidden to wait upon him, or to make any public demonstrations of the reverence in which they held him, or of the interest which they took in his fallen condition.

Soon after the pope's departure from Rome, general Berthier was also obliged to leave it, and repair with the utmost expedition to Mantua, where his presence, as commander-in-chief of the French armies in Italy, was indispensably required. The garrison, exasperated at the unjust retention of its pay, had mutinied, and threatened to return to France. It was with difficulty prevailed upon to return to its duty, and not till solemn promises were made, that all its arrears should be paid. This was accordingly done the following day, by means of a forced loan from the inhabitants.

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The French troops at Rome had much the same reasons for complaint as the garrison of Mantua, a scandalous and oppressive detention of their arrears. But other causes of discontent were added to these. As soon as the pope was departed, several of the principal officers in the French army committed depredations in the churches, and in the palaces and houses of opulent individuals, and imposed heavy contributions without appearing sufficiently authorised. The other officers, who felt the iniquity of this conduct, as well as the unjust treatment they had themselves experienced, resolved openly to express their disapprobation of this predatory system, adopted, they explicitly asserted, by their superior officers, in conjunction with the commissioners from the government in France.

They held a meeting in the Pantheon upon the 24th of February, 1798, at which every officer, from a captain downwards, assisted. Here they drew up an address to general Berthier, wherein they solemnly called upon God to witness their detestation of the extortions exercised in the city of Rome and the neighbourhood, and of the vile individuals by whom they were perpetrated. They swore, at the same time, that they would no longer be the instruments of the wicked wretches who had made so ignominious a use of their valour. They insisted on the payment of their long arrears, for which they knew there were sufficient funds in the military chest. They required an immediate restitution of the effects and treasures seized in the churches and houses, and a condign punishment for the robberies committed by their superior officers and others

concerned with them. They demanded all this in a positive and resolute manner, giving the commander-in-chief to understand, that, having it in his power to punish the authors of these depredations, and to put a stop to them, his neglect would render him an accomplice.

Apprised of the discontents of the French officers and soldiers at the conduct of their chiefs, the populace of Rome thought this a fit opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the plunderers. But, in the blindness of their rage, they not only fell upon these, but all the French they met. This necessitated the military to stand upon their own defence: they attacked the populace, of which numbers were slain, and the remainder dispersed. This insurrection, which broke out on the 25th of February, and had been originally provoked by the pillage committed by the French, was become however very serious and extensive. Commotions arose in several places near Rome, where several of the French were killed, before the risings were suppressed.

Still, however, the French officers, notwithstanding that they were obliged, for their own safety, to employ their arms against the insurgents, did not desist from openly condemning the behaviour of those who, by their robberies had given occasion for this tumult. They came to Rome, they said, to give liberty to the Romans, and not to rob them. This and other language of the same nature, wherein they gave broad hints of their determination to procure themselves justice at all events, so effectually intimidated the principal officers, that, in order to prevent the consequences

quences that would have probably arisen from any farther neglect of their complaints, all the demands relating to themselves were granted. But no restitution was made of the effects and property taken from churches and individuals, notwithstanding the unceasing remonstrances of the military, that till this were done, the stain cast upon the French would not be effaced, and their character still remain deservedly disgraced.

The man upon whom their indignation chiefly fell, was general Massena, to whom the command of the forces at Rome had devolved, on the departure of Berthier. He was one of the best officers in the French service, but his avaricious disposition tarnished all his good qualities. It was particularly in the Venetian state that his meannesses had signalized him. But he was not the only Frenchman guilty of those excesses. To the shame of his countrymen, they were become as infamous for their depredations, as they were formidable for their valour and their military talents.

The French government, though enraged at the ignominious proceedings of its agents at Rome, and at the testimony borne against them with so much publicity, by the inferior class of officers, ascribed nevertheless the insurrection occasioned by their oppressions, to a preconcerted scheme on the part of the secret adherents to the pope: to them was also attributed the discontents of the French military, who had, it was said, been seduced by their intrigues, and excited to refuse obedience to their lawful chiefs. A proclamation was of course issued to the armies in Italy, dated the 19th Ventose (19th March), la-

menting their seduction, from the duty they owed to their commanders, through the suggestions of the enemies to France; and rebuking them for not applying to the constituted authorities at home, for a redress of their grievances. Convinced, however, of the reality of the complaints laid before them by the military, they issued an order to the directorial commissioners at Rome, to make a strict inquiry into the extortions and depredations committed on the people in the Roman republic, and to suspend, or expel from their employments, all persons who had abused their trust.

The dissatisfaction of the military still subsisted, and the arrival of general Massena at Rome to command them had added greatly to it. The oppressive treatment of the inhabitants of this city continued as before, and the sumptuous style of living that marked the upper ranks of the military, formed a contrast with the distressed condition of the lower, that exasperated these beyond all bearing, when they reflected by what illicit means this expensiveness was supported, and with how much difficulty they were able to procure indispensable necessities.

They held another meeting in the Pantheon, upon the 6th of March, in order to deliberate on the situation of Rome; but general Massena sent them an order to disperse, threatening, in case of refusal, to attack them with troops and artillery. They answered, that they had rather submit to death than to the disgrace resulting from the treatment of the Roman people. A deputation of these officers then waited upon him, with a copy of their address to the citizens of Rome, the

the sole intent of which was to convince them, that they were not to be implicated in the guilt of those, who, under the denomination of military collectors of contributions, dishonoured the army, and incensed the people of Rome by their infamous proceedings.

Massena received the deputies as the movers of sedition. He would neither read the address, nor promise that due notice should be taken of their demands. The whole body of officers waited upon him in the evening; but no satisfactory answer was obtained. They next repaired to the commander-in-chief, Berthier, who received them favourably, and promised to pay attention to their address.

The day following, Massena gave orders for the French army to quit Rome, leaving there only a body of three thousand men. But the army refused to obey those orders, from a persuasion that he left this small number, with the view to sacrifice it to the fury of the insurgents. A deputation was instantly sent to general Berthier, requiring him to resume the command of the army; and another waited upon Massena, to inform him, that the army was so highly disgusted at his conduct, that it would no longer accept of him as their chief, and would acknowledge no other commander than general Berthier. On the receipt of this notice Massena quitted Rome.

What the military had alleged as a reason for their disobedience of orders, happened accordingly. The malcontents, on hearing that only three thousand men were to remain in Rome, resolved immediately to assail them on the departure of the rest. They assembled in great numbers in various parts of the city.

But their impatience not suffering them to wait for the expected departure, they rashly attacked the French, of whom a number were slain: but they were quickly overcome, and a great slaughter of them ensued.

General Berthier being shortly called away by urgent business, remitted the command to general Dallemagne, who possessing the good opinion of the army, was readily accepted as his successor. The first step he took was to publish an address to the people of Rome, wherein he solemnly justified the military from all imputation of sharing in the extortions and robberies that had been committed, and which he formally reprobated in the name of the French republic and army: inviting, at the same time, the citizens to denounce the guilty, that they might be punished according to the extremest rigour of the law.

Notwithstanding the repugnance of the military, general Massena returned to Rome, on the 13th of March, and having resumed the command, issued a declaration, wherein he laboured to refute the charges of his accusers, and to clear his character from the odium under which it lay. He upbraided them for their insubordination; and declared that he would not resign his post, till ordered by the directory. But no regard was paid to him; and finding the officers utterly averse to obedience, he again thought proper to retire with a small division of the army that had not refused to obey him.

Previously to his departure, which was three days after his return, he published a proclamation, informing the people of Rome, that the French republic disclaimed all right
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of conquest, and declared the Roman commonwealth a free and independent state, offering, however, a constitution for its acceptance, which would secure its freedom and prosperity.

But these various addresses, to the Roman people, made little impression upon them. The division subsisting between Massena and the army, and the disreputable character he bore, rendered all his applications and promises nugatory. The pillage of their churches and houses had at the same time convinced them, that they were destined to be the prey of the French, as soon as a plausible pretext could be found, since they had already been plundered in the basest manner without any pretence at all. These considerations excited an alarm that pervaded all classes, and all parties, and that exhibited the revolution they had undergone in a very different light from that in which they had viewed it at first.

In order to dispel the apprehensions universally conceived of the oppressive measures intended against them, the French thought it necessary to make some striking examples of those who had been guilty of the pillages that had rendered them so odious. Two of their commissaries, for seizing a large quantity of plate out of a church, were sentenced to five years imprisonment in irons. This appeased, in some measure, the wrath of the people, but did not efface the impressions to the prejudice of the French. They continued to bear the character of sacrilegious depredators; and the little reverence for religion, in numbers of them, naturally induced the public, at Rome, to look upon them with abhorrence, and to think them

capable of any spoliation in religious edifices and houses, which they could commit with impunity or without detection.

They had, in their invasion of Rome, and the subversion of the papal authority, acted altogether with great impolicy, by exercising much more severity than circumstances required. It was the general persuasion, that if they had proceeded no farther than to deprive the pope and clergy of their temporal power, and published an amnesty for all past transactions, they would have secured the respect and attachment of all classes. But their conduct was so much the reverse, and exhibited such a mixture of arrogance, oppression, and avarice, that they quickly became objects of execration to all that were not intimately interested in their success.

A few days after the proclamation of the Roman republic, eight cardinals were put under arrest. Among these were Doria, Roverella, Archetti and Borgia. The first was a man esteemed by all parties for the uprightness of his conduct, and the others were persons of an irreproachable character. Other cardinals had also been imprisoned; but for this there was some pretence, as they had advised and been concerned in hostile measures against the French. Cardinal Doria and the seven others, together with eight prelates, were transferred to Civita Vecchia, where they remained some time, under the terror of being transported to France, as hostages for the requisitions made on the people at Rome, or as individuals whose presence might be dangerous in the critical situation of affairs to the new republic.

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The revolutionary government was, in the mean while taken up with such measures as appeared most conciliatory. The price of several articles of the first necessity, was reduced, and some customs and taxes were suppressed. The pecuniary exactions were repartitioned proportionably to the income of individuals, and a subscription was opened to that intent, wherein every one was invited to contribute according to his means.

The rigour that had been exercised in the suppression of the insurrections that had taken place, effectually prevented, for some time, any attempt to repeat them. The French continued uninterruptedly to organize the Roman republic on their own plan, and to disseminate their principles throughout the territory annexed to it. There was, however, a part of it of which they had not the possession. This was the duchy of Benevento, situated in the kingdom of Naples, the dominions of which encircled it on every side. The court of Naples, dreading the diffusion of French principles and pretensions, had surrounded this duchy with a body of troops, and guarded the frontiers of the kingdom with a considerable force.

The discontents of the military at Rome, and their aversion to Massena, had, in the mean while, induced the directory, to supercede him in the command, and to appoint in his stead general Brune, who had lately acted so conspicuous a part in Switzerland. This officer did not however possess a clear character more than many others. It was a common observation, that the most respectable portion of the French army consisted of the inferior officers, among whom striking instances

of disinterestedness and generosity were occasionally exhibited, much to their credit, and no less to the shame of their superiors, whose rapacity was become notorious. The reason assigned for this difference, was, that the lower ranks of officers, having no other object in view, than the service and honour of their country, were filled with an enthusiastic patriotism which the upper ranks took peculiar care to cherish and keep alive by every means in their power. But these, exclusively of their military employments, were frequently immersed in the intrigues of the various parties that divided government. Hence they were gradually led away from their integrity, and habituated to adopt every measure indiscriminately that served their purpose. This necessarily corrupted their morals, and they soon threw off restraints and scruples in other affairs.

The arrival at Rome of general Brune, and the strict regulations which were enacted and vigorously executed, produced a tranquillity which was much wanted, for the establishment and enforcement of the different parts of the new constitution. The same quarrelous disposition that accompanied the Roman people under the papal government still continued as und subdued as ever. The five consuls, at the head of the republic, were now become the objects of public criticism and of unqualified censure. They had been promoted to their places from the conviction of their republicanism, much more than of their abilities or experience: of this indeed they could have little, or rather none. Four of them were physicians, and the first consul, Visconti, though a man of great erudition and extraordinary

extraordinary genius, had not, any more than his colleagues, ever filled any official department. Their inexperience gave rise to numerous pleasantries and pasquinades: but their diligence and zeal supplied many defects; and, aided by the senate and ministers, some of whom were Frenchmen, well conversant in public affairs, they were the authors of many judicious laws and measures.

Though, from political motives, the absence of the pope was judged necessary, by the French and their warmest partizans, a viceroy, invested with all his official authority, acted in his room. The prelate Passeri was nominated for this purpose, and executed his commission to the general satisfaction. By the pope's permission, he suppressed a multitude of unnecessary festivals, that abridge the means of doing business; and thereby encouraged idleness, and increased poverty.

The necessity of complying with the mandates of the French occasioned, however, great inconveniences to the commerce and agriculture of the state. The Neapolitan peasantry, that was wont to repair to the Roman dominions, for employment, in the haymaking and harvest seasons, were prohibited from coming as usual, and threatened with being shot the moment they set their foot on the Roman territory. A proclamation was also issued, forbidding the sale of British, Russian, and Portuguese articles of merchandize, in every city and place in the republic, upon any pretext.

The contributions exacted by the French fell heavily, in the meanwhile, upon all classes. The produce of the last requisition of the

plate, remaining in the possession of individuals, had been remitted to the French agents. In order to accelerate the payment of what was still due upon their demands, a large proportion of it was required from people known to possess great property: and, to enforce these demands, fresh troops were daily arriving at Rome, which, it appeared, the French had determined to make their central place of arms, in this part of Italy.

It was not without much dissatisfaction that people beheld the avidity with which the French seized upon the treasures of every state, to which it pretended to give liberty and independence: no two words, it was remarked, had ever been more distorted from their signification. The liberty they proclaimed was hardly more than the transferring of the government into other hands, under new denominations; and the state thus altered was placed under their immediate and strictest dependence, and stripped of every resource, by levies and imposts of all denominations. The provisional governors soon found that their power was hardly even the shadow of authority. They were made use of only to shew where and in what consisted the little wealth that remained in the state, and politely compelled to give their assent that that little might be taken from it. They had also the privilege of issuing edicts; which privilege they were compelled to exercise, for oppressing the people beyond all example of even the greatest ancient despotism, and were thus made obnoxious to their countrymen without ever deriving any profit from the plunder that was seized in their names. Hence, it naturally happened, that those who possessed

possessed any sentiments of honour and humanity, or felt any regard for their own personal characters, soon withdrew themselves; or, through the opposition they made to such measures, were compelled to retire. The vacancies produced were filled by men who not only engaged to carry the severest impositions into effect, but, in many instances, purchased their odious offices by money. They, in return, agreeably to a common policy, were to have a high per centage on their collections.

This was precisely the state of the Roman republic: but it suffered from this situation more than other states had done. Property being lodged in few hands, these alone felt the weight of contributions. No city in Europe displayed the two extremes of riches and poverty in a more striking and offensive light: that intermediate class of society, known by the appellation of citizens, had no existence at Rome. The whole opulence of this city, which was generally supposed to contain a population of about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, was nearly centered in the hands of little more than two hundred families; sixty or fourscore of which were reputed to possess yearly incomes from two hundred to eight hundred thousand *livres* of French money.

So unequal a distribution of property was evidently an object highly detrimental to the community at large; but, as it was an evil to be remedied only by time, and a better government, the only means to be resorted to for this purpose, by men who respected the right of private property, was to leave it inviolate, and to frame such laws against im-

proprieties in successions, inheritances, donations, and legacies, as would gradually effect more equality in the fortunes of citizens, and diminish that overgrown stock of opulence which, by enriching the few, to the detriment of the many, debilitates the strength, and weakens the spirit, of a state, by leaving a small number only interested in its preservation.

Such were the maxims adopted in their practice by the consuls and senate of the new Roman republic. Their conduct proved so satisfactory to the rich, and the better sort, that they readily complied with the injunctions issuing from their authority, and manifested an approbation of most of their measures. Several persons of wealth and distinction solicited employment in the service of the republic, openly professing their intire acquiescence in the new order of things, and their determination firmly to abide by it, while administered on the plan which had hitherto been observed by the constituted authorities.

The conduct of the Roman grandees and nobles on this great revolution was, indeed, quite opposite to that of the French noblesse and persons of distinction: warned by the ruin and misery of these, they carefully shunned their example, and thought it wiser to preserve their lives and estates, by submitting to a government which they were not able to resist, than to drag out a wretched existence in banishment; and bring their families to poverty and want, without advancing thereby the cause for which they suffered.

Numbers of the best families in Rome acted upon this principle, readily yielding obedience to the

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republican government, and paying, without murmuring and hesitation, their share of the contributions and forced loans imposed upon them. A conspicuous instance of this conciliating disposition, was given by prince Borghese, reputed a capitalist of twenty millions. The very day that followed his admission into the senate, he voted for the motion, that was made and carried, to levy a year's revenue upon people of considerable property.

When the victorious arms of France had brought several parts of Italy under subjection, and introduced a revolutionary government, the principal families, exasperated at their depression, and the footing on which they were placed with the lowest individuals, to the disrespect of whom they now felt themselves exposed, resolved, by way of revenge, to dismiss the greater part of their domestics, in order to make them sensible of the want they stood in of their protection and support; but this behaviour of the nobles was not only bitterly reprehended by the French, but absolutely prohibited: the number of servants antecedently kept was ordered to be continued, and the eleemosynary donations of the nobles, that had been suspended from the like motives, were not allowed to be diminished.

Some of the noble families at Rome had either adopted, or threatened their adoption, of a similar retrenchment. To obviate a measure which would have reduced the poor to such misery, the consuls and senate passed a decree, obliging the nobles to keep the same number of servants; and distribute the like quantity of alms or provisions as heretofore. As neither of these

decrees could be considered productive of innovations, or of hardship, they were the more willingly submitted to, that the late disorders had diminished the means of livelihood, and had left numbers more dependent than ever on the bounty of the rich.

The severest vigilance was, in the meanwhile, exerted by the French commissioners, to prevent and to punish extortions and irregularities in their countrymen. The directory could not have appointed fitter men for this purpose: their names were Monge, Florent, and Daurou. The simplicity of their manners and style of living, and their singular disinterestedness, procured them an authority which none dared to counter-act; and they happily succeeded in suppressing the outrages of which the French had been guilty at first: but their greatest difficulty was, to reconcile the minds of the generality of people in Rome to the freedom of thinking and speaking, which characterised the French, and so frequently scandalized the friends of religion. This contributed, as much as any circumstance in their behaviour, to render them odious, as their enemies hence took occasion to represent them, equally hostile to God and man.

The revolution at Rome afforded much scope for speculation. Previously to this event, servility, idleness, and the most despicable bigotry, pervaded all the lower classes: prodigious numbers, if not an absolute majority, of the inhabitants subsisted upon charity. They had, of course, contracted all those vices and mean habits that usually accompany such a situation: they were careless and indolent about the public, base and subservient in their private

private concerns, and ready to hire themselves, indiscriminately, for any purpose that offered. To reclaim a people plunged in the vilest sloth, strangers, for the most part, to professional occupation, and habitually satisfied with a bare sufficiency for existence, and even preferring it to plenty to be procured by labour, was certainly an arduous attempt, and not to be compassed without a large admixture of encouragement and of chastisement.

The reign of popedom was particularly noticed for the lazy disposition it infused into the people at large. The perpetually recurring exhibitions of religious ceremonies, usually accompanied with great pomp; the standing magnificence of the churches; the profusion of objects continually inviting the curiosity of men, and calling away their attention from others more useful: these, and a multiplicity of other motives for continual avocation from business, had rendered Rome a scene of perpetual pastime, and converted the inhabitants into a nation of idlers, enamoured with inactivity and dissipation, and forgetful of the manly duties and interests of society.

Such, with a narrow list of exceptions, was the common character of the modern Romans. It may be said, without falsehood or exaggeration, that they nearly resembled their ancestors at the worst period of their degeneracy, when they bowed the neck to the miserablest servitude, and wished only for bread and the amusements of the circus.

Another circumstance added powerfully to the inaction of the people: they had hardly any taxes to pay. The credulity of the times long af-

forded a copious supply to their wants. The contributions that flowed from all quarters of the catholic world maintained the inhabitants of Rome. Whether from generosity, ostentation, or policy, the popes were in the habit of providing food and necessaries for a very large proportion of their subjects. The consequence of these unfailing largesses was, that, depending upon them for their sustenance, the common populace was very little solicitous for employment: and there was often experienced a scarcity of mechanics, when occasion demanded them.

The French revolution had begun to diminish this fund of papal munificence. The people of Rome, it was foreseen, must, in case of farther diminutions, which would probably be occasioned by similar causes, be compelled to adopt a more active system than that which they had pursued so many years. The union of the court of Rome with the powers that formed the coalition required pecuniary supplies, and the many difficulties that intervened before the pope could arrive at a pacification with France exhausted his coffers so deeply, that, much against his will, he was obliged to lay heavy burthens upon his people. But they were no less inadequate to the weight, than unused to such demands. These combined considerations excited great discontents, and wrought an alteration in the feelings and affections of the multitude, that prepared them for still greater changes, by weaning them from that warm attachment and devotion for their sovereign, which the sacredness of his character had so long and so effectually commanded.

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Since they had been revolutionized, it was clearly apparent, that the former system of inactivity, and dependence of the poor upon the rich, was no longer admissible. The necessity of infusing a spirit of labour and industry into the vulgar classes, became daily more evident and indispensable. It was now acknowledged to be the basis of the future prosperity of the state, and that it required more the attention of the government than any other object. To do the rulers of the new republic due justice, they took this object into consideration with peculiar zeal, and framed a variety of regulations to promote employment among the popular classes, and to discourage them from a servile dependence on their superiors. The effects of their salutary endeavours were sooner perceptible than had been expected. The places where it was notified that employment could be procured became frequented by those who were industriously inclined, and their example excited the like inclination in others. Street-loungers and vagabonds were considerably diminished; and it was reasonably hoped, that, in no long process of time, provided no interruptions happened, through internal disturbances, to the plan so auspiciously begun, the regeneration of Rome would be complete in the principal and the most desirable object of domestic policy, the procuring of occupation for the laborious classes, and enabling them to depend, not on charity, but solely upon their own industry.

In the mean time, the adherents to the former government did not see, with a tranquil eye, those, who had subverted it, possessed of the sovereign power, under the controul

of France, and extending, under its auspices, a system which threatened finally to inflict the deepest wounds on the church, as it had already done upon the state. They represented the French as the unjust aggressors, in the late hostilities with the sovereign pontiff, and as having usurped a power, by force, upon false and tyrannical pretexts. Such an enemy, it was said, was deserving of no faith, as no confidence could be placed in him. The moment he had taken possession of the city, he began to plunder, and seize whatever came in his way, whether it was public or private property, whether it were sacred or profane. He had demanded contributions of so enormous an amount, that they nearly crushed the state; and yet he pretended to be a deliverer from oppression. But it was only since his coming that real hardships had been experienced, and it would only be after his expulsion that they would cease. The sooner, therefore, that people would resume their courage, and unite in a regular opposition to him, the greater would be the probability of success, as the means of resistance still remained: but of these, his policy and craft would, ere long, find pretexts to deprive the people, if they did not hasten to use them while yet in their hands.

These speeches, which were certainly well grounded, prevailed upon numbers. The plan of the conspiracy had been carried on in profound secrecy, till it was ripe for execution: it then burst forth suddenly, with astonishing rapidity, and struck the republican party with consternation. The leaders of the insurrection were persons of various descriptions. The conductors

of that plot were chiefly clergymen, and they had taken such effectual measures, that a body of fifteen thousand men was collected, well armed and provided, and far from being ill commanded. They occupied a tract of country on the east of Rome, where they expected to be joined by numbers, while other parties of malcontents should menace Rome on the other sides. Their schemes were judiciously laid; and, had the promises, which it is said had been made to them, been punctually kept, the strength, with which they carried on their operations against the French, would have been much greater, and straightened them much more alarmingly.

The French forces at Rome were, at this period, in the absence of Brune, under the command of general Macdonald; a son of Macdonald's of Keppoch, who had fled to France after the rebellion in 1745. He was an officer of distinguished activity and bravery, and of very considerable military talents. Like a soldier of fortune, he shewed great zeal in executing the orders, and fulfilling the wishes of his employers; without ceremony, and, according to an expression, that has become proverbial, *sans phrases*.* While most of the French generals studied to veil their tyranny under republican forms, Macdonald contented himself with saying, that "Such was the will of the French republic." He divided the French, under his command, into several posts, in order to repress any unforeseen movements, and dispatched a select body, under the orders of Girardon, a chief of brigade, to attack the principal corps

of the insurgents, posted at Forentino. Here, on the 29th of July, an engagement ensued, that lasted several hours: the insurgents fought with great bravery, and made a much more vigorous resistance than the French had ever expected: but they were at length defeated, with much loss. They retreated, however, in good order, and rallied on the banks of the Cosa, which lay between them and the French. They now made proposals for a pacification; but, as the French required unconditional submission, it was refused. On the 2d of August, the French forced their passage over the Cosa, after a conflict that proved very destructive on both sides. Part of the insurgents withdrew into Frosinone, a town of some strength, and situated on a rock. It was with uncommon difficulty the French were able to make their approaches to it: but they succeeded at last, and, bringing up a cannon, broke open the gates, and forced their way into the town. They met with a desperate resistance from the insurgents, commanded by a priest, who fell, sword in hand, at their head, after a noble defence. The French penetrated into the town, where the insurgents made a large havock of them, from the windows and the tops of houses; and it became doubtful, whether the assailants would not be forced to retire. As a last effort, they set fire to the town, and massacred as many of the insurgents as fell into their hands. This proved a destructive day to both parties: almost as many of the French fell as of the insurgents: but these were obliged

* Words pronounced by Sieyes, when he voted for the death of Louis XVI.

to disperse, and the insurrection terminated in this quarter.

But another had broken out at Terracina, from which the French garrison had been expelled. They marched against it on the 22d Thermidor (9th of August). The accesses to the town were guarded by a multitude of peasants, who kept up a heavy fire on the French, of whom numbers were slain. The contest had lasted six hours, and the French had suffered so much, that they were on the point of retreating, when some of their boldest officers proposed to attack, with their bayonets, a battery that had done great execution among them. The advice was followed; and the insurgents, not expecting an attack of this kind, were in some measure taken unawares: they continued, however, to fight courageously, till, their artillery being carried, they were broken, and as many of them as could not effect a retreat were killed on the spot.

The French treated the insurgents with great severity: all the towns that joined the insurrection were given up to the soldiers to be plundered; and those that were not slain in battle were obliged to fly their country, to escape death. But, though the French succeeded in quelling their enemies, they paid dearly for their success. The opposition to them was truly formidable, and their opponents fought like men who wanted only experience to cope with their conquerors, whose valour was in no instance superior to their own, and who began, from this time, to look upon them as foes much more dangerous than they had found them heretofore.

In several of these insurrections,

the clergy displayed uncommon valour. Numbers of them headed the insurgents, and some of them sealed their cause with their blood. This silenced the calumnies of those who had represented the ecclesiastical order as composed of men, who, spiritless themselves, prompted others, by their discourses, to expose themselves, while they kept aloof from perilous scenes. Their undeniable intrepidity, on this occasion, raised them deservedly in the opinion of their adherents, and procured them more credit and influence than ever.

As soon as this great insurrection was over, and the French began to look upon themselves as safe, they resolved to exercise so striking a vengeance upon their adversaries as should effectually deter them from renewing all attempts of this nature. General Macdonald published two severe laws, by the first of which every individual was sentenced to death, that stood convicted of having caused the late insurrection, either by discourses, or by false and alarming news; and by the second, all the members of an association, known by the name of the company of the faith of Jesus, were to be tried by a military court.

This opportunity was also taken, to publish a law passed for a forced loan. It was extremely oppressive. Individuals, possessing from three to six thousand crowns a year, were taxed one-third of their income, annually; if possessing from six to ten thousand, two-thirds; and if ten thousand, the whole. A requisition, so regardless of all measure, could not fail to excite the most vehement complaints. The best affected to the cause of the republic

he reprobated it, as reducing decent families to indigence, and precluding them from the exercise of that munificence to the poor, which was imposed upon them by the law. But the French, and their partisans, were too intent upon raising money for their various exigencies, and too resolute to obtain it at any rate, to listen with deference to any dissuasions, especially while full of resentment at the losses they had experienced, of some of their best men, in the late insurrection.

Their suspicions were so strongly awakened by the many unprosperous occurrences they had met with in the course of that business, that the consuls themselves did not escape the charge of negligence or misconduct, and some of them were threatened with a dismissal. These disturbances had, in the mean while, produced such a stagnation of work, that the number of the indigent was multiplied, in town and country, to an amount that nearly threatened them with absolute famine. To prevent the consequences of reducing such multitudes to hunger, the government was obliged to provide a magazine of flour and corn in every quarter of the city, to be distributed to the poor at a very inferior price. But, though relieved in some measure, they did not forget the time when distributions were gratuitous, and when they could indulge their propensity to inaction, without danger of starving.

The submissive condition to which the people of Rome were now fallen, had extinguished all remains of consideration and regard for their opinion in the minds of their conquerors. The French, in the wan-

tonness of power, impatient at the delay of the supplies of ammunition they had some time expected, provided themselves with bullets by melting down the leaden coffins in the tombs and church-vaults. The scandal excited, by thus irreverently stripping the dead, did them more prejudice than they seemed aware of. It was not merely viewed as a spoliation of the deceased, but as a sacrilegious violation of the sanctuary, under the protection of which they hoped to repose in peace.

The pretence alleged, by the French, for these indecencies, to give them the softest name, was, the immediate necessity of putting themselves in a posture of defence against the menaces of their enemies at the court of Naples, which had, through their instigation, manifested so much ill will to the friends of the French republic, that, not thinking themselves any longer safe in that kingdom, and in fact being ordered to quit it, they had emigrated to the territories of the Roman republic, to the amount of more than two thousand.

In consequence of these hostile appearances in Naples, the French troops at Rome took the field towards the frontiers of that kingdom, in order to afford protection to all their partisans, who might be expelled, and at the same time to keep in countenance those that remained. A great victory obtained by the British over the French fleet, on the coast of Egypt (of which we shall give an account in a subsequent chapter), had revived the spirits and hopes of their enemies, every where, especially in Italy, where those who, though subdued, had not adopted their principles,

ciples, were numerous in all the republics they had founded, and where the people of Naples, the only country they had not subjugated, were zealous in the interest of their sovereign, and willing to second his endeavours to resist the French, or, if necessary, to take active measures against them.

Such, at this period, being the real situation of affairs in this part of Italy, the French were busily employed in preparing to meet the storm that was gathering, and which they conjectured would only be deferred until the requisite arrangements had been made between the courts of Vienna and Naples, of which the hostile dispositions were now manifest. The universal exultation expressed in those two monarchies at the destruction of the French fleet by the English, and the honours paid every where to admiral Nelson, sufficiently indicated how cordially they rejoiced in his success, and how warmly they were devoted to the cause in which he had conquered.

In order to counteract, by every means that could be devised, the anti-revolutionary spirit which their oppressive conduct began to diffuse, they had recourse to the same species of publications with which the violent republicans at Paris animated their partizans, and to the same sort of theatrical representations. The well-known tragedy of the Death of Cæsar, written by Voltaire, was acted with great magnificence on one of their solemn festivals, and no opportunities, either of this, or of a similar nature, were omitted, that could infuse republican ideas into the public mind.

Severe measures were, at the same time, exercised against their known

or suspected opponents. All the French emigrants, at Rome, were seized and imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and deprived of the assistance they had hitherto derived from friendship or charity. These hardships fell in a particular manner on the Italian ecclesiastics, who were looked upon by their countrymen in the French interest, no less than by the French themselves, as the most irreconcilable and dangerous enemies to the new republic. For this reason they were singled out, every where, as the first objects of persecution. A law was enacted, authorizing the consuls to sentence to transportation, into any place beyond sea, which they might think proper, all individuals of the secular or the regular clergy, whom they considered as dangerous to the safety of the state, or capable of endangering it, by their actions, their discourses, or their opinions. Their property to be sequestered, and remain out of their disposal, till settled in the place of their banishment. In case of return to the territory of the republic, they were to be sentenced to death by a military tribunal.

Another law was framed, by which benefices became national property, at the demise of the incumbents. In virtue of the spirit of this law, it was ordained, that pensions paid to ecclesiastics, or other exiles, should, at their demise, become payable to the state. This, it was observed, would affect, in the speediest manner, that could have been contrived, the dissolution of all the ecclesiastical orders, and leave no more than were indispensably necessary for parochial functions. And this, indeed, was the very intention of the framers of this law.

After

After providing, in this effective manner, for the total extinction of ecclesiastical power, the attention of the ruling powers, in conjunction with the French, was turned to the means of raising pecuniary supplies for the military, the services of which, it was conjectured, would shortly be wanted in the contest expected with Naples. An edict was therefore framed, by which three millions of piasters were placed in the hands of the consuls, for the use of the army.

This expectation of hostilities, on the part of Naples, was reasonably founded. General Mack had been dispatched, by the imperial court, to organize the Neapolitan army on the Austrian plan, and was, at this time, exerting all his abilities and diligence to this purpose. As soon as this could be effected, it was believed that a declaration of war would issue from the court of Naples, which had made the greatest efforts, and collected the largest army known in that kingdom for ages.

In all these preparations for war, and in all the measures and regulations adopted by the republican government of Rome, upon this, as well as every occasion, it was evidently the passive instrument of France. Though sufficiently inclined to another government than that of the pope, the popular party was desirous to establish one that should embrace and satisfy all parties, and was particularly averse to innovation in religious matters. The diminution of the ecclesiastical power excepted, little alteration had been intended by the party that sought a revolution. It was therefore with the deep, but secret resentment peculiar to the Ita-

lian disposition, that the Romans felt the heavy hand that oppressed instead of easing them. Numbers, doubtless, had so far entered into French principles and plans, as to prefer them, to all others; but a far greater majority disapproved of them, and would have rested at less than half way. But the fact was, that throughout the whole of the Roman revolution the French were absolute dictators, as they had been every where on a similar emergency. Their influence had been so carefully provided for in the present instance, that it was actually specified in the constitutional instrument of government, that during the first ten years of the republic, the commander of the French forces, at Rome, should possess a negative on all the proceedings of the government and legislature. This was a stretch of power, which the French had not exercised in the formation of any other state. It was an affront that sunk deep into the minds of the Romans, who naturally thought themselves more competent to the management of their own affairs, than a nation of strangers, so different from them in character, notions, habits, and a variety of other considerations. The principal object of the leading men in Rome, was, therefore, to free themselves, without offending the French, from the unceasing interference these assumed in all affairs, great and small, to the just indignation of the former, to whom it soon became insupportable. Such, however, was their judgement and sagacity in obviating, or modifying, the precipitate measures pursued or recommended by the French, that in the general destruction or dilapidation effected by these, they found means to re-
tain

tain some institutions, which, though founded on superstition, were become essential resources for the exigencies of the state. The most considerable of these were the several offices from which the bulls and briefs, and the many other instruments of spiritual authority, had issued during so many ages. These, and others of a similar kind, were still suffered to subsist, notwithstanding the repugnance of the violent reformers. As their annual produce was computed at not less than three millions of French livres, this was a fund that prudence forbade to part with at a period of such pecuniary scarcity. It was a happy circumstance for Rome, that religious motives induced the catholic states, in Europe, to continue their spiritual subjection to the papal see; the jurisdiction of which, though suspended by temporary causes, they doubted not would recover its former exercise and influence. This persuasion, though derided by the French, and those who adopted their principles, was of great efficacy in supplying many deficiencies, which must without it have occasioned much private as well as public calamity. The sale of conventual lands, with the suppression and plunder of monasteries and churches, had raised large sums; but they were quickly consumed by the exigencies of the state, and still more by the avidity of the French, who, like most other invaders, thought themselves entitled, by the right of conquest, to dispose of whatever they could lay their hands upon, and indiscriminately seized every species of property.

While Rome, under the direction of France, was preparing to carry the revolutionary spirit into Naples,

the unhappy Pius, driven from the pontifical throne into exile, was endeavouring, by the consolations of religion, to reconcile himself to his destiny. He had, while head of the catholic church, displayed an attachment to exterior greatness, which induced the public to think that he would have been weighed down by misfortune, and have proved utterly unable to support the fatal reverse that befel him. But he met his trials with the decency of resignation, if not with the spirit of fortitude, and by the unshaken firmness of his conduct, interested all people in his sufferings. Reduced to the private enjoyments of a tranquil life in the monastic retirement he had chosen, it is highly probable that he might have continued in a peaceable existence several years longer, if the politics of France had permitted it. But the rancour of the French government seemed determined to persecute him to the last moment he had to live. The meanness of the ancient Romans, in pursuing Hannibal through every country, wherein he took refuge, was not more despicable than the solicitude of the French, in expelling Pius from the retreats where he had hoped to have been left unmolested. Offended probably at the reverence shewn to his person, and the sympathy manifested for his misfortunes, which appeared a tacit condemnation of their behaviour to him, they were determined to deprive the catholic princes of this opportunity of acting in contradiction to them.

He had escaped a remarkable danger in his retirement at Sienna. An earthquake threw down several buildings in the neighbourhood of that where he resided, which was a convent, and received also some damage.

mage. From this place he removed to a Carthusian monastery near Florence. Here he flattered himself that he should end his days in peace, and cheerfully expressed his expectation, that, after going through so many storms, he should here find a port at last.

It has been an object of speculation, what motives prompted the government of France to disturb the repose of an old man, incapable of giving them any cause of apprehension, and who, they well knew, was weary of public affairs, and sincerely desirous to pass the remainder of his life in peace, and at a distance from the world. But the vain-glory of upholding their own determinations in preference, and in contempt, as it were, of the opinion of others, may have probably been the motive of the harsh treatment they inflicted on the pope.

Nor ought the subserviency of the Roman catholic princes, on this occasion, to pass unnoticed or uncensured. The grand duke of Tuscany was wholly in their power, and cannot therefore be blamed for yielding to their mandates, in whatever related to the pope, or indeed to any other object: and yet it was not without a princely concern for the hard fate of the unfortunate pontiff, that he signified to him the necessity he was under to dismiss him from his dominions. The Imperial court was applied to for a place of refuge in his behalf; but, contrary to expectation, the request was refused. The protection of Spain was next resorted to, but with no better success. The refusal of a power, late so profoundly devoted to the Roman see, was a matter of astonishment to all Christendom. Nothing, it was generally observed,

could have more strongly demonstrated the fallen spirit of the Spanish monarchy, and its pusillanimous submission to the arbitrary mandates of the French republic.

After much wavering and consultation, on the fittest place for his residence, it was at length determined to remove him to the island of Sardinia. Here he would be at a distance from all scenes of intrigue, and neither could take an active nor passive share in the efforts of his adherents to restore him to his former power. Here, too, it seems, the French government was meditating to provide a place of banishment for another Italian prince, the very sovereign of the island appointed for the residence of the pope.

Whether through grief at seeing himself the sport of fortune in his latter days, or through the natural infirmities of age, Pius was at this period seized with a dangerous illness, which, it was thought, for some time, would have carried him to the grave. His removal now became impracticable, and the French government, unwilling to incur the imputation of having purposely abridged his days, left him for the present unmolested.

The personal sufferings of a sovereign, venerable by the rank he held among Christian princes, and by his great age, and the patience with which he bore his calamities, had rendered him an object of respectful attention through all Europe. Both protestants and catholics united in commiserating his condition, and reprobating the unnecessary and unfeeling severity with which he was treated by an unpitying conqueror, and upon pretexts that were unjustifiable, as they were evidently unfounded.

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In this general sense and compassion for his misfortunes, neither his religion nor his character interfered. Pius VI. was not irreproachable in his public or in his private capacity; but adversity had drawn a veil over his errors and trespasses, and the courage with which he supported his fate gave him a dignity which he had not commanded at the highest summit of his past elevation. In this light his fall was advantageous to him, as it procured him a reputation he would not have otherwise attained.

His reign, it has been said, was a continued series of mistakes: but the truth was, that he reigned at a time when both his temporal and spiritual subjects were almost equally ungovernable, and when not only the authority of the Roman catholic church was shaken to its foundations, but when even the Christian religion itself was called in question, and assailed with more enmity and virulence than it had experienced in any former ages.

From the time that Pius mounted the papal throne, he may, without exaggeration, be said to have ruled in a perpetual storm. Hosts of enemies arose on every side, and he was thwarted at home and abroad with much more obstinacy than his predecessors. With abilities of an inferior class, he had almost incessantly to contend with difficulties of the highest; and the weapons that he used in the contest, had long been blunted and worn out; for such certainly were the arguments and reasonings he brought forward to support his pontifical authority.

Inauspiciously for the tranquillity

of his people, as well as for his own, he was not at liberty to embrace a system of neutrality in the agitations that followed the French revolution. He was bound, in duty to his spiritual character, to anathematise the proceedings that overturned the Gallican church. But it may justly be questioned, whether he ought in policy to have moved any farther, and whether, by abstaining from interference in its civil concerns, and submitting to the loss of the inconsiderable territory which he possessed in France, he might not have secured the peace of the Roman see, and transmitted the papal dignity to others unmolested and undiminished, together with the temporal power and dominions annexed to it, and which no potentate in Europe was inclined to lessen.

It is chiefly for his conduct in this latter instance, that he has been censured. Others indeed have justified him on the principles of the coalition, to which he could not decently refuse his concurrence against a people accused of aiming at a fundamental subversion of all religion and government. But without entering into a discussion upon this subject, when it is considered, of how little weight the papal power was in the scale, that he had nothing to gain through the success of the coalition, and, if it failed, he had all to lose, which unfortunately proved the case, it would, consistently with the plainest policy, have been more prudent to preserve a neutrality that might eventually be beneficial to himself, than to act a part that could be of no utility to others.

C H A P. VI.

The French System introduced into the United Provinces.—State of Parties there.—Reasonings in Favour of a Republican Constitution.—A Deed approving this, called the constitutional Test, subscribed by great Numbers.—Among whom a Majority of the acting Legislature.—Which constitutes itself the sole governing and legislative Power of the Batavian Nation.—All provincial Governments or Jurisdictions abolished.—And a Directory or Executive Government appointed.—Congratulations of the French Ambassador on this new Order of Things.—Which was also warmly approved by the generality of the Dutch Inhabitants of Cities.—Proclamations.—Representations and Addresses henceforth confined to single Individuals.—A severe Blow against Freedom.—And which Causes a just and general Alarm.—Consequences in the late Changes in the Constitution of the Seven Provinces.—Oppressive Measures of the new Government.—This overturned.—And an Appeal made to the Representatives of the Dutch People to be convened in a National Assembly.

AT the same time that the French republicans were employing force and intrigue to convert Switzerland, and the papal dominions into commonwealths upon their own plan, they were not less anxious to introduce it into the seven united provinces that now went by the name of Batavia. The two years, 1795 and 1796, had elapsed in successive trials to frame a constitution acceptable to the natives: but this attempt was strongly impeded by the long rooted attachment of numbers of them to the former system, under which they had become the most thriving and prosperous people in Europe, and had figured, as a state of the first consideration, during the space of two centuries; this proved an obstacle that could not easily be removed

from their minds. The dismission of the Stadtholder from the official dignities so long in the possession of his family, though acquiesced in by the majority, was not however a circumstance of which the necessity appeared indispensable to any but the French party. Previously to the revolution in France, the general opinion of the Dutch was, that the power and prerogatives annexed to that office ought to have been reduced within their ancient limits, but not abolished. It was the decisive part taken by the Stadtholder and his adherents in the coalition, that offended the popular party so much, as to incline them to favour, with equal decision, the cause of France; the depression of which by its enemies, would not only confirm the power of the house of Orange,

Orange, but set it above all controul, and wholly frustrate the views of those who sought to diminish, though not to destroy it. But they were now reduced to make their option between the Stadtholder and the French; and they unfortunately preferred the latter, whom they unwisely thought to conciliate as allies, but who became their absolute masters, and loaded them with a heavier yoke than they ever had, or could ever have experienced from the house of Orange.

Reflections of this kind were obvious to all impartial people, who still constituted a large proportion of the inhabitants of the seven provinces. But as the favourers of the French, if not the plurality, were equal in numbers to those who disapproved of their principles and proceedings, and far superior to them in resolution and activity, the opposition they met was rather indirect than bold and open: the utmost it could do, was to retard and impede the progress of that system which was to overthrow the ancient constitution of the several provinces. These, by their long standing, claimed a sort of prescriptive right, which was vigorously maintained by the most ancient and respectable families, in the possession of whom the powers and the dignities in the respective provinces, that formed the union, had remained uninterruptedly for a long course of years. But this was the very reason that was urged against the continuance of those constitutions, which partook too largely of aristocracies, to be suffered any longer to subsist. The democratic party complained, that, by perpetuating the feudal government, its abuses would also remain; and though elections might take

place, yet the interest and influence of a long settled oligarchy, exclusively exercising provincial authorities, would with facility accumulate the votes of the multitudes within their districts. The only real basis of a free constitution was therefore to throw those different parts of the Dutch confederation into one.—Hereby the interests of all would be consolidated, and the people no longer divided by local and separate considerations. After a multiplicity of debates, the convention that had been assembled, to frame a constitution, separated without coming to a decision. It was replaced by a meeting of delegates, in whom the legislative power was provisionally vested. But notwithstanding that they were possessed of a considerable degree of popularity, they were intermixed with some individuals, who formed a powerful opposition to the measures they had in contemplation, and who seemed resolved to make a stand against the alterations ultimately projected by the ruling majority.

As these alterations coincided with the dispositions and wishes of that party which was most intimately connected with the French, and relied upon its support in case of an emergency, they more openly recommended as proper to be adopted, and the opposers of them were spoken of with disapprobation and enmity.

It was with secret pleasure the French government beheld the determination of its partisans in Holland, to conduct matters to the same issue at which they had arrived in so many other places. The politics and vanity of the French, were equally gratified by the transactions of this kind which they were so indefatigable

fatigable in promoting. Europe hereby gradually assumed the style and manners of France, and was taught to look upon this imitation as conducive to its interest: and those who thought otherwise were silenced by the dread of those violent factions, to which the French consigned the sovereign power every where under their own immediate direction.

The phlegmatic temper of the Dutch is proverbial, but then it operates only in the ordinary occurrences of life: when worked upon by uncommon motives, they are liable to great warmth, and act with astonishing violence. Never did the Dutch more strongly verify, than at this period, the character so often ascribed to them. Actuated by the secret emillaries of France, and roused by their representations of the treacherous designs that were forming against them, the Dutch republicans came to a conclusive determination to put an end to the delays that procrastinated the establishment of a constitution, and to hesitate no longer in fixing upon such an one, as should unite the inhabitants of the seven provinces into one people, by uniting the different parts of the republic into one state or country.

The attempts, hitherto made to form a new constitution, originated, they said, in private ambition. It was the concerted scheme of a patrician faction, aiming to place on the shattered throne of the stadtholder, an assemblage of particular families, which, under the pretence of a democratic representation, would exercise the powers of that abrogated office, in conjunction with those they would derive from a pretended election by the free voice of the people, but in reality limited by

artifice and corruption, to persons only of their own class. For, of such unavoidably must every choice consist, while made under the plenitude of that power, which must necessarily remain in the hands of men whose official situations would keep every elector in awe.

They farther accused the federalists, as they called them, of siding explicitly with the adherents of the proscribed government, and of ill-treating well known patriots, for daring to expose their intrigues. They sought, by various obstacles, to prevent the organization of the national militia, in order to weaken the state, and lay it open to foreign attacks. The trade with England was connived at, in defiance of the law, and to the manifest detriment of the common cause. The interest of England was preferably consulted to that of either France or Holland. A sacrifice had been made to that capital enemy, of the remaining naval strength of the republic, and it was with repugnance that any pains were taken to repair its losses, and to replace it on a footing of respectability.

It was time, they said, to rise, as their friends and deliverers, the French, had done in their own country, against the concealed efforts of a treacherous faction, that sought to blunt the edge of the public spirit, and to discourage the efforts of the patriotic party. They had withheld, during three years, the settlement of the republic, in hope of some opportunity of overturning it, before it had acquired a maturity of vigour; and of calling in the assistance of some new coalition against France and its allies. It was therefore incumbent on all the friends of their country, to run

no farther risk by imprudent delays, but to proceed at once to a firm establishment of a republican constitution, without consulting any but the real and avowed friends of freedom.

This was the language held by the violent partizans of French measures, during the space that elapsed between the victory of admiral Duncan, and the period fixed upon to bring forward the business to which that language was to serve as a prelude. When the principal agents in this business had sufficiently matured the scheme, they proceeded to collect the signatures of all that agreed in the fundamental articles of the constitution they had in view, and of the provisional arrangements that were to precede it. The act to be thus signed, was called the constitutional test, and it soon was subscribed by great numbers. Among these were the majority of the acting legislature, which, indeed, was at the head of the designs in agitation.

As soon as these were deemed ripe for execution, the president of the legislature convoked it early on the morning of the twenty-second of January, 1798. Here it was immediately resolved to put under arrest the six commissioners of foreign relations, and to annul their commissions. These, with twenty-one members of the legislature, who were also arrested, it was thought necessary to secure, as being the heads of the opposition to the measures intended. After taking this step, the legislative body proceeded to the discharge of the order for calling together the national assembly, and constituted itself the sole governing and legislating power of the Batavian nation. All provin-

cial governments and jurisdictions were abrogated, and an executive government, or directory, was then appointed, to consist of five members, who were to receive their nomination and general instructions from the legislative body. All the committees established by the national assembly were dissolved, and replaced by others.

The French ambassador, who was in the mean time formally apprised of these transactions, repaired to the assembly, to offer his congratulations upon what they had done, and to signify with how much approbation it would meet from the government in France. The ministers of the foreign powers, in amity with the French and Batavian republics, received formal notice of the new order of things that had taken place, and Delacroix celebrated it by a sumptuous festival, to which they were all invited, together with the principal ruling members of the Batavian republic.

In the various speeches that were interchanged upon this occasion between them and the French minister, particular care was taken to introduce the subject of English tyranny upon the seas, and to invite all nations to make a common cause in resisting it with the utmost vigor and unanimity.

This great change in the affairs of the seven provinces was warmly approved by the generality of the burghers. The particular independence of every province had always occasioned differences among them all, whenever any proposal had been made not evidently beneficial to every one. The landed possessions of the ancient families, and their almost exclusive enjoyment of all places of power and profit, had long
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excited the jealousy of the other classes, notwithstanding the moderation with which the former had always enjoyed their superiority and exercised their power. The commonality, indeed, were much less inclined to them than to the stadtholder himself; and it was chiefly among the people at large that this prince counted his warmest adherents.

In the proclamations that were issued to the public, by the authors of those changes, it was easy to trace the genius that dictated them. They were evidently framed on the plans, adopted by the chief agents in the changes of this nature, that had taken place in France. A circumstance strongly prominent in both, was, the peculiar anxiety manifested by the people in power, to engross it as much as possible to themselves, and to obviate all public censures and expressions of discontent at their proceedings. In the proclamation, published on the twenty-second of January, immediately on the assumption of supreme power, by the national delegates, a clause was inserted, strictly forbidding the inhabitants of provinces, districts, towns, or any places, to make remonstrances, or present petitions, in their united or corporate capacity, either to the legislative body, or to the executive directory. Representations and addresses were henceforth confined to single individuals.

This, by the impartial public, was deemed the severest blow that could be given to civil liberty. The precedent set up by the French, instead of claiming imitation, ought carefully to have been avoided. The spirit of public liberty could only subsist by a public communication

of ideas, and the unrestrained exposition of them to the world, by united bodies of citizens, freely met to manifest their sentiments reciprocally to each other. This alone could give weight to them. The best advice, alone, and unsupported by the concurrence of others, fell unnoticed before the pride and arrogance of men invested with official power; but when it became the voice of many respectable characters, the most haughty and presumptuous would listen to it, however reluctantly; and the fear of offending the public would compel them to receive it with deference.

This tyrannical clause, it was said, decided at once the futility of all pretensions to greater freedom in a democratical institution that admitted it, than in a monarchy. The French, and now the Batavian, republic had imposed effectual silence on the public voice, which was the first step to stifle the private liberty of opinion, on which alone, however, liberty of every kind was founded. In England, the right of conferring together, and of addressing the king, or the legislature, in an united and corporate capacity, was legally secured to citizens lawfully assembled; until, indeed, it was shackled and impaired, though it is to be hoped only for a time, by the two noted acts of 1796: a prerogative evidently denied, by this restricting clause, both to the French and to the Batavians, notwithstanding their boast of a commonwealth, unfettered by despotic regulation.

Such were the judgements passed in Holland upon this restriction, as they had already been passed upon the similar restrictions that had preceded it in France, and from which

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it had been copied. It considerably lessened the popularity of the measures that had been adopted, and increased the number of those who had long beheld the entrance of the French into the seven provinces as the greatest calamity that had befallen them, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the establishment of the federal union.

The most fortunate circumstance attending it, was, that it occasioned no effusion of blood. To do justice to its authors and promoters, they conducted themselves, throughout the whole business, with remarkable lenity to their opponents. None of these experienced any severer treatment than the dismissal from office and power, and a temporary confinement, which terminated with the settlement of the new order of things.

In the summer preceding, during the debates in the Dutch national convention, the impatience of the French highly disapproved of the length of the deliberations in this assembly, and of its tardiness in coming to a settled constitution. But the members themselves were the more desirous to temporize, that they preserved, in a great measure, by delay, the federative government, of which they sought in reality to prevent the abolition. They considered it as more conducive to national independence than the junction of all the separate governments into one; which, by its very unity, would become more manageable. But when the French perceived this to be the motive of their procrastination, they soon determined to put an end to it; and, to adopt their own words, to render the Batavian republic, one and indivisible, like their own.

There were some speculators, both in France and Holland, who were of opinion, that, it would redound to the benefit of both countries to incorporate them at once, and to distribute the latter into a proper number of departments. The advocates of this measure, among the Dutch, pleaded the example of the Austrian Netherlands, and the contiguous provinces. By being united with France, they partook of the same privileges, and were entitled to the same treatment; whereas, by remaining a separate state, some difference of interest would always have subsisted, however intimately allied. In order, therefore, to remove all jealousies between the French and the Batavians, they should consolidate themselves into one nation. Until they consented to this union, their confidence in each other would not be perfect: the latter would not cordially submit to the contributions demanded of them, and be apt to consider them as levied much more for the convenience of an ally, too potent to be refused, than as an equitable contingent that ought to be granted. These arguments appeared reasonable to many, both among the Dutch and the French; and it was even hinted, that, if such a connection did not take place, the sole impediment was, that one of the parties derived more advantages by declining it.

This was a palpable insinuation, that the French were determined to load the Dutch with as heavy contributions as these could possibly support; but this was no more than the real truth. The immense opulence of this commercial people was viewed as fair booty by their rapacious conquerors. Though they

they abstained from private pillage, they had successfully practised public extortion, and still devoured, in expectation, the vast requisitions they kept, as it were, in reserve for future emergencies. The seven provinces were, in short, stored with so many objects for plunder and speculation, that it was not in the least surprising that every pretext should be formed, and every opportunity seized, of making the most of so rich a harvest.

In the mean time, the consequences of the great changes, operated in January, began to appear. As those from whom they had proceeded, though not sanguinary in their proceedings, were determined to exclude from office and power all who did not strictly and implicitly profess their principles; and, as they carried this determination into rigorous practice, they soon created numerous enemies, and these resolved to exert all their interest and activity to oust them, as they had done their opponents.

The party that had seized the sovereign power, and exercised it in this partial and arbitrary manner, was the counterpart of the jacobin faction in France, which it resembled in every particular, cruelty excepted. It expelled from their places a number of meritorious characters, and substituted others of ill or doubtful fame, and whose only title to preferment was, similitude of opinions, or devotion to their views. Men that had been sentenced to banishment, for criminal practices, were allowed to return, if of their party, without calling them to account; while an official scrutiny was established that made the most perplexing and vexatious inquiries into the conduct of

all those who were obnoxious to them. The reign of terrorism, that had filled France with so much calamity, was renewed in Holland, and spread alarm and anxiety through that part of the public which disapproved of their oppressive proceedings: proceedings which, unhappily, were patronized by a majority of the legislative body, and of the executive directory. Several members that had been expelled from the legislature, by those who now engrossed it, were, by a solemn decree, declared to have forfeited the confidence of their fellow-citizens, though well known as the constant, zealous, and long-tried, friends to the popular cause, for no other reason than having refused to concur with the ruling party, in its assumption of legislative power, without consulting their constituents. Under pretence of securing the public tranquillity, peaceable and innoxious citizens were molested; the privacy of families was invaded; and the freedom of conversation obstructed, by the sinister interpretation of words and behaviour in those who did not espouse with violence the cause of the ruling party.

Apprehensive that it was insecure of the public favour, this party carefully excluded from the primary assemblies numbers of spirited citizens, whom their illegal proceedings had exasperated. This they did by means of the oppressive scrutiny, that deprived of the right of voting every man whom it thought proper to pronounce disaffected and dangerous.

When the people had accepted the constitutional act, and determined, of course, in what manner their representatives should be elected, the sitting assembly passed a

decree, on the fourth of May, by which it declared itself the legislative body of the Batavian republic; thus depriving the people of the election of their legislators, without which there can be no republican government. This was so manifest a violation of popular rights, that it was loudly reprobated by the generality, as a measure which no reason of state, nor any pretence, could justify. It did more prejudice to the ruling party, and raised them more enemies, than any preceding or subsequent act of their administration.

This conduct, though neither popular nor secure, was countenanced by the French ambassador, Delacroix, hitherto esteemed a prudent and cautious man. But it was no less positively reprobated by general Daendels, a man of a bold and resolute disposition, and who explicitly signified his determination to oppose the measures of the ruling party, as contrary to the very nature of a commonwealth, of which he professed himself a decided partizan. He engaged in constant altercations with them, on account of their virulent publications against all who differed from their opinions, and of the feuds and divisions among the people, to which these and other parts of their conduct had given rise. He quarrelled with Delacroix for abetting their proceedings, which he represented as disorderly and unconstitutional, and tending to detach the Batavian people from the republican constitution they had accepted, and from their connection with France, as having occasioned all the confusions under which they now laboured.

General Daendels was a man of importance, both by his personal

character and the post he held in the Batavian republic; which was that of commander-in-chief of the French troops in its service, or, to speak with more propriety, stationed in the seven provinces to keep them in subjection to France. In this light, he thought himself entitled to rebuke the French ambassador, for alienating them, by his conduct, from France; their attachment to which, could only be secured by providing for their internal tranquillity, and procuring the speedy settlement of a free and equitable constitution.

Delacroix, who considered himself in a superior station to that of Daendels, paid no regard to his representations, which he treated as unfounded; and threatened, at the same time, to denounce him to the French directory, as interfering with matters out of his province. But Daendels was too firm and steady in his purpose to be intimidated: he went to Paris, and laid his information before the directory with so much force and address, that he obtained their intire approbation of his conduct. The French government, however eccentric and irregular itself, did not think it safe to permit the like deviations in others, from the line of conduct marked out for their observance. Though willing to grant them independence to a certain extent, this was not to exceed the strictest subordination to the interest and influence of France. It was, therefore, with the utmost dissatisfaction it beheld this assumption of power in the different parties that had alternately ruled in the seven provinces, the inhabitants of which it wished to conciliate, by giving them a constitution that should seem the work of their own hands.

hands, sanctioned by their acceptance, and confirmed by a due settlement. Good policy required, therefore, that they should not remain in a state of fluctuation, between the projects of the parties that were contending for their particular systems of government, but that these parties should be restrained to a conformity with the directions they received from France.

Armed with this determination of the directory, general Daendels returned to Holland, fully resolved to carry it into execution: but he found that advantage had been taken of his absence, to bring a charge against him of desertion from his post, with an intent to punish him with the utmost severity. He felt the temerity of the Dutch in pretending to treat in this manner an officer no ways dependent upon them, and who was, in fact, commissioned to watch over their own conduct, and keep them in awe. Stung with resentment and indignation, he did not hesitate a moment how to act. He assembled the principal of the discontented

party, and having concerted measures with them, he proceeded, at the head of two companies of grenadiers, to the palace of the Dutch directory. Two of them, being informed of his intentions, made their escape, one was seized, and the other two resigned their situations, as total strangers to the designs of the other three. Delacroix was also arrested, and sent to France, where his conduct was wholly disapproved, and himself disgraced, and dismissed from employment.

Delivered from his antagonists, general Daendels, and his associates, assumed the government into their own hands, declaring their power provisional, and to last no longer than till a national representation could be assembled, to which the intire authority of the state should immediately devolve, and the regulation of all affairs be wholly submitted. A proclamation was then issued to explain and justify the present transaction, and to apprise the public of the intentions above specified.

C H A P. VII.

Vast Conquests and formidable Position of France in the Middle of 1798.—And Designs of farther Aggrandizement.—Cause and Effects of the Enthusiasm of the French—And also of the high Spirit of the English.—Singular Method of injuring Sovereigns with their People, practised by the French Directory.—Duplicity and Perfidy of the French.—Boldness and Decision with which they propagate and predict the Success of their political Maxims.—Circumstances favourable to the Admission of these.—Sedulosity of the Directory to find out and employ in their Service, and their Liberality in rewarding, Men of Capacity in their own and other Countries.—Their Conduct, in this Respect, contrasted with that of other Countries.—Instability of the French Systems of Government.—Different Views and Principles of Conduct towards Crowned Heads adopted by different Parties.—All this Uncertainty an Objection to any Treaty for Peace, on the Part of the principal Members of the Coalition.—As little Confidence, on the Part of the Rulers of France, in the coalesced Princes.—No probable Prospect, therefore, of Peace.—Though this inestimable Blessing sighed for by both the French and English Nations.—General Complaints against the late Invasion, on the Fourth of September, 1797, of the Republican Constitution.—The Party of the Royalists, though concealed, still numerous in France—Continued Recriminations between the French and their Enemies.—Both Parties, in the Midst of pacific Professions, uniformly intent on hostile Plans.—French Influence and Tenets proposed to be extended to Spain.—And a Passage to be demanded through Spain into Portugal.—Whether would it have been better for the Powers at War with France to persevere in Arms at all Risks, or to induce the French, by Negotiations and Treaties, to return to peaceful Occupations?—The Spirit of the French Rulers raised to the highest Pitch of Pride and Arrogance.—Their affected Imitation of the Stateliness and concise and peremptory Style of the ancient Romans.—The Successes, and high Appellations bestowed by the Directory on the French Nation gratifying to the natural Vanity of the People.—And afford a very sensible Consolation to them under multiplied Hardships and Sufferings.—The Attachment of the French to their new Government farther courted by the Sale of Estates.—The general State of the great Mass of the French Nation.—The Policy and Plans of the two great Parties into which it was divided.

THE French revolution had now produced a total change in the political situation of all its continental neighbours. Spain, though not actually conquered, had been reduced, by the victorious arms of France,

France, to accept of a peace dictated by the victors, and was now become, in fact, a province of the French republic, profoundly subservient to its designs, and not daring to adopt any councils of its own formation. The seventeen provinces of the low countries, once the most flourishing and important part of Europe, were annexed to France partly by incorporation, and partly by an alliance, which, under the name of an independent republic, had established the absolute dominion of France. Switzerland, a country long reputed invincible, through the strength of its natural means of defence, and the courage of its inhabitants, had been subdued by artifice and deception. Italy, styled by the natives, the burying-ground of the French armies, had been the scene of their most astonishing victories, and of the most unexpected revolutions. Torn from the house of Austria, the spacious and fertile provinces of Lombardy had been erected into a nominal republic, under the protection, or, in more proper words, under the controul, of France. The long subsisting aristocracies of Venice and Genoa had been completely annihilated: the former of these was become the mutilated victim of French and Austrian rapacity, which had divided it in nearly equal shares: the latter, together with a democratical government, had assumed the title of the commonwealth of Liguria, though, by its proximity and incessant relations with France, it was in reality its outpost in Italy; and, through its incapacity to resist this powerful neighbour, was now the main channel of its operations in that country. The acquisition of the papal domi-

nions, under the splendid pretence of reviving the ancient republic of Rome, had increased the power of France to a degree that made it irresistible to the remaining potentates in Italy. Two of these, the king of Sardinia, and the duke of Tuscany, hardly retained the semblance of sovereigns; and the king of Naples stood on the most uncertain and precarious ground.

Such was the truly formidable and alarming position of France, in the middle of 1798. It had, in the fore part of the year, added Rome and Switzerland to its conquests, and was at present busily occupied in organizing them on a plan that should secure their future dependence, and render them useful to its farther designs.

What these were, was no matter of doubt in the political world.—The unparalleled success of their arms had equally elated the French, and broken the spirit of most of their enemies. The partisans of the French republic alleged its victories as an irrefragable proof of the superiority of a republican government to all others; and this allegation, supported by their success, had made a profound impression upon the European nations. However desirous of peace, and willing to submit to the forms of government established among them, numbers began to think, with the French, that the enthusiasm inspired by a persuasion of being free, added a vigour and elevation to the mind which a state of passive subjection could never reach. This persuasion, whether well or ill founded, was obviously the principal cause that rendered the French soldiers so intrepid and daring, and gave them so many advantages over the
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troops of the princes that had so vainly contended with them. The French were not certainly better tacticians, nor braver men, than the Germans. Previously to the revolution, these were held their superiors in war. Their officers were reputed more experienced, and their soldiers better disciplined, and not less brave. But experience, discipline, and bravery, had been constantly soiled by the French, and had not been able, even at the commencement of the contest, to stand before the impetuous and desperate valour of the republican armies.

These considerations were deeply mortifying to the courts of Europe. It was in vain alleged, that Great Britain, a monarchy, stood unconquered and unintimidated. The answer was, that the English were in as high a persuasion of their freedom as the French. The only difference between them was, that the latter had but newly acquired it, whereas it was of long standing with the former. An ancient rivalry also subsisted between these two nations, which had been marked by many splendid events, on the side of England. Though a less numerous people than the French, their glory was equal, and in some respects superior to that of this mighty nation, which, with the unremitting efforts of a whole century, had never been able to attain a parity of commerce, opulence, and maritime importance, with Great Britain, of which it stood in more dread than of any other power. These were deep-rooted motives of pride in Englishmen, and perpetually animated them to feats of the most obstinate valour, in their daily recurring contests at

sea with this inveterate enemy. A style of defiance, and a confidence of success, were traditional among the English, who never met him in battle without a firm expectation of victory, and seldom had been disappointed.

Thus the relations between the English and the French were very different from what they were between these and other nations.—Hence arose the rancour and animosity which filled the discourses so frequently pronounced against England by the rulers of France. It was with inextinguishable rage they beheld the spirit and strength of this country continually exerted in obstructing their designs and setting bounds to their ambition. It was a singular mortification to an ardent and self-confident people, who had compelled all the members of the coalition to bow before them, that the English not only held out themselves, but inspired the whole continent by their example, and, through their aid, to imitate their invincible perseverance in opposing them.

While this undesponding spirit subsisted, the French government was conscious that it would meet the most arduous, if not insurmountable difficulties, in the accomplishment of its projects. These were illimitably extensive. Nothing less than the revolutionizing all that part of the empire which bordered on the Rhine was in their conceptions, and almost in their immediate hope. Several trials had been made to this purpose; and the disposition of the people inhabiting these parts had been sounded by some of their expertest agents. The circles of Suabia, and the palatinate, had been traversed by the boldest and most adventurous

venturous of these. They had been discovered and seized, and papers found upon them, proving their connection with the directory.

Among other methods of injuring sovereigns with their people, they invested with diplomatic characters some of the most violent and outrageously-disposed individuals in the civil or military departments.—General Bernadotte, whom they sent ambassador to Vienna, after the peace of Campo Formio, was a man peculiarly calculated to infuse malevolence and discontent among the Austrian soldiery. He had been a private himself, and risen by his courage and military talents to the station he now filled. Of this he was particularly solicitous to spread the information among the imperial troops, and to let them know, that it was only since the revolution, that men of courage and capacity had a chance of being promoted, without reference to birth and titles. The intent of such a surmise was obvious, and could not fail to make the designed impression on the minds of aspiring and resolute men, determined to better their condition at all events.

An audacious behaviour in their agents, at foreign courts, never failed of encouragement and reward. The well-known Trouvé, a man of abilities, but of a licentious and turbulent spirit, for having obstinately refused to uncover himself before the king of Naples, upon a particular occasion, was not only commended for his conduct, but appointed minister plenipotentiary at the Cisalpine republic.

Their duplicity at this period was equally instrumental, in the promotion of their views, with force and violence. After settling

the terms of pacification with the king of Sardinia, he was solemnly promised the sincere and cordial friendship of France, while general Brune, who commanded in Lombardy, was clandestinely dispatching emissaries into Piedmont, in order to disseminate revolutionary principles among his subjects; and while Sottin, the French minister at the Ligurian republic, was privately encouraging the Piedmontese to revolt against him; and exciting the Genoese to attack his territories.

The same machinations were practised in Tuscany, where the country was filled with concealed propagators of rebellious doctrines, while the duke received the most flattering assurances of the readiness of the directory to support him, in maintaining his authority and suppressing all insurrections.

In these various missions, some of the most notorious actors in the revolution were employed. None acquitted themselves with more zeal and fidelity, in the propagation of republicanism, than the jacobins: active, and indefatigable, they industriously seized every opportunity to recommend the subversion of all governments repugnant to that established in France, which they confidently represented as destined, in the course of things, ultimately to take place of all others. Thus they scrupled not to predict, that soon or late, and sooner than was expected by those who did not consult the progress of revolutionary ideas, commonwealths would infallibly arise on the ruins of the present monarchies, and that all Europe would infallibly be republicanized, in despite of the opposition of princes, and of those orders of men that
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were interested in supporting them. These orders they represented as so evidently hostile to the common interests of society, that they would not be able to maintain their existence much longer, in the enlightened state at which that part of the public was arrived, in whom the decision of the great questions, now agitated, manifestly lay. Force, and the dread of punishment, would doubtless retard awhile these revolutions, but, as they were already operating in the minds of men, they would certainly force their way through all the intervening obstacles contrived by public authority. This depending also upon opinion, which was declaring gradually in favour of their opponents, these would become so numerous and powerful, that it would be found the safest policy to go over to them.

Such were the notions advanced by the agents of the French government. They maintained them with that warmth and confidence which characterize the French beyond all other men. The boldness and decision with which they insisted upon the truth and equity of their maxims, made a strong impression upon those multitudes that were at variance with their rulers, on account of either real or supposed mismanagement. Nor is it in the least surprising, that, many of these maxims, being founded on the clearest justice, their popularity should secure the favourable reception of the others, which, though not less true in some respects, required more discrimination in the acceptance of them, and more discernment in their use and application, than fall to the generality of those

to whom they were addressed, and to whose expectations they held out such bright promises, that they were deemed fully deserving of a trial.

A circumstance that argued highly in their favour, was that they were opposed, principally, by those that were to be the losers through their admission. The opposition of such adversaries was considered as personal and interested, and for that reason carried no weight, as not proceeding from conviction of its rectitude. Another circumstance, not less, if not indeed much more impressive in favour of these maxims, was, that they were eagerly embraced, and supported with the utmost fervour, by great numbers of respectable individuals, equally noted for their sense and probity, as well as by persons conspicuous for genius and learning. Nor could it be denied that several of the authors and promoters of the revolution itself were men of this description.

When all these circumstances were laid together; when it was recollected, that one of the most virtuous and patriotic monarchs upon the continent, the late unfortunate Stanislaus, king of Poland, so far approved of the American and the French revolutions, as to select out of the constitutions to which they had given birth, one that all the judicious and impartial pronounced excellently adapted to the kingdom, of which he had been elected the sovereign, principally on account of his personal worth and high character:—when all these considerations were brought forward, it surely could excite no wonder, that the advocates of the French revolution should extol it

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as a meritorious event, and that those who pleaded the necessity of converting the French monarchy into a republic should meet with numerous approvers, as they alleged that all had been retained of the theory and practice grafted upon the revolution, excepting the regal office, and that even this was still exercised in a manner which was judged, by the majority, more consistent with the safety of national freedom, than when it was vested in the hands of one person.

With such allegations in their mouths, and with that prepossession in their favour, which naturally arose from the most brilliant exploits, the champions of revolutionary and republican principles, would probably, in the opinion of their employers, carry them triumphant through that vast portion of human society, which, having little or nothing to lose, is never averse to the trying of experiments to ameliorate its situation. The numbers coming under this description, being much larger than usually suspected, the profelytes gained by the emissaries of France, would of course be far more numerous than was imagined by the adversaries of these principles, who being commonly people of a contented and pacific disposition, and inimical to innovations, or having no reason to be dissatisfied with their condition, were strangers to the infinity of motives that render men desirous of changes, and willing to run the risk of any that offer, however hazardous in the prospect.

These positions were familiarly known, through long experience, to the principal revolutionists in France,

who were, originally, men of desperate, or of narrow fortunes, and intimately conversant with those multifarious ways and means of combating with difficulties in private life, that necessity so often imposes upon men of parts who happen to be pinched in their circumstances. Bred in the intrigues and corruption of the capitol, they beheld, with the liveliest satisfaction, such an opportunity of making a figure in the great world, and of arriving at the most splendid situations, as that which was offered them by the revolution. They became, therefore, its most determined partisans, and experimentally conscious how many individuals there were in all countries, precisely in the situation wherein the revolution had found them, they resolved to trust to these for the accomplishment of the schemes they had in contemplation. Hence arose their confidence, that their emissaries would meet every where with friends and promoters in those persons of characters similar to their own, that abounded in every part of Europe, and especially in the seats of government, where the chief business of their agents lay.

Another engine of directorial policy, was the acquisition, at any price, of persons of abilities, in the courts of foreign princes. Their liberality was such, on these occasions, that they never failed to succeed. There was, at this period, at Vienna, a man intimately connected with the imperial ministry, and who was wholly at their devotion. Being a secret jacobin, he exerted himself, with great zeal, and no little success, in spreading his opinions indirectly, and with an adroitness that effectually shielded him from discovery.

covery. So profoundly was the secret kept, that it was never detected at the imperial court.

But it was not only here that they had agents of this character. The profusion with which they recompensed services of this nature, and the readiness, for various reasons, of individuals of capacity to embrace their opinions, and act in their cause, had procured them adherents in every court upon the continent. A variety of passions militated in their favour; avarice, ambition, jealousy, discontent. Those who resisted the one, were not proof against the other; and princes, with all their precautions, were liable to be led astray by the ablest and most faithful of those whom they trusted, through the ill-placed confidence of these in persons who betrayed them.

Thus, without straining the point, it might be truly affirmed, that as France was governed, at this time, by the most artful and dextrous of its own people, men who, having waded through many vicissitudes, were acquainted with all the scenes and transactions of private and public life, the French ministers were naturally an over match in the science of intrigue and circumvention, to their adversaries who presided over affairs in foreign parts, especially as these had not only to encounter the artifice and dexterity of the French, but of those individuals among themselves, who, from several causes, were attached to the politics of France.

Such was the relative situation between France and its enemies at this epocha. On the one side men profoundly versed in all kind of experience; on the other, men pre-

ferred to high stations in the state, according to the long standing usages of birth and family. The organization of armies was no less opposite on either side: military talents and merit deciding all promotions on the one, rank and title being almost the only road to promotion on the other.

A particular, not less deserving of consideration, was the instability of the systems of government so frequently succeeding each other in France. Though they all agreed in their enmity to the powers that formed the coalition, they differed in their opinions in what manner to act with them. Every system introducing new men into power, their politics were usually different, some being determined to admit of no treaty with a crowned head, which of course implied the destruction of every monarchy; others being willing to grant peace to those princes that submitted to their own terms.

This uncertainty respecting the views of those who might, in the course of so many successive changes, happen to govern the affairs of the republic, was a strong objection to treat with them on the part of the principal member of the coalition. Convinced of the implacable hatred of the French to England, that member, which had, from its first formation, been the chief support of the European league of kings against France, could not be prevailed upon to trust a people on which it had inflicted such severe wounds, and which had, repeatedly, vowed inexorable vengeance, when it seriously reflected on the precarious situation of those with whom it might conclude a pacification.

tion. This it was clear, might, in the lapse of a very short space, be disavowed and broken by any party that ousted them that made it, and succeeded to their power, on the pretext of their having made a treaty contrary to the sense and interest of the nation.

Though the same apprehensions were not explicitly acknowledged by the other members of the coalition, they were not without them. Necessity alone had compelled them to negotiate with France. It was only when they were brought to the brink of destruction, that Spain and Austria consented to treat. Never otherwise would these two courts have entered into any forms of accommodation with a people that had put their sovereign to death upon a scaffold.

Nor did any more confidence exist in the governors of the French republic, respecting the good faith of the coalesced princes. The motive for their taking up arms was undeniably to revenge the death of a fellow sovereign, and, by restoring royalty in France, to secure it in their own dominions. Hence the republicans were intimately persuaded, that while the European princes retained the power, they would infallibly retain the will to destroy them: no treaties would stand in the way of this determination, which would be executed the moment they could be violated with any prospect of safety and success.

Such being the real case between the sovereigns of Europe, and the heads of the French republic, little, or rather no, sincerity could be expected in their mutual assurances of pacific inclinations. The mass of the people, both in France and

elsewhere, labouring under the calamities of war, were almost regardless under what government they lived, provided peace were restored. But, as the wishes of the public are usually of not much weight in the councils of those who govern them, the termination of the war seemed as far remote as ever.

The power of that party in France, which was averse to peace, and determined to follow up the success of the republican arms, by the entire overthrow of all princes, had been so decisively fixed by the events of September, 1797, that, since that epocha, it had ruled with irresistible sway, and had confirmed all politicians in the persuasion, daily gaining ground, that either the French republic must be destroyed, or all Europe revolutionized.

The firmest obstacle to this last event, was, at the same time, looked for in France itself. The people there had now ample proofs before them, that their sovereignty was an illusion. Their representatives had not been able to assert the rights of the public, nor to secure the freedom of their own persons. Both had been trampled on by the executive power, aided by the military. Thus the sole difference between the late and the present government, was, that in the former the supreme power had been lodged in the hands of a single person, and that in the latter it was in the hands of five.

This was manifestly an invasion of the republican constitution, the essence of which consisted in the supremacy of the people, exercised by the medium of those whom they elected for that purpose. The violation of their deputies was an act of high treason against the commonwealth,

wealth; and while unpunished, the boasted liberty of France had no existence, and was an imposition upon the credulity of the nation. It was, in fact, the worst of oligarchies, from the narrowness of its confinement, the extent of the powers it assumed, and the severity with which it exercised them.

These complaints were very general, and the more dangerous for being well-founded. They produced the effect of rendering the directory extremely circumspect in the use of its authority, and of carrying it no farther than absolutely requisite for the securing themselves and their adherents from the attempts of their antagonists, numbers of whom were justly suspected of being royalists, under the name of republicans, and of aiming to subvert the directorial power, in order to re-establish that of the crown.

The party that adhered to the directory could not deny that it had been guilty of excessive stretches of authority upon several occasions; but still they asserted, that though unconstitutional they were not unjustifiable: the republic could not, without them, have been preserved; and had it fallen, the ancient despotism would, unavoidably, have returned. The complaints against the present system proceeded solely from those who sought to overturn it, and to bring back the former. It had, doubtless, its flaws and imperfections; but the disorders and confusions that had accompanied it, originated in its enemies. It was, obviously, much better calculated than monarchy, to promote, equally, the well-being of the people at large. Every man of industry and talents could rise as high as they

would carry him, without meeting with obstructions from pride or prejudice. Every citizen could, in time, become a director; every soldier a general. Courage, capacity, and public services, were now the only road to popular favour, and the most honourable and exalted stations. Would any honest man assert they were the same under the monarchy? The first duty of government was to promote activity and emulation: this the present system did far beyond the monarchy, which held out great honours and rewards only to privileged classes, and thereby extinguished in all others, that hope of adequate remuneration, which is the most powerful incentive to great actions.

The directory, they granted, behaved like men who knew that their lives were forfeited, should the monarchy be restored: but this was a fortunate circumstance for the republic, of which, from that motive, they must necessarily prove the most vigorous and the most faithful defenders. They were, therefore, the more deserving of trust for that reason; and instead of blaming them for the strong measures to which they sometimes had recourse to, it were only doing them justice, to believe that they took none that were not warranted by the most pressing necessity.

True it was that the French government entertained spies and emissaries in foreign countries, and that these were commissioned to procure adherents to republicanism, and well-wishers to France. But with how ill a grace did the enemies to the republic impute this as a crime to its rulers? Was not France full of royal agents, who
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strove, indefatigably, to excite the people against the established government?

France had been accused of stripping every country of its contents without moderation or mercy: but it remained to be proved, that its enemies, if victorious, would not have treated it in the same manner, if not a worse. If their threats were a proof of their intentions, and these were usually more to be dreaded than menaces, the condition of France, if conquered, would have been woeful indeed. The enemies of the republic ought to recollect with what inveteracy and virulence they expressed themselves in whatever related to its defenders, and to the foes of monarchy. These had every inducement to be persuaded, that they would have experienced unbounded severity, had the fortune of war declared for the coalition. The barbarous usage of these Frenchmen who, though revolutionists, had espoused the cause of royalty, and made it a part of the constitution, shewed without the admission of any doubt, what the fate of the republican chiefs themselves must have proved, had they fallen into the same hands.

Amidst these continual recriminations, so violently pointed at each other by the French and their numerous enemies, they both equally persisted in every hostile plan they could reciprocally frame. As all confidence was departed from the mutual intercourse which was occasionally necessary between them, little prospect remained of its ever conducing to the general advantage. So rootedly was the directory convinced of the fixed determination of foreign powers to circumvent them, that, while the strongest

propositions of pacific propensities were held upon each side, they still continued the arrangement and the execution of hostile schemes. Thus it was that, regardless of the negotiations proposed and accepted between the empire and the republic, and which were viewed by many as preliminary to a general pacification, the French took that very opportunity to execute their projects in Switzerland and Italy.

Exclusive of these, and the many others already accomplished, others still of much greater magnitude were ascribed to the French government at this time. Ever since the conclusion of peace with Spain, the republican ministers at the Spanish court had been employed in paving the way for the introduction of material changes in that country. Partizans to the system established in France were sought and procured in the highest ranks: some were acquired through argument and persuasion, and some, it was said, were purchased. The task of winning over the inferior classes, was committed to those numbers of itinerant Frenchmen, who have, time out of mind, been used to travel in every part of Spain, as mechanics and artificers of every denomination. Some of the best officers in the French service had been employed in Spain, during the late war, and were perfectly acquainted with the localities of that country. The inhabitants were much altered in their character; and, since the accession of the present monarch to the throne, had lost, in a great measure, that attachment to their sovereigns, for which they had been as much noted as any people in Europe. They too began to cast a critical and censorious eye upon the nobility and the

the clergy, and to reason upon the expediency of reforms in both these orders of men, whose immense riches were looked upon with an eye of avidity by the less scrupulous, and not without discontent by the most moderate, as bearing too much disproportion in the general scale of property. The wealth of the clergy, of the monastic orders particularly, excited great murmurs in the labouring and industrious, and indeed in all the other classes of the community. These dispositions, in former days unknown, and but lately apparent, were fomented, with all care, by the emissaries of France, and were daily increasing, to the serious alarm of the friends to the long-standing system in church and state. The internal situation of Spain, in other respects, offered no consolation to these. The inactivity of immense multitudes, either from want of employment, or native indolence, the discontent of the middling sort, from the stagnation of business, were objects of a dangerous nature, and the more to be dreaded that they appeared without remedy.

It was not, therefore, without foundation, that the republicans entertained some hopes of extending their tenets into Spain, and of reaping the fruits of them sooner than Europe was aware. The Italians, they alleged, were not less devoted to priestly influence than the Spaniards, and yet they had thrown it off, or been taught greatly to disregard it. This was a precedent strongly militating for an attempt to carry the same ideas into Spain, that were now so widely spread throughout Italy. The alliance with the Spanish monarch did not form the least obstacle to the designs of France. Were they to succeed, the

Spaniards, his own subjects, would be the ostensible instruments employed in their execution; and to them would be committed the charge of disposing properly of their own sovereign. It might be objected, that the majority of the Spanish nation would not coincide with such measures: but activity and resolution were the great and successful agents in all cases of this nature: and herein it was that the republicans and jacobins, for they were synonymous terms, exceeded all others: whatever they had undertaken they had performed, wherever it had been practicable. Though, apparently, in a state of depression, their spirit could not be kept under; their enterprising disposition was still alive; their friends subsisted, and acted under another name and other pretences; the rulers of the French republic were jacobins, and their principles reigned triumphant in all the staunch adherents to republicanism, which was, in fact, founded upon them, though not upon the violence and outrageousness that had characterised its original champions in France. Such were the speculations of many of the French jacobins.

Warned by the fate that had attended so many of these, and by the general odium which their conduct had drawn upon their party, they were become more circumspect, but not less daring. They had renounced the atrocious maxims that had rendered them objects of execration, and only retained that audacity and promptitude in execution which gave them such advantages over their antagonists. Hence, they were, in reality, more likely to succeed in their undertakings, than while governed by that impetuous ferocity

ferocity which impelled them to the shedding of so much blood, and united all parties against them.

Relying upon the strength to which they fondly hoped the jacobinical party would gradually arise in Spain, their instigators and associates in France had formed sanguine expectations, that the day might come when they would triumph at Madrid as they themselves had done at Paris. But were they not to find themselves in sufficient force to carry so arduous a point, pretexts might, with facility, be found to come to their assistance. The difference yet unsettled, between Portugal and the republic, would afford occasion for the demand of a passage through Spain to a French army: this obtained, and it could not well be refused, both Spain and Portugal would fall by the same blow; unless it should be supposed, that a remnant of the spirit that once animated these two nations should rouse them from their degeneracy, and excite them to oppose this attempt upon their independence. But this was improbable, considering the number of the disaffected whom the French would find in both these kingdoms, especially the first, and of whose co-operation they were secure.

Were this mighty project to be effected, and the French did not despair of effecting it, the most difficult task would be performed, of the many that were necessary to prepare the way for the final object, the invasion of England. This most formidable of all their rivals would then be reduced to the necessity of standing single and unsupported by any foreign connection, either military or commercial; and France would have the com-

mand of the riches of Spain and Portugal; this latter, the main source of the English trade and opulence in Europe.

Such were what the French looked upon as rational plans and expectations; but what considerate people were, in general, agreed to regard as the reveries of men inflated with success, and vain enough to imagine that their good fortune would never forsake them. Some of the shrewdest politicians of the time attributed their success much more to the disunion and misconduct of their enemies, than to their own superior prowess or prudence. The constant error of the powers at war with them was, they said, to lend themselves to treaties and negotiations, while they ought never to have laid down their arms, and to have run every risk sooner than have desisted from the contest. But, in the opinion of others, these treaties were the work of inevitable necessity, and that those who made them had no other way to save themselves from impending ruin. After Prussia had abandoned the coalition, and Spain was reduced to sue for peace, France stood on the vantage ground, and the chances were clearly, that no impression could be made on the French at that time. Through their policy, they had disunited their enemies; and, allowing valour and military skill to have been equal on both sides, which was no more than a reasonable concession, still the events of war being in their favour, it would have suited the interests of Europe to induce them, by means of a peace, to return to the occupations of civil life, much more than, by continuing the contest, to compel them to give themselves up

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intirely

entirely to the profession of arms, for the defence of their own country, and the annoyance of those of others. But this was not the actual situation of the French, and the only means to resist so populous a nation, become so warlike and full of soldiers, was, to arm in the same proportion of numbers they had done, and to convert as many citizens into soldiers as could be spared from every business and vocation. This, doubtless, would involve their neighbours into heavy expences; but they were preferable to a submission to their yoke, which must prove the unavoidable consequence of acting otherwise. When all Europe was under arms, as well as the French, the oppressive weight of so ruinous a situation would be so universally felt, that all parties would gladly embrace the opportunity of ridding themselves of such a burden. They would heartily concur in wishes for peace, and treat of it with sincerity and moderation respecting the terms. Such was the plan recommended by numerous politicians at this critical period.

In the mean time, the spirit of the rulers in France had mounted so high, and their example afforded such encouragement to a lofty and overbearing disposition in their countrymen, that it was become insupportable. Their public agents and ministers in foreign parts assumed an arrogance and stateliness not in the least inferior to that of the ancient Romans, in the height of their grandeur. They spoke to kings with an air of authority that could not fail to excite their indignation, while, from motives of policy, they dissembled it; they affected a concise and laconic style in their messages and answers; and

their speeches on diplomatic occasions were summary and dictatorial: like the Romans, too, they lost no opportunity of expressing their contempt for princes, and their confidence that the term was approaching when not a crowned head would exist in Europe.

So sunk and depressed at the same time were the minds of some of these, and of the individuals representing them, and acting by their authority, that, however deeply hurt by these demonstrations of haughtiness, they judged it safer to pass them over unnoticed, than to manifest a resentment that could only have produced mortifying consequences.

While the rulers of the republic kept sovereigns abroad in this state of terror, they struck with no less awe their opponents at home. Convinced, by repeated trials, of the inefficacy of their attempts to overturn the established government; these submitted to it in sullen silence, though full of detestation and inward contempt for those who exercised it.

The people at large, in the meanwhile, buoyed up with the high appellations bestowed on the French nation, by the adulatory policy of its governors, beheld the other nations as marked by fate for its inferiors. The title of great nation had lately been conferred upon it by the directory, and publicly assumed in all official documents, and particularly in all diplomatic transactions with foreign states. This high-sounding name was peculiarly gratifying to the vanity of the French people, and was admirably calculated to soften the hardships they incessantly experienced in the daily affairs of life. Having abundantly

dantly tasted of these under the monarchy, they were the more easily reconciled to them under the commonwealth, especially as they had been told, and firmly believed, they were to be the price of their transition from slavery to freedom.

In order to attach them, by the strongest ties of personal interest, to the existence of the republic, the sale of landed property, and other estates, was continually taking place with a precipitation and rapidity that brought forwards an unceasing succession of fresh owners. By shifting hands in this manner, possessions became gradually the more difficult to trace to the original proprietor, and the numbers concerned in the sales and purchases, would naturally unite to secure their validity, and resist all claims but their own. This, it was foreseen, would form the most insuperable barrier to the restoration of the ancient government.

The French had gone so deep into the revolution, that they seemed willing to abide by its consequences in every respect, and to admit the introduction of any innovations, provided they were such as guaranteed the enjoyment of the various species of national funds in which they had laid out their money. They were not so habituated to changes, as to be indifferent what religion, or constitution, was proposed for their acceptance, and ready to adopt any that offered, but not to part with what they had paid for. Thus restitutions were impracticable without compulsion, and the dread, or, rather indeed, the certainty, of their forcibly taking place upon a counter-revolution, was a powerful motive to oppose one. Hence the warmth

for the restoration of royalty had cooled in almost all men, but those who had property to recover by it. The mass of the nation, wearied out with civil feuds, wherein the less they participated the more they would be prudent, began to withdraw themselves from the contest between the monarchy and the republic; convinced, that which ever of the two prevailed, their situation could not, in the nature of things, admit of such material changes, as to warrant the hazarding of their peace and their lives in order to obtain them.

The policy of the ruling powers consisted, therefore, at the present, in observing the clearest moderation and impartiality towards all men at home, and in proving, to the world, that they were desirous to put an end to the calamities of war, by not insisting upon severe conditions of peace. This was the conduct recommended to them by their well-wishers. They had no cause to apprehend insurrections: the royalists were too discordant in their schemes, and too jealous of each other, and their means too circumscribed, to be formidable. Their chief danger was from abroad; but while government acted with lenity towards its own people, and abstained from arbitrary exertions of authority, it needed not to apprehend its foreign enemies.

The friends to a counter revolution were, on the other hand, extremely anxious to inculcate the most probable methods, in their opinion, of effecting one. They were advised cautiously to refrain from the least insinuation, that the partition of the French monarchy entered into the plan of those powers that were to co-operate in its accomplishment.

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complishment? In order, effectually, to remove such an imputation, they ought, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that they took up arms against the directory alone, and entertained no ideas of vengeance or terror, and that the restoration of the whole kingdom of France to its lawful sovereign, without the least diminution, upon any pretence, was the sole object in their contemplation. A manifesto of this nature appeared to those who counselled it, as fully sufficient to counteract all the proclamations on the part of the directory.

But they were answered, that specious promises to the French, would not lessen the influence of the directory, while it acted within the boundaries of the law, or could make it appear that it had only stretched its authority for a justifiable purpose, to prevent the return of royalty. This being proscribed in France, with what face could any potentates require it to be restored, without running counter to the will of a people, whom they had no right to controul in their choice of a government? Was not this assuming sovereignty over an independent nation; and could they be so weak as to imagine the French would submit to such a claim?

The fact was, they said, that the French had been attacked by a league of crowned heads, eager to replace the diadem on the head of a Bourbon; not out of affection to that family, but fear that such a precedent, as the death of the late king, might influence other nations, were it not to draw down the most signal vengeance upon its authors. Heaven and earth had been appealed to on this occasion, and the

appeal had hitherto been favourable to France. But without alleging their success as any argument of celestial interposition in their behalf, and leaving it to hypocrites and bigots to introduce supernatural agency in the contentions between men, they had the undeniable right to boast that they had been victorious over all those powers which rashly pleaded they were fighting in the cause of virtue and religion, as if either of these could authorise any state to assume a dictatorial sway over another, and call it to account for deeds transacted within its own precincts.

The reply to this answer was, that there were deeds, in their nature, so atrocious, that they ought to be considered as crimes committed against mankind, which they sunk to the lowest degradation, by shewing of what enormities human nature was capable. Men plunged in such guilt were the public enemies of the human race. Unhappily for France, no country had, in modern ages, produced, at one time, a combination of men so notorious for the horrors of their public lives, and the depravity of their private characters. Their abilities, however extolled, were all calculated for the perpetration of mischief, for the ruin of individuals, and the destruction of states. After overturning the government of their own country, and reducing the inhabitants to misery, they had projected, and in part executed, the subversion of every other government in Europe. Should propitious destiny arrest their career, long, nevertheless, would society feel the wounds they had inflicted upon it, if ever, indeed, it should entirely recover from them.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Excessive Tyranny of the French in Switzerland.—The new Helvetic Constitution.—The Citizens prevented from presenting Petitions in a corporate Capacity.—Bold Remonstrance against this Act of Tyranny by a Society at Lausanne.—The French Commissioner dictates his Orders to the new Helvetic Republic, and treats Switzerland as a conquered Country.—These violent Measures rescinded, and the Commissioners recalled.—Yet the French Party, in Switzerland, secretly set in Motion, by the French Directory, carries every Question.—The Conduct of the French resented by the whole Swiss Nation.—The Tyranny of the French, in Switzerland, operates as a Warning to other Countries.—Striking Proof of the Rigour exercised on the People of Switzerland.—Alliance, offensive and defensive, between the French and the Helvetic Republic.—Very advantageous to the French in both a commercial and military Light.—The Country of the Grisons coveted both by the Austrians and French.—Approach thereto of the French Army.—The Grisons invite the Protection of the Emperor.—Internal Vicissitudes of the Cisalpine Republic.—Prudent Conduct of Buonaparte.—His greatness and popularity becomes an Object of Jealousy.—Treaties between the French and Cisalpine Republics.—An Audience refused to the Cisalpine Envoy at the Court of Vienna.—Which meditates War against both Republics.—The Cisalpine Envoy ordered, by the Directory, to quit Paris.—Changes introduced into the Cisalpine Republic by the French Government.—Pretexts for these.—Loudly censured and reprobated by Lucien Buonaparte.—Violent Interferences of the French Republic in the Cisalpine.—Unsettled State of the French Government lessens its Authority.—March of the Imperial Troops into the Country of the Grisons.—Conduct of the French towards the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics.

WHILE the friends and the foes to the revolution were thus exhaling their mutual rancour, and filling Europe with the most unqualified invectives against each other; the French government, irritated at the freedoms taken with them in foreign parts, and at the abhorrence in which they were held by their enemies, seemed determined, by way of revenge, to realize the various acts of oppression and tyranny laid to their charge. The country wherein they were accused of having exercised these most was Switzerland. The obstinate resistance they had experienced from several of the cantons, had so fatally exasperated the French troops employed in subduing them, that they had, in their fury, given way to the greatest barbarities.

barities. Seventeen towns, and upwards of a hundred villages, had been abandoned to pillage, or committed to the flames; and the whole country presented scenes of horror and desolation. It could not be expected that a people, treated in this manner, should look upon their subjugators as other than barbarians. Conscious of their deserving hatred, the French held the conquered in a severe and heavy subjection, not doubting that these would embrace any opportunity of ridding themselves of such cruel invaders.

In order, however, to atone, if it were possible, for these enormities, the framers of the new Helvetic constitution, which was the joint production of the French and their Swiss partisans, endeavoured to render it equally acceptable to all parties. As much of the old was retained as would not impede the operations of the new. The two chief departments of government still remained under their former names, of senate and great council: but their powers were precisely those of the councils of ancients, and of the five hundred. The Swiss did not express any repugnance to this establishment, nor to those that introduced equality of rank and privileges: but great discontent arose, at a law which prohibited citizens, like the law that had been enacted in the Seven United Provinces, from presenting petitions in a corporate capacity. It was explicitly disobeyed by a society at Lausanne, known by the name of friends to liberty, of which the addresses to the constituted authorities were conceived in a style of boldness that drew upon it the severest reprobation of the Helvetic direc-

tory, which denounced this society, and others, as guilty of illegal proceedings, and of hostile intentions to government.

Whether these societies acted from their own motion, or the instigation of others, certain it was, that the French commissioner, Rappinat, encouraged, in a very decisive and explicit manner, a refractory disposition towards the Helvetic government. On the nineteenth of June, three officers, of the French forces in Switzerland, under the command of general Schauenberg, waited formally upon the senate and great council, to give them notice, that the commissioner considered the country as conquered by the arms of France, and himself as entitled to direct all civil, military, and financial operations: whoever should, therefore, endeavour to obstruct the measures taken by the French, for the arrangement of affairs in Switzerland, he should view as an enemy, and as an agent of England. He complained, at the same time, that the Helvetic executive and legislative powers had lately admitted of motions, and issued decrees, that proved the existence of a faction inimical to the connection between France and Switzerland, and that strove to incense the Swiss against the French, by groundless or trivial complaints against their troops. In order, he said, to repress this faction, he annulled, in virtue of his commission, all those decrees that thwarted the measures adopted by the French in Switzerland: Whoever opposed them, by speech or by writing, or made complaints, tending to indispose the public against the French, should be arrested, and tried by a military tribunal. In this menace, the

the members of the Swiss directory, and of the senate and council, were nominally included, with all public functionaries. He also sent peremptory orders to the directory, that they should dismiss two of their own body, and two other persons in office.

With all these injunctions, the Helvetic government was obliged to comply, to the indignation of all Switzerland. The warmest friends to the revolution, introduced by the French, reprobated this conduct of their commissioner as an act of the most oppressive tyranny, and leading ultimately to an universal dissatisfaction of all parties. The French government, apprehensive of the consequences of the fermentation excited by these violent measures, rescinded them, and recalled their commissioner, with assurances, to the Helvetic body, that it should remain in full possession of the independence, and of the powers, vested in it by the constitution it had chosen.

But, notwithstanding these protestations, the French party, secretly set in motion by the directory at Paris, lost no opportunity of carrying every measure that was agreeable to France. This complaisance rendered it extremely odious, to numbers of the staunchest adherents to the established system. They reproached that party with a pusillanimous subservience to all the dictates of France, to which it had sacrificed all those national objects that constituted real independence. It had basely, and without that resistance which became true republicans, yielded implicitly to all the requisitions made by the French, in matters wherein these could have no pretence to interfere,

after declaring that they aimed at no more than the extinction of aristocracy, and the establishment of a republic, founded on democratic principles. This being settled according to their wishes, and cordially acquiesced in by the majority of people in Switzerland, as a better constitution than the former confederacy of the cantons, was it reasonable in the French to demand a resignation of all right to internal arrangements, of the sums raised by fair and equitable taxes for domestic purposes (and treasured up with that intent), of civil regulations congenial to the dispositions of the inhabitants, of the modes of worship to which they were attached, and even of the very calendar in use among them for centuries!

These demands of the French had greatly diminished the good will of their sincerest partisans. They were viewed, not as the requisitions of friends, but the injunctions of masters, impelled, by arrogance and the intoxication of power, to make trial how far the minds of men could be reduced to passive submission to manifest injustice, against their consciousness of the tyranny exercised over them.

This conduct of the French was not only resented by the Swiss nation at large, but even by those who were most deeply concerned in maintaining a connection with France, and in supporting the new constitution. They felt the indignity of such a treatment, and the slavery to which it would lead, were they to remain silent, and abjectly to acquiesce in the ignominious yoke imposed upon them. The Helvetic government itself took up, seriously, the consideration

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of

of the various matters that gave so much offence to the public, and came to a determination to lay them formally before the government of France, in hope of impressing it with the necessity of setting bounds to its pretensions, and of acting with moderation.

Zeltner, the minister-plenipotentiary at Paris, from the republic of Helvetia, was directed to remit a memorial, to this intent, to the French minister for foreign affairs. It was drawn up in a style of manliness and energy, worthy of the nation which he represented, and of the cause for which he pleaded. After describing the irregularities and oppressions of which the French agents had been guilty in Switzerland, he warned the French government to beware of driving to desperation a people not degenerated from the plain and uncorrupted manners of their ancestors, and who were not to be intimidated by harshness, though easily won by lenity: should they be reduced to a situation so wretched, as to have nothing more to lose, they would become terrible through despair, and would renew the dreadful scenes of La Vendée. These were alarming truths, but they ought to be told to the directory, that it might, in time, calm the fermentation excited in the minds of the Swiss by a retrospect of their past sufferings, the continuance of their grievances, and the prospect of the ruin awaiting them. It behoved France, if it valued that liberty and equality for which so much blood had been spilled, to leave them inviolate to the people of Switzerland, who then would have reason to look upon the French as their benefactors. The memorialist con-

cluded, by requesting the restitution, to the republic of Helvetia, of the treasures that had been seized by the agents of France, and which were indispensably wanted for the exigences of the state. It required an exemption from all contributions, and the restoration of all the effects and property forcibly wrested from individuals; that the contents of all the military magazines should be returned; that no more French troops be stationed in Switzerland, than were absolutely necessary; and that they should evacuate it as soon as possible, and, while they remained, be considered only as auxiliaries at the disposal of government; that the constitutional government should exercise its powers without interruption; that the agents of France, in Switzerland, should consult with the Helvetic directory upon all points relating to the country, and act in no instance of this kind but with its assent, and in its name.

These demands, on the part of the republic, established by France in Switzerland, were allowed to be reasonable by those who well knew the temper of the inhabitants, highly irritable when provoked by ill usage, and far removed, in the words of the memorialist, from the levity of the French in adopting innovations, the suppleness of the Italians in yielding to them, and the apathy of the Dutch in bearing unresistingly with their admission.

The impolicy of the French, in their violent measures respecting Switzerland, had materially injured their interest with the Grisons, and the people of Swabia. Rather than submit to the French, after witnessing their treatment of the Swiss, the former had resolved to admit the sovereignty

sovereignty of the emperor, which they had so long held in abhorrence, and were consulting at this very time upon what conditions to put themselves under his protection. Swabia, too, which was meditating the formation of a republic, was no less deterred from such an attempt by what had befallen their neighbours, the Swiss, and thought it more prudent to preserve its present situation, than to exchange it for an alliance with such friends and protectors as the French.

In Switzerland itself, the republican party that had called in the French, almost repented of what they had done: and their adherence to them was now positively more the result of necessity than choice. This party consisted chiefly of the inhabitants of towns. The peasantry strongly disapproved the new order of things, and expressed the deepest resentment at those that had introduced it, who for that reason were for their own safety constrained to make one common cause with the French. These, knowing how much this party depended upon them for their support against the remainder of their countrymen, artfully availed themselves of the jealousies of these, to keep the others in the profoundest subjection. Thus disunited, they were unable to oppose the despotic schemes of the French, who carried them on with an insolence and contempt of those whom they ruled in this oppressive manner; which was the more sensibly felt for the unrestraint with which it was manifested. A proof of the rigour exercised on the people of Switzerland was an edict of the Helvetic directory, suggested by the partisans of France, ordering the Swiss, in foreign parts, to repair to their country within the

space of a month, in order to take the civic oath: an obligation to be complied with by all citizens without exception between the eleventh of August and the eleventh of September. The difficulties that arose at the same time in the negotiations for an alliance between the French and Helvetic republics, fully demonstrated the repugnance of the former to coincide with the views of the latter, and to treat upon that footing of equality which it certainly was entitled to challenge as a free and independent state. It was conjectured that these difficulties were produced by the unwillingness of the Swiss to comply with the pecuniary demands of the French, who, straitened themselves for want of funds, had recourse to every expedient, in order to procure them, and employed, without scruple, coercive means when others failed, regardless of the dissatisfaction, or the distress to which they reduced those, who were not in a capacity to resist their extortions.

The conditions of this treaty, by which all alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the two republics, were not so favourable to Switzerland as the republican party there had endeavoured to make them. The only restitution it could obtain, was of the artillery taken out of its magazines. No mention was made in the treaty of the various other articles specified in the memorial of Zeltner, and the restoration of which he had demanded, as an act of justice.

But the French, in addition to the spoils they had already gained from Switzerland, reaped an advantage of the most important nature in a commercial and military light. This was a free passage through the Helvetic

vetic territories to Germany and Italy, both in war and peace. It was also stipulated that no asylum should be afforded to the emigrants from France. This treaty was signed at Paris on the twenty-eighth of August.

This settlement of the affairs of Switzerland, so much to the interest of France, did not however satisfy the views of the directory. A branch of the Helvetic nation yet remained disunited from that body, of which it had for ages formed an integral member, though in a state of independence. This was the country of the Grisons, like Switzerland, fortified by nature, and inhabited by a brave and hardy people, equally fond of their liberty, and able to defend it. Both the French and the Austrians were desirous to secure the possession of this country, the situation of which would greatly favour the military operations of either. Could France obtain it, a chain of communication would ensue, of the highest importance, reaching from Basle in the northern extremity of Switzerland, to Ancona, upon the Adriatic sea. Thus the Helvetic and Cisalpine republics would uninterruptedly be connected, and France acquire an additional frontier on the side of Savoy. Piedmont, still in the hands of the king of Sardinia, would thereby be hemmed in, and the passages into the Tyrol thrown open. The mineral productions of the country of the Grisons were also immense, and herein alone it must prove an acquisition of the most essential value.

All these considerations occupied the attention of the directory. Suspecting that the intentions of the Imperial court were hostile, the

French government was solicitous to prevent its taking possession of the Grisons, and to that intent ordered the army under Schauenberg, assisted by the military contingent of Helvetia, to approach the confines of that country, in hope of the French party there being able to effect a declaration in its favour.

The Imperial troops were in great force in the neighbourhood, and preparing to enter the territory of the Grisons, who had formally refused their consent to an incorporation with the Helvetic republic, and invited the emperor to take them under his protection. The French resident at Coira, the capital of the country of the Grisons, had busily exerted himself to bring over as many of them as could be prevailed upon to join the association he was forming in favour of France. He wrote a conciliatory letter to the ruling powers; but it was received with the utmost contempt, trod under foot, torn into pieces, and flung out of the windows. He had given them to understand, that France would not patiently see the liberty and independence of the Grisons made over to strangers, (meaning the Austrians,) by a faction of bigots, and would certainly interpose in behalf of the patriotic party. The reception his letter had met with, greatly rejoiced the partisans of France, who were now satisfied that the indignation the French must feel at such treatment, would infallibly induce them to take the severest vengeance.

During these transactions in Switzerland, in Holland, and at Rome, the republic founded in the north of Italy, under the name of Cisalpine, had also experienced some internal vicissitudes. Its founder, Buona-

parte,

parte, seemed to interest himself personally in its prosperity, beyond that of any other Italian state; and the inhabitants of Lombardy, the provinces which chiefly composed it, felt a particular predilection for him.

After concluding the peace of Campo Formio, he thought it proper, before his departure for France, to take a valedictory view of this favourite commonwealth, and to make such final arrangements, as might ensure its internal tranquillity, and produce a spirit of concord and satisfaction among all classes.

He was at this period in the height of his glory: the courage and conduct he had displayed in the field, and the sagacity and determination with which he had brought the negotiation for peace to a prosperous issue, had raised him above all competitors; and what was most singular he had not attained his thirtieth year. With such advantages in his favour, it was not surprising that his influence should be decisive in all matters, and that so much confidence should be placed in his judgement.

His conciliating disposition and manners had won him the attachment of many of the bitterest enemies to the French, and to republican principles. The respect, which he lost no occasion of paying to the moderate and discreet part of the clergy, had procured him great popularity, and he judiciously took particular care to treat with the highest deference every individual of that class whose character was deservedly revered by the public.

The letter he wrote to the archbishop of Genoa, some time before he left Italy, did both him and that ecclesiastic equal honour and ser-

vice. That prelate had addressed a pastoral letter to the people of his diocese, conceived in terms of great prudence and moderation. Buonaparte, to whom he had sent a copy of it, returned him an answer, which, as it is strongly characteristic of so celebrated a personage, and displays in a particular manner his sentiments upon subjects of this nature, deserves to be recorded not less than his military feats. His words were as follows: "In reading your pastoral letter, reverend citizen, I thought I recognized one of the apostles. Thus it was that St. Paul wrote. How truly respectable is religion, when enforced by such supporters as you. You are a true apostle, for you preach the gospel, and compel your enemies to esteem you. How happens it that the priests of your diocese are actuated by so different a spirit? Christ fought only to act by conviction, and submitted to death rather than use violence to propagate his doctrine. Wicked priests only can preach the effusion of blood. I hope shortly to be at Genoa, where I shall esteem it a peculiar happiness to converse with a person of your character. Such prelates as Fencelon was, and as the bishops of Milan, Ravenna, and Genoa, are at present, confer the highest lustre upon religion. They not only preach but practise it. A good and virtuous bishop is the best present that heaven can make to a city, and to a whole country."

This epistle did Buonaparte the more credit, that it coincided with the sentiments of the public respecting the three illustrious persons whom he mentioned in such respectful terms. It shewed he was neither a bigot, nor an enemy to rational religion.

ligion. The persuasion that this was his real disposition, procured him a number of friends among the judicious and the unprejudiced; who were indeed the only people of whose approbation he appeared desirous: that of the mere vulgar he constantly seemed to look upon with marked indifference.

While thus wisely solicitous to secure the good-will of men of virtue and piety, he gave an equal specimen of his judgment in the methods he used to obtain the friendship and attachment of the opulent, powerful, and noble families of the countries where he had established republican governments. Among the means that he employed to this end, he selected a numerous body of young gentlemen of the most distinguished and reputable parentage, whom he formed into a corps of cavalry, and was peculiarly studious to render complete in discipline and tactics, intending them as a nursery of officers. Two essential objects were compassed by this plan: he trained up to military knowledge, individuals who, being in every respect the choice of the youth of their country, were the most likely to become serviceable to it, and, to retain at the same time those political sentiments and attachments wherein they would be educated; and what was an object of no less importance, he insured the adherence of their respective families to the government in the cause of which they were serving.

Nor should it be forgotten, that in consequence of the influence he had attained over the Imperial ministry, he procured the liberation of La Fayette and his fellow-sufferers, from their long and severe detention in the Austrian prisons.

This was universally acknowledged a proof of his sincere desire to reconcile all parties, by exercising humanity towards them all without exception. From various incidents of this nature, and his evident averseness to harsh measures, he impressed the public with a persuasion, that, in those which he occasionally exercised, he was passively subservient to superior authority, rather than acting from his own determinations.

This did not however prevent him from adopting firm measures, when he judged them indispensable for the preservation of public tranquillity. It was upon this principle, that, on ordering the constitutional circle, a political club at Milan, to be shut, he assumed a tone of authority which he thought necessary to obviate the eccentricities in opinions and conduct, of which he dreaded the consequence in a state yet unable to stand on its own basis, and which by dissensions might easily be deprived of its liberty, especially as a party subsisted, friendly to the former government, zealous in representing it as preferable to the present, and ready for the purpose of subverting this, to encourage discontents and disturbances.

On the twenty-first of Brumaire, (November 12, 1797) he issued a declaration, addressed to the citizens of the Cisalpine republic, wherein, among other particulars, he reminded them that they were the first people recorded in history, that had attained freedom without factions, revolutions, and bloodshed, France had given them liberty, but it was for them to preserve it. They were the most powerful and richest commonwealth next to France, and
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by their position entitled to make a great figure in Europe. To be worthy of this destiny, they should make just and moderate laws, and execute them with strictness and energy, encourage the advancement of knowledge, and respect religious freedom. They should compose their military strength, not of vagrants and disorderly people, but of principled men, attached to the republic, and the prosperity of their country. They should acquire and cherish due sentiments of the fortitude and dignity becoming a free man. Divided among themselves; and weighed down by oppression for such a length of time, they must, without the intervention of France, have remained unable to assert their liberties: but now they would, in a few years, be capable of maintaining them against any power on earth; and till then, they would be protected by the great nation against all the attempts of their neighbours, and its political system would be united with their own. Had the Roman people, he said, made the same use of their power as the French, the Roman eagles would have stood on the capitol to this day, and the human species would not have been disgraced by eighteen centuries of slavery and tyranny. He had, he concluded, with the sole view of rendering them a free and happy nation, gone through labours prompted hitherto only by ambition and the lust of power. Though in the numerous appointments he had made, intriguers had occasionally been preferred, through mistake, to men of probity, still the disadvantages would have been greater, had the nomination to places been committed to themselves, before they had been duly organized. This de-

claration was received by the people of the Cisalpine state with a firm persuasion of its propriety, and of the real interest which Buonaparte took in their prosperity.

This address of Buonaparte, by the Cisalpine, was accompanied to another of the same date, to the Ligurian republic, both of them founded and organized on his own plans. In the latter of these addresses, after entering into a variety of details relative to the government of the republic, he proceeds to lay before them his sentiments on divers subjects of general importance. He warned them not to think it enough to abstain from acting against religion, but to protect conscientious people against those who bore them malevolence. To exclude the nobles from all public functions, would, he explicitly told them, prove an intolerable act of injustice. It would be doing precisely what they had done, and deservedly suffered for doing. Those only among them should be sentenced to this exclusion, who had actively contributed to depress the people: but it were equally impolitic and inequitable to deprive the state of the services of those many others that might be useful to it. He reminded them that part of the nobles were the first to encourage the people to assert their rights. It was unjust, therefore, to proscribe them in a body, for the ill-conduct of some, or on account of the tyranny they had formerly exercised; such indiscrimination would only justify complaints, and increase the enemies to the republic. Numbers of the clergy had also declared themselves for liberty, and been the first to assert, that the spirit of the gospel was entirely democratical: but

but individuals, paid by the foes to real liberty, had taken occasion of the irregularities of some clergymen, to write against religion itself, and thereby to excite the enmity of the clergy. He warmly exhorted them to beware of those men who confined patriotism to the circles to which they belonged; they spoke the language of popularity but to inflame, and dealt continually in accusations as if they alone were men of integrity. He particularly admonished them never to condemn without a hearing: when furious speeches are the most applauded, when exaggeration and rage are extolled, and moderation held a crime, then, said he, are people hastening to ruin. He concluded his address, by advising them seriously to forbear all disputes and jealousies, while engaged in framing a constitution, if they hoped for a stable one.

These addresses made a profound impression on the public at large, both in France and Italy: they were justly considered as not only penned for this country, but also for the other, where the maxims they inculcated were not less necessary. They were spoken of at Paris as worthy of a Montesquieu, and greatly augmented the popularity of Buonaparte. He was now styled the hero legislator, fit alike to preside in the councils of a nation, and to fight its battles.

But there were numbers, on the other hand, who dreaded his greatness, and thought they perceived, in the enthusiastic admiration of this illustrious character, a motive to set all patriots on their guard against its consequences. Thus it was, they observed, that Cæsar became by his victories the idol of the Ro-

mans, whom he finally enslaved. The attachment of the military to Buonaparte was no less a source of alarm; the readiness he had always shewn to distinguish and to reward merit in the very lowest ranks of the soldiery, and the various instances of this kind frequently cited, while they endeared him to the army, did not fail, at the same time, to excite the jealousies and suspicions of such as reflected, how often the liberty of nations had been subverted by the favourites of armies.

A circumstance that had raised him several enemies, dangerous by their abilities and influence, was, the decisive manner in which he had, in his address to the Ligurians, reprobated the condemnation of individuals without hearing them in their defence. This was so pointed a censure of the events upon the eighteenth of Fructidor, that it was perceptible to all men. Those who had conducted the business of that day, felt deeply the allusion, and began, from this time, to entertain apprehensions that he might be meditating designs unfavourable to their own.

The royalists and aristocrats, in their discourses and publications, lost no opportunity of representing him in the most flattering colours; hoping thereby to recommend themselves to his notice and benevolence; and, should he prove inclined to befriend their cause, to confirm that inclination by their praises; others there were, who, considering the precarious state of politics in France, blamed him, as having neglected the means of taking a decisive part, by giving up the command of an army so thoroughly devoted to him. The triumphant reception he met with every where,

in his way to Paris, did not counterbalance the loss of the power he had so unwisely and unseasonably resigned: he ought not, they said, to have forgotten the fate of Pichegru, whom all his exploits in Flanders, and the conquest of Holland, had not preserved from banishment, by the ruling party; and he ought to carry constantly in his recollection, that, notwithstanding all he had done for the glory of France, the French still remembered that he was not a Frenchman.

The deportment of Buonaparte, on his return to the French capital, covered with so much glory, bespoke consummate prudence and discretion, and a well regulated mind. He received the public congratulations, which he could not avoid, with an air of dignified sensibility: but far from courting them, like poor Monsieur Neckar and Monsieur De la Fayette, he retired from the public eye as much as he could, and lived with his most intimate companions and friends, in a house of nothing more than ordinary appearance, in an obscure quarter of Paris. That some important change had taken place in the tone that for the present swayed the French councils and nation might have been learnt from the reception which was given by Buonaparte, to a body of Parisians who had acted a most conspicuous part in the earliest and most tumultuary stages of the revolution. These were no other than the fish-women of Paris.

"*Les Femmes de la halle*," as they were called: who forced themselves into his house, and presented tokens of their joy at his glorious return to Paris. "Take back, said the general, your nosegays and garlands, I do not accept any such homage.

If to-morrow you should have a king, you would make to him the same tender of respect." Very different was the reply which this despiser of vulgar homage made to the intimation that he was chosen a member of the national institute. "Citizen president, he says, in a letter to Camus, the votes of those distinguished men who compose the national institute do me honour. I am very sensible, that before I am their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew of any more expressive mode of expressing my esteem for them, I would adopt it. True conquests, which alone are followed by no regrets, are the conquests made over ignorance. The pursuit, that is of all the most honourable, as well as the most useful to nations, is to contribute to the extension of human knowledge."

The peculiar interest which Buonaparte took in the formation of the government of the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics had given occasion to represent him as much more attached to Italy than to France; but, whatever his internal feelings were, it was acknowledged that he did justice to both countries. He was, indeed, extremely solicitous to place those two republics on a footing of stability that might completely secure their welfare. Considering the Cisalpine as the most exposed of the two, by its position, to the attempts of Austria, in case of a rupture, he strengthened it by the addition of the Valteline, and the territories of Chiavenna and Bormio, of which the inhabitants were desirous to be united to the new commonwealth, in preference to the connection that had hitherto subsisted between them, and the Grisons, who vainly endeavoured to prevent this union.

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In consequence of the advice of Buonaparte, the number of representatives was fixed at two hundred and forty; eight of whom composed the council of ancients. The selection of these members of the legislature was made with the remarkable endeavours of all classes to share in the representation. Their first meeting was on the twenty-first of November, 1797, and it was enjoyed with much exultation both by them and the public.

One of the first acts of this assembly was, to proclaim to the world the existence of the Cisalpine republic, and to congratulate the people, of the countries that composed it, on the obtaining of liberty, after so long a period of slavery. Among the particulars of this proclamation, it contained an acknowledgement of the representatives, that they were no other than agents chosen by the people to execute their will; and that if such a title appeared to aristocrats, oligarchs, and despots, beneath their ridiculous pride, to them it seemed the most honourable of any that a citizen could aspire to. Should the welfare of the public prove an object of difficult attainment, with all their efforts, they requested that this might not be imputed to them, but to the obstacles arising from a long duration of tyranny. One advantage, at least, would result from the change in their government: laws would no longer be the work of the avarice, ambition, or caprice, of an arbitrary individual.

They declared the press entirely freed from all preceding restraints, and ordered a minister to be prosecuted for having obstructed its freedom. They demanded, at the same

time, a formal decision of the directory's responsibility. A plan was proposed for the regulation of the public theatres; from whence it was decreed to exclude performers in a state of mutilation, and to prohibit in future this infamous practice. But that particular which was most deserving of notice, in this commencement of their legislation, was, the strict injunction laid upon the executive power, and its agents and ministers, carefully to specify, in their orders and proclamations, the identical laws, in virtue whereof they were issued. This was considered as the most judicious of their enactments, and one that ought to be adopted by all legislatures.

Other regulations of an useful and popular nature were enacted by this assembly: but the unanimity with which its session had been opened, was, in a few days, destroyed by the diversity of opinions that began to take place, among the leading members, on subjects that required great union and calmness of sentiments. This, however, could hardly be avoided in a meeting made up of individuals differing so much from each other in their professions, and, of course, not less in their characters, and ideas of things. There subsisted among them a party of rigid republicans, who violently disapproved of every institution retaining the least image of aristocracy and oligarchy, and thought that the council of ancients bore too strong a resemblance of the former, and that the directory too much approximated the latter. Hence the members of this description, in the great council, formed an opposition to the directory, and the ministers appointed by them, that occasioned much

much discord and retardment in their proceedings.

In order to put an end to these differences, the French directory displaced three of the Cisalpine ministry, whom they thought incompetent to their stations, and replaced them with as many Frenchmen of incontestable abilities, and whose nomination they presumed would be acceptable on that account. The French had several reasons to keep a strict eye on the affairs of this republic: a conspiracy, it was said, had been formed, by the secret partizans of Austria, against both the French and the Cisalpines. Journalists, in the pay of that party, were employed to spread discontent in the public, and to excite insurrections against the state. A Venetian, who was member of the council of ancients, had laid a plan to deliver Mantua to the Imperialists, who were not expected to remain much longer in peace with France. But what chiefly offended the French, was, the repugnance of the great council to consent to a treaty of alliance, in agitation, between the French and the Cisalpine republics, and which the former insisted was necessary to secure the latter from the hostile designs that were meditated against it by the enemies to both.

General Berthier, who had succeeded to Buonaparte in the command of the army of Italy, was busily occupied in the settlement of this alliance. He formally demanded an accusation to be brought against the member of the legislature concerned in the affair of Mantua, and the journalists who had written against a connection with France to be arrested, and that those members of the councils who

had most violently opposed it should be expelled.

These demands were contained in a proclamation, dated the twenty-seventh Ventose, (seventeenth of March) 1798, and in a letter which he addressed to the Cisalpine directory: they were, in truth, orders which it dared not disobey. They accelerated the conclusion of the treaty of alliance, the averseness to which was very strong in those Cisalpines who were zealous for a total independence of their country on the councils and politics of France.

By this treaty, the Cisalpine republic bound itself to become a party in all the wars wherein the French republic should engage, and to assist it with all its means and forces when so required; but, in case no such requisition should be made, it was to remain in a state of neutrality. France agreed to furnish twenty-five thousand men for the defence and protection of the Cisalpine republic, to be maintained at its expence, and commanded by French generals, as well as its own troops. Half the garrisons of Ferrara, Mantua, and Peschiera, were to consist of French troops. These were the principal articles of this treaty. The others were alike advantageous to the French; who, in return, undertook to guarantee the independence of the Cisalpine republic against all its enemies.

This treaty of alliance was accompanied by another of commerce, the conditions of which were made equally beneficial to both parties. These treaties being reciprocally ratified, Trouvé, a man of abilities, was deputed ambassador to the Cisalpine republic, and had his first audience, at Milan, upon the first of June. His reception was splendid;

did; and the speeches made on this occasion, by him and the president of the Cisalpine directory were highly applauded.

But notwithstanding these flattering appearances of a permanent establishment of the Cisalpine republic, the envoy it had sent to Vienna found it useless to remain in that capital. The emperor would neither grant him an audience, nor recognize his character. The motives for this refusal were very apparent: the difficulties daily arising in the negotiations at Rastadt, the imperious demands and pretensions of the French plenipotentiaries rising on every concession, the alarms they had occasioned among the German princes, the discontents in Switzerland and Italy at the conduct of the French: these, and the mortification of having received the law from them, at Campo Formio, operated a determination in the court of Vienna, to try afresh its fortune in the field, while Buonaparte was absent with the flower of the republican army.

Exclusive of these dispositions at Vienna, there were causes of dissatisfaction in the Cisalpine republic itself. Its present constitution had been framed by Buonaparte, and the public seemed to have contentedly acquiesced in it: but the French directory, not thinking it sufficiently subservient to its own, had projected an alteration; and its ambassador, Trouvé, was endeavouring to prepare the minds of the people for the changes that were meditated: but the constituted authorities opposed them with great vigour; and ordered the Cisalpine envoy at Paris to remonstrate forcibly against the project in agitation, which was also resolutely opposed by Lucian

Buonaparte, the general's brother, a member of the council of five hundred. Lucian was out-numbered by the directorial party, and general Lahoz, the Cisalpine envoy, though notably patronized by general Buonaparte, was, in consequence of his representations, ordered to leave Paris, and the territory of the republic.

The papers, under the direction of government, treated him, at the same time, with great asperity, and gave the Cisalpines to understand, that the constitution, to which they adhered so pertinaciously, was, at best, but a hasty fabrication by general Buonaparte, put together in the midst of interruptions, arising from war and politics. It could only, therefore, be provisional, and, notwithstanding his great abilities, required numerous emendations.

This conduct of the French government proved extremely offensive to the Cisalpines. They dreaded those changes which had occasioned so many disturbances in the Helvetic and Batavian commonwealths, and were necessarily so inimical to domestic tranquillity. Addresses were presented, from all parts, against the intended alterations: they were deprecated in a variety of publications; and in the meetings of the people, they strongly insisted that the present constitution should remain untouched.

But the French directory, unalterably bent on these changes, commissioned general Brune to execute them. His punctual and rigorous discharge of the directorial orders in Switzerland, pointed him out as a fit instrument to carry them into execution in the Cisalpine state. He arrived at Milan about the middle of August, 1798, when the fermentation, caused by the apprehend-
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ed intentions of the French government, was at its height, and had filled the public with the deepest concern for its possible consequences.

The party that favoured the innovations, fearing that their antagonists would proceed to an active resistance, was preparing to use force; and the French government, suspecting the partizans of Austria, and that they would be supported by that power, hastened to send reinforcements to their troops, and large supplies of ammunition to Mantua, and other places of strength.

In the mean while, Trévise, the French ambassador, was concerting with general Brune, in what manner to operate the projected alterations. As soon as they thought themselves duly prepared, the ambassador laid before the Cisalpine legislature an address, containing the plan in agitation, and the reasons for executing it. He explicitly told them, that the present administration of their affairs was ruinous and ill-contrived; their finances were in the worst order, and their military excessively expensive, and of no utility; they had no republican institutions, no public education; insubordination existed every where, with the utmost indifference for the public good; dilapidations and irregularities were committed with impunity, and the republic was in a state of absolute anarchy.

After presenting them with this picture of their situation, the French republic, he said, could not behold it without alarm, and had, through him, expressed its earnest desire that they would themselves provide a remedy for those evils, of which

they acknowledged the reality, but were, at the same time, fearful and backward to attempt the cure. He felt himself, therefore, obligated to undertake it in their default, not with the least intent of violating their independence, but of placing it on a firmer basis, by improving their constitution. He then observed, that their representation was too numerous for the extent and population of the state: it exceeded in a double proportion that of the French republic. It ought, in reason, therefore, to be diminished one half, which would lessen, in the same degree, the expences of maintaining it. In consequence of this reasoning, he reduced the representatives from two hundred and forty to one hundred and twenty.

The constitutional act, he observed, being rather a military than a civil ordinance, not sanctioned by a formal acceptance of the nation, and found defective in various instances, the French government had thought it necessary to substitute another, founded on the same principles, and admitting the same distribution of powers, but accompanied with more vigour and stability in the administration.

The principal changes it introduced, were that the right of citizenship was limited to natives, and to those only that paid a stated contribution. Elections were rendered less frequent, and more power was assigned to the directory: the former took place only once in two years for the choosing of one-third of the councils, and the latter were reduced to three: they were authorized to limit the freedom of the press, and first to propose every law: the finances were at their disposal,

disposal, and they nominated all officers in the army, from a captain upwards: on the expiration of their office, they became perpetual members of the council of ancients: their salaries, and those of the national deputies, were augmented.

Such were the alterations executed by general Le Brune and the ambassador, Trouvé, upon the fifteenth Fructidor (first September, 1798). They were carried with a high hand, and enforced by the severest coercion. Domiciliary visits, and the arrests of more than four hundred individuals accompanied them, and terror was truly the order of the day on which they were submitted to, with the manifest repugnance and indignation of all classes.

One of the pretences, on which the partisans of France grounded these alterations, was, that the system of the Cisalpine republic, as framed by Buonaparte, was precisely that of France in 1793, which had been set aside for its jacobin principles. But numbers of people, in France, strongly disapproved this treatment of the Cisalpines, as authorizing the enemies of the republic to accuse the French of preserving no respect for the rights of men, and of treating all people, connected with them, like slaves, under the denomination of allies; erecting governments among them, and subverting them at their pleasure, in order, one would think, to accustom mankind to look upon them as the sole lawgivers of society. Thus it was that France, after having so loudly proclaimed the sovereignty of the people in all countries, violated it without the least scruple of shame in every

country that fell under its power or influence.

The speech of Buonaparte's brother, upon this memorable occasion, did him great credit with the impartial public. He explicitly reprobated, in the severest terms, the bad faith of those who authorized or countenanced such infractions of national compacts. He stigmatized the innovations in the Cisalpine constitution, as tending, bare-facedly, to abridge popular liberty by the excessive power they conferred upon the directory, especially the exclusive prerogative of proposing laws. After a variety of pertinent observations, he concluded by predicting, that nations, disgusted, at last, with the vain and empty name of liberty, which France was incessantly sounding in their ears, and with the constitutions given to them on one day, and taken from them on the morrow, would finally conceive a detestation for the republic, and prefer their former submission to a sovereign.

These changes, which were, in the words of the French directory and its partisans, to ensure the future independence and stability of the Cisalpine republic, were followed, in less than two months after, by other alterations equally unexpected, and surprizing to the political world. Trouvé, the co-operator with Le Brune, had not, it seems, conducted himself in the business of the first of September, entirely to the satisfaction of the directory. He was for this reason recalled, and a member of the late convention, Fauché, replaced him. But neither did he come up to the expectations of his constituents, who thought him too cordially connected with the Cisalpine directory, and too

too ready to coincide in some of their measures, of which they disapproved, and for which they had determined to remove them from their places, together with their adherents. General Brune was, therefore, solely entrusted with this commission. The three directors were dismissed, with several of the ministry, and a considerable number of the members of the two councils.

They did not, however, passively acquiesce in this treatment. They protested against it, as a manifest violation of their independency, and made a solemn and resolute appeal to the French directory. Their remonstrances were not, it seems, ineffectual. In a few days the proceedings against them were annulled, and both the general and the ambassador were summoned to Paris, to give an account of the transaction, and of the situation of things in the Cisalpine republic.

This unsettled conduct of the French government did it essential prejudice in the countries of which that state consisted. Perplexed with commotions, of which they saw no end, that deprived them of domestic tranquillity, and burthened them with requisitions which they looked upon as unreasonable, the inhabitants expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with their condition, which, instead of being ameliorated, as they had been promised, was visibly altered for the worse. They scrupled not, openly, to declare, in many places, that they preferred the dominion of Austria, heavy as it was, to that of France, and would gladly co-operate in restoring it.

These dispositions were greatly strengthened by the march of the imperial troops into the country of

the Grisons, their near neighbours; and by the manifesto published in the name of the emperor, wherein he bound himself to act merely as an ally against the French, who were threatening to invade their country, and revolutionize their government. Hoping that the house of Austria, admonished by past misfortunes, would exercise a gentler sway, the people of Lombardy were secretly pleased at the prospect of a renewal of hostilities with the French, which might eventually, by compelling these to evacuate the countries they had conquered, deliver them from a people whom experience had proved the worst of inmates, and the most oppressive and intolerable of conquerors.

By the constitution drawn up by Buonaparte, the council of juniors was composed of sixty members; that of elders, of thirty; and the directory of five. The clergy and the nobles were excluded, during the first nine years, from the directory and the legislature; and, after their expiration, the clergy was only admissible to the councils of juniors; with an exclusion, however, even from this, to rectors of parishes, and priests entrusted with official duties that obliged them to reside on a particular spot. People of property, that had emigrated, were summoned to return to Genoa, within the space of thirty days, if in Italy; and of three months, if in a foreign country. Non-observers of this order, were sentenced to pay twenty per cent. of their property, one-fourth of which was appropriated to the maintenance of the poor, another to the expence of hospitals, and the two remaining fourths to the use of the state. By this edict, nobles

were also forbidden to borrow money on their estates, for any other purpose than making payments to the public treasury.

In other respects, Buonaparte treated them with lenity. Numbers of them, confined as hostages, for the peaceable behaviour of the rest, were set at liberty, and very few of them were detained in prison. Of the many chiefs of insurrections that had taken place, twenty were selected, of whom it was thought necessary to make a public example, as the most guilty and accessory to the outrages that had been committed. They were shot, and a priest, their accomplice, though out of respect to his cloth, reprieved him from execution, was condemned to forty years imprisonment in irons.

An alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded with the Ligurian republic, and a body of their

best military, chosen by Buonaparte, were sent to reinforce the French army in Italy. All these arrangements, which were terminated towards the close of December, 1797, proved very acceptable to the mass of the people, and those who disapproved of them were too prudent to express their disapprobation.

The Ligurian republic was permitted to remain upon this footing till the period when the alterations took place in the Cisalpine. The French directory thought fit at that time to lessen the legislative body, by expelling fifteen members, who were accused of impeding the measures of government, and of opposing the new order of things; and to make other alterations in the Ligurian, in the same spirit, and with the same intent, that dictated the innovations in the Cisalpine republic.

C H A P. IX.

Passive and mortifying Situation of the King of Sardinia.—Various Preludes of a Revolution in his Dominions.—Insurgents in Piedmont encouraged and supported by the Genoese.—And the French.—Who seize the Citadel of Turin. Thus seating themselves on the Throne of Sardinia.—State of Naples.—French Ambassador there.—The Neapolitans prepare, in Conjunction with the Austrians, to oppose the common Enemy.—The French, on the other Hand, augment the Number of their Forces at Rome.—Remonstrations of the French Ambassador, against the hostile Preparations of the Court of Naples.—Firmness of that Court.—Fortified by a Victory over the French Fleet, on the Coast of Egypt.—Other Consequences of that great Achievement.—Insurrection of the People against the French Garrison of Malta.—Rejoicings and Exultations throughout the Kingdom of Naples, on Account of Admiral Nelson's Victory.—Causes which retarded the open Hostility of France towards Naples.—The King of Naples, at the Head of his Army, marches into the Roman Territory.—This made a Pretext, by the French, for seizing the Dominions of Sardinia.—And sending the Royal Family, with its Adherents, to the Island of Sardinia.—Actions between the Neapolitan and French Armies.—Victories of the latter.

DURING these various events, the power exercised by the French, over the countries and states conquered and organized on their own plan, was heavily felt by the king of Sardinia, whose dominions, standing in the midst of all their conquests, were, though not nominally, yet in reality subject to them much more than to him. Their requests were in fact commands which he did not dare to disobey, and no remedy was now left him, but to wait with patience and resignation to his fate, for some of those turns of fortune, which conquerors so seldom fail soon or late to experience. In this passive and mortifying situation, he had remained ever since the pacification he had been

forced to conclude with them in the summer of 1796. On the conclusion of the peace of Campo Formio he was deprived of all hope of emerging from this state of subserviency, which daily became more ignominious and intolerable. He was continually assailed with demands and requisitions, which he could not refuse, and compelled to suffer indignities he had not power to resent. He was now enjoined to allow no refuge in his dominions to French emigrants or exiles, on the ground, that, being linked in amity with France, it were inconsistent in him to afford the least countenance to its enemies, or unfaithful or refractory subjects.

The king experienced, about this time, a mortification, of which both he and his court were deeply sensible. Buonaparte, on his return to France, passed through Turin, his capital, without paying his respects to this unhappy monarch; who felt this neglect the more, that his treatment of the general, upon this occasion, was remarkably respectful and generous.*

His territories were now become a line of march or passage to the French troops, without any other formality, than to give him notice of the time at which they were to be expected, of their numbers, and of the necessaries they would need, and which he was to provide for them.

These various circumstances, together with the discourses and insinuations of the Cisalpines and Ligurians, both under the immediate influence and direction of France, and who openly spoke of an approaching revolution in his dominions, were sufficient admonitions, that he was to prepare for the certain loss of his crown, as soon as the plan for that purpose was brought to maturity.

In addition to this alarming state, he was compelled, by his necessities, to exact large contributions from his subjects, and to burthen them with taxes and pecuniary regulations that excited great discontents, and lost him in a considerable degree their former attachment. The agents of France were not tardy in availing themselves of his distresses. Guinguen , the French ambassador, had the presumption to take under the protection of the great nation, as he expressed himself, the insurgents of Piedmont,

and to insist on their being pardoned. He was seconded by general Brune. But their joint remonstrances could not effect that blind acquiescence they had expected from his facility on other occasions; and he gave them to understand, that by the treaty with France he was to remain master in his own dominions.

This insurrection had broken out at Carosio, a place belonging to the province of Piedmont, but inclosed by the territory of Genoa. A number of deserters from the Ligurian troops, many of them natives of Piedmont, repaired to this place, and joined the insurgents. As it was necessary to traverse the Genoese territory, to arrive at Carosio, the king ordered his troops, in their march thither, to shew all the respect due to the territory of a friendly and independent power: but the Genoese government would not consent to his forces traversing their territory, though he offered to make full compensation for any damages they might commit. He alleged, at the same time, his indubitable right, which was that of all sovereigns, to claim a passage through a neutral territory, to any part of his dominions lying within its precincts.

But all his solicitations and remonstrances were vain. Actuated probably by the French ambassador and general, the Genoese persisted in their refusal, and accused the king of having violated their territory, in ordering his troops to march to Carosio, against the insurgents. They even proceeded to sequester all the property belonging to him, they could lay their hands on, drove his subjects out of their coun-

* The king sent him some very valuable presents.

ty, arrested his agents, and even his envoy to the republic.

The Genoese would not, in all likelihood, have gone such lengths, had they not been instigated by the secret intrigues of France. Assisted in this open manner, the insurgents at Carosio increased in numbers and boldness: they intercepted the communication with Piedmont, and seized all the articles of trade and of sustenance on their way thither. Hostilities were at the same time committed by the Ligurians, and the king found himself, much against his will, involved in a contest, which he foresaw would terminate greatly to his detriment, through the clandestine practices of the party among his own people, that favoured French principles, and who were privately encouraged by the open and concealed agents of France, to propagate them fearlessly, as they might depend on being supported, and screened from punishment.

Whether it proceeded from the long-standing enmity between the two governments of Piedmont and Genoa, the instigation of the agents of France, or the high spirit naturally accruing to a people on their emancipation from a real or imaginary bondage, the representatives of the Ligurian commonwealth, influenced by the well known disposition of their constituents, took up this business with uncommon favour, and plainly gave the king of Sardinia to understand, that they would espouse the cause of the insurgents as far as circumstances would permit them. A proclamation was issued by the Ligurian directory, on the tenth of June, wherein they signified, in the most inflammatory terms, their indignation at the averfeness of the court of

Turin, to listen to their supplications from an amnesty to the insurgents, and their determination to take hostile measures in their fullest extent.

The inveteracy of the Genoese to the house of Savoy, broke out upon this occasion with remarkable violence in both the councils. In that of the ancients, the king of Sardinia was stigmatized with the appellation of the little tyrant of the Alps; and every odious insinuation was brought forward to exasperate the public against the court of Turin.

What principally animated them, was the certainty of being thoroughly supported by France in the exertions they were preparing to make against that enfeebled power, and the strong expectation now current every where, that the fate of that unfortunate monarch was already decided in the councils of the French directory. That expectation was well founded. The insurrection of the malcontents of Piedmont, at Carosio, was, in the general opinion, if not directly instigated by France, occasioned by the revolutionary principles disseminated in all places by its emissaries, under the strongest assurances of being effectually seconded, held out to those who adopted and acted upon them. These assurances were punctually fulfilled. The French envoy, at the court of Turin, formally interposed in behalf of the insurgents, for whom he demanded, in the name of the French directory, an absolute oblivion of the past, on condition of laying down their arms. This interposition was, for some time, resisted; but the Sardinian ministry, conscious of the impracticability of any effectual opposition to France, judged it safest to comply with its requisition,

requisition. This did not, however, satisfy the French directory. Irritated at the delay and repugnance to comply with its mediation, or glad probably of such an occasion to execute the projects resolved on, it required the immediate cession of the citadel of Turin, as a security for the conciliatory dispositions of that court, and its strict performance of the promises made to the insurgents. This cession was agreed to the twenty-seventh of June, 1798, and a body of French troops took possession of the citadel on the third of July ensuing.

In this manner was a decisive blow given to the power and importance of the king of Sardinia. His troops had, during the hostilities with the Ligurian republic, obtained so many advantages, and displayed so much courage and military skill, that, at the period when the king was obliged to yield to the compulsory solicitations of the French ambassador, and agree to the terms of peace imposed upon him between the insurgents and the Ligurians, he was master of seventeen places large and small, belonging to these, and would, in all likelihood, had hostilities continued, have reduced them to the greatest distress.

By taking possession of the citadel of Turin, the French might be said to have seated themselves on the throne of Sardinia. It was esteemed the master-piece of the celebrated Vauban, the greatest engineer of the age of Lewis XIV. It had proved the bulwark of Piedmont, in the war for the Spanish succession, at the commencement of this century. It had stood, in 1706, that famous siege, which, by its length and obstinacy, enabled Victor

Amadeus, and prince Eugene, to come in time to its relief, and to gain that great victory, under its walls, over the vast army that besieged it, which totally frustrated the designs of the French, and expelled them from Italy.

The cession of this fortress, long reputed impregnable, but through treachery, accident, or famine, put the king of Sardinia wholly into the hands of the French. He was now become their prisoner in every respect. He was guarded at sight, and his very personal movements were continually under their watch and cognizance.

In consequence of the forcible restraints laid upon him by so grievous a situation, he became wholly passive in whatever related to the French and their adherents. They compelled him to rescind all those proceedings at law instituted against the framers of plots and insurrections against his authority, and to model his government entirely according to their will and conceptions. They loaded his ministers and officers, civil and military, with accusations, false or exaggerated, and insisted on their dismissal from office and employment, and banishment from the court and capital. They forced him to reduce his army to the lowest establishment, and to deliver up the most important places he had taken from the Genoese. In this manner did the French, under the denomination of friends and allies, station themselves in the heart of his dominions, and govern them with absolute sway. Exclusive of the citadel of Turin, they were masters of several of the strongest towns and fortresses in his dominions. Thus it was, that for having refused, through unreasonable jealousy,

hasty, to entrust some of his fortified places to the Imperial generals, by whose experience and bravery they might have effectually stopped the progress of the French, and probably saved Italy, this ill-advised monarch was finally constrained to put his very capital, the strongest of all, into their hands, and thereby to give up in fact the sovereignty of his dominions.

While the north of Italy was thus experiencing the consequences of its subjection to the French, they were solicitously preparing the means of extending their conquests to the south, though strongly professing themselves averse to aggressive measures, and only desirous to procure their own security.

The kingdom of Naples, so frequently called the paradise of Italy, had hitherto, by its distance from France, been considered as placed out of the reach of revolutionary measures. Connected, however, by matrimonial ties, with the house of Austria, it had, in the campaign of 1796, assisted it with troops and money, till, compelled, by the successes of Buonaparte, to withdraw them, and conclude a treaty of peace and neutrality. The pacification of Campo Formio, in which one of its ministers, the marquis de Gallo, took an active and successful share, seemed to have removed its apprehensions of being again involved in a contest with France. But the situation of affairs appeared every where so precarious, that the Neapolitan ministry judged it necessary to prepare for the worst that might happen, especially as the disputes between France and Rome, though settled in appearance, by the treaty of Tolentino, had left a spirit of innovation among the people of

the ecclesiastical states. The city of Rome in particular, that foreboded disturbances of a revolutionary nature, and of which the French would probably avail themselves, as they had done elsewhere. In this case they would become such near and dangerous neighbours, that altercations with them would hardly be avoidable.

On this presumption, which events justified, an edict was published at Naples, granting a pardon to all deserters from the Neapolitan armies, on condition of their immediately returning to their colours. This was done with the double view of recruiting the army, and of withdrawing a number of Neapolitans from the Cisalpine service, wherein they might imbibe republican notions.

These precautions were taken during the two last months of 1797. The revolution that happened in Rome the following months raised such an alarm in the councils of Naples, that thirty thousand of its troops were stationed on the frontiers; and the roads from the Roman territories were furnished with cannon as if an invasion was expected from that quarter.

Unwilling to create fresh causes of terror in a power, which, though not formidable in itself, might be rendered so by the junction of others, the directory appointed an ambassador to the Neapolitan monarch, with instructions to impress him with the persuasion, that the politics of France respecting him, were friendly and pacific.

The person chosen for this purpose, was Garrat, a man of capacity and learning, who had been one of the convention that converted France into a republic, in 1792. In his first audience, which was on the

the eighth of May, 1798, he addressed the king, in a speech replete with eloquence and virtuous sentiments. But the insincerity of the professions of amity and good will, so elegantly expressed by its ministers to foreign princes, was too much suspected in the mouth of Garra, a violent republican, to make any impression in favour of the directory. The consciousness of the mortification his presence occasioned to the queen of Naples, sister to the unfortunate Antoinette, consort to Lewis XVI. induced him shortly to renounce his embassy, after having vainly tried to palliate the enormities of the revolution.

In the mean time, the disturbances in the country of the Grisons, that followed, and were caused by the revolution in Switzerland, had entirely altered the situation of things between France and Austria. As it was not expected that the latter would acquiesce peaceably in a change so materially detrimental to its interest, as the union of the Helvetic body with the French republic, so it was not doubted but the favourable opportunity of assuming the protection of the Grisons on their own consent and invitation, against the projected usurpations of France, would be readily embraced by the court of Vienna. As the French, on the other hand, would not desist from their pretensions, a renewal of hostilities was evidently unavoidable: in which case the intimate connection subsisting between Naples and Vienna would necessarily induce them to make a common cause against that formidable enemy.

Such being the relative situation of those two courts, that of Naples immediately proceeded, on the

prospect of what must shortly happen, to make as large additions to its army, and to raise as considerable supplies of money as could possibly be procured by all the means and exertions it was able to resort to, in a crisis which it looked upon as infallibly decisive of its future destiny.

Nevertheless all due care was taken to obviate complaints on the part of France. Proclamations were issued, enjoining the Neapolitans to consider the French as their friends, and to treat them as such, and particularly to avoid all occasions of quarrel and altercation between individuals of the two nations, as tending so usually to more serious feuds.

It was remarkable, that on the present emergency, the church was called upon, in a peculiar manner, to supply the necessities of the state. An enumeration was made of all the convents, both of men and women, in the kingdom, and of their possessions and revenues, and in proportion to these they were assessed the maintenance of a soldier for every five conventuals. Clergymen, possessing benefices of a thousand ducats yearly, were each charged with the expence of a man. The danger, to which they felt their professions exposed, reconciled the clergy and the monastic orders to this tax, to which probably they would not otherwise have submitted. These assessments maintained, it was said, twelve thousand men. The barons of the realm were, in like manner, required to raise and pay a considerable body of cavalry. In order, at the same time, to provide sufficient numbers for the large army that was to be set on foot, every fifth man, able to bear

bear arms, was enrolled for the service. The ways and means, employed to find money for the support of these numerous forces, were very productive. The requisition upon plate alone produced near fifty millions of ducats.

In the midst of these vast preparations, the terror inspired by the proximity of the French armies, still carried invincible influence over the Neapolitan councils. Garrat, the French ambassador, had, before his departure, demanded the liberation from confinement of all individuals detained for their political opinions, whom he styled the unfortunate friends of France, making it a condition of its amity, and of its guaranteeing Naples against any attempts from the Italian republics.

The court was highly irritated at this demand; but, after a multiplicity of fruitless endeavours to elude it, was obliged to comply. The number of individuals set at liberty through this interference of France, was not so considerable as to endanger the state; but they were persons of noted character and intrepidity. In that light their release from prison was viewed as a circumstance highly injurious to the court, on account of the liberties they would take in exposing its conduct to them as oppressive and iniquitous, and of their endeavours to induce people to shake off the yoke of a government that exercised such tyranny, and to use their efforts for the obtaining another more equitable and free.

Thus it was clear, that without a close alliance with Austria, the revolutionary opinions, daily gaining ground in the kingdom of Naples, chiefly in the capital, would, after spreading through all classes, excite

commotions that might prove finally too strong to be resisted. It was resolved, therefore, to arm the royal authority with all the power that could be collected at home, and with all the strength that could be derived from a potent ally abroad, interested, from motives no less cogent than its own, to arrest the progress of a party that seemed determined to stop at nothing for the compassing of its ends; and without the total extermination of which no monarch could be safe on his throne.

Under this conviction, the court of Naples saw no other method of securing its existence, than by renewing, without farther delay, its alliance with Austria, which now stood, though with more extensive means of defence, much in a similar situation. The French government, not ignorant of the secret intentions of both these powers, and hoping to strike with fresh terror that which it deemed most susceptible of fear, and thereby to prevent his junction with the other, gave formal notice to the Neapolitan ministry, that it expected a punctual observance of that article of the treaty subsisting between them, by which only four English ships of war were admissible at a time into any or all its harbours; without which restriction the English might fill with their ships of war all the ports of Naples and Sicily.

But the Neapolitan ministry had now resolved to listen neither to its threats nor promises. It was too deeply alarmed at the expedition under the command of Buonaparte, the destination of which was not yet ascertained, but who had seized on Malta, and was thought to menace other islands. Little con-
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ding in the good faith of the French, it did not think itself bound in prudence to conform literally to the words of a treaty, while France, by daily extending its acquisitions under insidious pretences, was breaking through the spirit of all treaties, and authorising all states to consult their security and defence by all the means they could possibly devise.

In the mean-while, the French were augmenting the number of their forces at Rome, and evidently making preparations for hostile measures; which report concurred from all quarters to direct against Naples. It was time, therefore, to make counter-preparations, though at the expence of incurring their displeasure. Additional levies of men were made, and every measure taken to put the kingdom in a posture of defence.

Heavy complaints, as it had been foreseen, were laid before the Neapolitan ministry, which was menaced with the severest resentment of France, at this manifestation of inimical designs. It was explicitly warned not to place too much dependence on a power so distant as Austria, and to recollect what forces France had at Rome, and how soon they could be at Naples before it could possibly receive assistance from abroad. It was reminded, at the same time, of the numbers of malcontents that would join the French on their arrival, and with what a spirit of revenge they were animated for the severities that had been exercised upon them.

These threatening remonstrances did not however produce the effect intended. The court, on the contrary, apprehending the intrigues of those whom it had freed from confinement, through the inter-

ference of Garrat, remanded them to prison, and menaced with the like treatment every person that should endeavour to stir up discontent or sedition, or profess himself an abettor of the French or of their principles.

The aspect of affairs began, at this period, to prove less favourable to this restless nation. A treaty was concluded between the emperor and the king of Naples, by which the latter was to be aided with a powerful army. The former occupied the countries adjacent to Switzerland, with numerous forces, and his resolution was avowedly taken to assist the Grisons against the well known projects of the French, who had failed in their endeavours to prevail upon that people to join them, and admit a French army into their country, notwithstanding the intrigues and the menaces of the directory.

Irritated at the firmness with which the court of Naples had proceeded to arm in its own defence, and to suppress the malcontents in its dominions, the French government filled all the papers in its pay with complaints and denunciations of its vengeance. La Combe St. Michael, the ambassador appointed in the room of Garrat, was ordered to insist in the most positive terms on its desisting from the hostile measures it had taken, and laying aside the warlike appearance it had assumed, under pain of incurring the utmost indignation of France, and experiencing the consequences that would follow.

It was now verging towards the close of September, and Europe was filled with the news of a decisive victory obtained by an English fleet, under admiral Nelson, over a French fleet, on the coast of Egypt. The effects

effects produced every where, by this great event (as will, by and by, appear), were astonishing. — The submissive and adulatory style, which the dread of the French had so widely spread, vanished at once from both speech and writing, and people boldly expressed their real sentiments. In Italy especially, the rancour excited by their disrespect to religion, roused the multitude in almost every part of that spacious country, and plainly proved that fear alone had hitherto prevented men from manifesting the abhorrence in which they held them. In all those places which were not kept in awe, by the immediate terror of their arms and presence, a spirit of hatred and inveteracy started up, that united all classes in a determination to co-operate in their expulsion.

The kingdom of Naples, which had hitherto remained unattempted, and now hoped that all dangers of this nature were at an end, testified the loudest joy at this deliverance, and the most zealous readiness to second the enemies of the French, in driving them out of Italy. It was not only for the insults they were guilty of to the religion of the country, but for their insupportable haughtiness, that all degrees so unanimously concurred in viewing them with malevolence. Among other instances of tyrannical pride, general Macdonald, who commanded at Rome, had lately deposed the consuls of that republic, and substituted others in their places: the proclamation issued upon this occasion, concluded with these remarkable words: "Such is the will of the great nation, and it must be obeyed." Such arrogance and pretensions could not fail to expose them to general odium.

The people of Malta were the first to set the example of an insurrection against them. Buonaparte, on his departure, had left a garrison of about three thousand men, in that island. They remained some time at peace with the inhabitants; but proceeded gradually to make so many requisitions, particularly of the plate belonging to the churches and hospitals, that a universal rising took place on the twenty-sixth of August: the people, whose patience was exhausted by their insolence and their extortions, attacked them with such fury, that they were obliged to take refuge in the forts, where the inhabitants kept them closely confined. The French government attributed this insurrection to the court of Naples, as it did every occurrence in Italy unfavourable to them.

But the Neapolitan ministry, no longer intimidated by the continual effusions of anger proceeding from the directory, continued its operations with the utmost vigour. It placed general Provera, who had so much signalized himself in the campaigns against Buonaparte, at the head of the army, which was kept in a continual state of exercise, and officered by as many expert individuals as could be procured, and to whom the greatest encouragement was given.

It was with reason that the king of Naples made all these preparations. The wrath of the French was kindled to the highest pitch, at the unfeigned exultation he had, in common with his people, displayed at the success of the English. He had gone out to sea, to meet admiral Nelson, and had received him with undissembled joy. His victory over the French, and the destruction of their fleet, were celebrated at Naples, as triumphs in which the whole kingdom

kingdom was deeply interested: the English cockade was worn by multitudes, who expressed, without disguise, their confidence, that the time was come for the utter downfall of the French.

These, however, held the Neapolitans, and their attempts to form an army capable of facing them, in absolute derision. The troops they had at Rome, and in the northern parts of Italy, were, in their opinion, fully sufficient to crush all the efforts of the emperor and the king of Naples. What, through the pusillanimity produced by bigotry, or by a long subjection to strangers, they looked upon the natives of his dominions as lost to all national spirit, and wholly unfit for soldiers. The only men among them to be relied upon were those who had imbibed republican principles, and these were the declared enemies to his government. As to the emperor, his armies, when composed of the bravest veterans, had been invariably defeated, and were now so thoroughly destroyed, that they consisted almost entirely of new levies, forced from their homes into the service; and the majority were well known to fight against the French, much against their own inclinations.

These notions being partly true, though greatly exaggerated by the French, prevented them from being dispirited at the disasters that had befallen them at sea, and kept up their hopes of being able shortly to balance them by successes at land. In the mean while, their ambassador at Naples, on his arrival, which was the middle of October, endeavoured, in the speech he made to the king at his first audience, to inculcate the necessity of his preserving the goodwill of France: but that prince was

convinced that his real interest required him to take a decided part against it. His army was becoming numerous and well disciplined, amounting to four score thousand men, one-fourth cavalry, and supplied with a number of good officers, at the head of whom was now general Mack, sent from Germany at the king's request.

In expectation of having the emperor to encounter, and that, assisted by the treasures of England, he would bring immense forces into the field, the directory, though full of boasts, was extremely solicitous to obviate, the accession of auxiliaries to him, that might necessitate the division of the strength they possessed in Italy, and which they were desirous to employ wholly against him. They knew that were he to be successful in the attempt he was meditating, their footing in Italy would be lost, and he would recover all they had taken. This would at once give a final blow to their revolutionary establishments and designs in that quarter. The navies of England and of Russia, already in possession of the Mediterranean, would quickly master every island in that sea, and shut them out from the trade and navigation to the Levant, so prodigious a source of wealth to France. It was incumbent, therefore, upon them, from every motive, to collect all the force they could possibly procure for so decisive a contest, and carefully to avoid the giving any provocation that might occasion a diversion in his favour.

This was the real motive that restrained them from indulging their rancour at the court of Naples, for the manifestations of its good wishes to their enemies, though they strove to cloak their forbearance under a
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remnant of respect for the emperor, and of a deference for the king of Spain, their ally, and so nearly related to the Neapolitan monarch. The fact was, that France, though unwilling to make such an acknowledgement, had been so forcibly impressed by the destruction of its fleet, at the battle of the Nile (of which an account will be given presently), that it was become less unwilling to admit of pacific ideas, and would gladly have granted more favourable terms to the emperor, in order to detach him from his connection with England: this being an object, to attain which, it would readily have consented to great sacrifices.

But there were also other causes that retarded the designs of France against Naples and the emperor, both of whom, as embarked in the same bottom, it was resolved to involve in the same treatment, whenever an opportunity arrived. These causes were the pecuniary embarrassments of the republic, and the difficulty of extorting money from its allies, exhausted like itself, by its merciless requisitions. Insurrections had also broken out in the Belgic provinces, and were daily becoming more extensive and serious. Till these were suppressed, the directory did not think it safe to undertake operations abroad, which would have required those troops that were wanted to effect this suppression. The levies of men in France, in consequence of the requisition made by the directory of no less than two hundred thousand, were not yet completed, and it would take time, after they were assembled, to discipline and fit them for the field, and then to march them to the frontiers. As soon as these

various embarrassments were removed, no doubt was entertained that France would proceed to active operations, in order to replace itself by fresh successes on that footing of terror to its enemies, which it stood upon previously to the battle of the Nile, and without which it hoped for no peace on advantageous conditions, or even upon terms of security.

The necessity of recovering this position inspired the directory with the determination of employing every method either of solicitation or of coercion that appeared most convenient or most practicable for the effecting of this purpose. The Helvetian republic was called upon to put in requisition all individuals from sixteen to forty-five years of age. The king of Sardinia, against whom the most inimical designs were secretly formed, was compelled to advance a large sum of money, and to hold in readiness the contingent of troops he was bound to furnish by the treaty of alliance with France. The Cisalpine commonwealth was required to contribute twenty-four millions as a loan, and to prepare the stipulated proportion of troops. At Rome, a heavy tax was imposed, for the service of France; and, in order to facilitate its payment, assignats were created on the confiscated property of the emigrants and clergy.

These onerous demands and requisitions proved, however, that the necessities of France were pressing. This consideration did not escape the court of Naples, the only power in Italy still at liberty to act for itself, and convinced that the present was as favourable a season for action as any it could expect. In addition to those pressures, others

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of a more calamitous nature, afflicted the interior provinces.— Towns, formerly populous and full of business, had lost their inhabitants, together with the means of employing them. All occupations were at a stand, excepting those relating to war and to the indispensable intercourses of society.

A circumstance peculiarly encouraging to attack the French in Italy, was, that the flower of that army, which had done such great things in that country, had been carried away by Buonaparte, in his expedition to Egypt, from whence it was probable that few of them would ever return. Thus a variety of motives concurred to render an attempt upon the French, in Italy, highly advisable.

Actuated by these inducements, the court of Naples resolved to enter immediately upon the execution of the plan proposed. The king put himself at the head of his army, accompanied by general Mack, and marched into the territory of the Roman republic, upon the twenty-third of November. His sudden and unexpected appearance so much disconcerted the French and their partisans, that they hastily withdrew from Rome, which was left open and defenceless to the Neapolitan troops.

In order to second these operations, by causing a diversion of the French forces in those parts, a British squadron, with a large body of troops on board, sailed to Leghorn, of which it took possession on the twenty-eight of November. The duke of Tuscany and his family had taken refuge there in consequence of a requisition to prepare quarters at Florence, his capital, for five thousand Frenchmen.

This entrance of the Neapolitan army, on the Roman territories, furnished a pretext to the French, to seize upon the king of Sardinia's dominions. Ever since their occupation of the citadel of Turin, continual altercations had subsisted between the French garrison there and the inhabitants of the city, who felt indignantly the treatment of their sovereign, and their own involuntary subjection to foreigners. It was resolved, therefore, in a council held by the French generals in Italy, to proceed instantly to a total seizure of Piedmont, looking upon that prince and his subjects as inimical to their cause, and determined upon the first opportunity to shake off their yoke, and assist their enemies. Attacked by the king of Naples on one side, and in daily expectation of being assailed by the emperor on the other, they did not hesitate, conformably to the maxims of convenience, the only maxims they consulted, to possess themselves of a country that would, if they were obliged to give way to either of those persons, afford them a safe retreat, and secure their communication both with France and with Switzerland.

They executed their designs between the sixth and the tenth of December. Conscious of his inability to resist them, and averse to the shedding of blood to no purpose, the Sardinian monarch yielded passively to all their demands, and surrendered his towns and fortresses, his troops, people, and country into the hands of the French, who did not permit him to remain one day longer in his abdicated dominions. On the morrow after they had extorted these concessions from him,

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by a formal capitulation, wherein he obtained the best conditions he was able, for the safety of the religion and properties of his subjects, they insisted that he should forthwith transport himself to the island of Sardinia, with those who were willing to follow his fortunes.

Thus ended, for the present, the reign of Victor Emanuel. He was blamed, by many, for not having made a firmer resistance to the French, from the moment they began to arrogate more authority than the articles of the peace he had made allowed them. But it was evident that all opposition would have been vain. He was surrounded on every side, and, to have had recourse to arms, could only precipitate him from his throne, possibly with more of violence than he now experienced.

The directory endeavoured to justify their hard usage of this prince, by charging him with the most hostile intentions, and with the basest practices against the French. Probably, however, his chief, if not his only offence, consisted in the enmity which they were certain he must bear them, for the ill treatment and the insults he was perpetually loaded with, and his presumed resolution to seek revenge when opportunity offered.

In the mean time, general Mack, at the head of the Neapolitan forces, had compelled the advanced posts of the Roman army to retire, and occupied, with the numerous army under his command, a large extent of country. But, as soon as Championet, the French general, had collected the various bodies of his countrymen that were dispersed in several places of the Roman territory, he resolutely marched against the enemy, notwithstanding

his vast superiority. The first action was at Porto Fermo, where the Neapolitans, who were, it is said, eighteen thousand strong, were defeated by general Rusca, at the head of less than four thousand; with the loss of their cannon, camp, and baggage, and a great number slain or taken. At Monterosi, general Kellermann, with hardly two thousand men, encountered eight thousand, of whom two thousand were made prisoners, with their artillery, tents, and equipage, and several hundreds killed. The remainder of this vanquished body retired to Civita Castellana, where it was joined by ten thousand men, commanded by general Mack, who surrounded himself with strong entrenchments: but they were attacked and carried by the generals Macdonald and Mathieu: five thousand men were taken, of whom one hundred and twenty were officers, besides the numbers that fell. Several other engagements took place, in every one of which the French were victorious; and, in the space of three weeks, from his invasion of the Roman territory, general Mack was obliged to retire to Naples, and put himself on the defensive, with a shattered and dispirited army, on which it now appeared that little reliance could be placed, notwithstanding the pains that had been taken to form it to discipline and tactics. The only hope, now remaining to the court of Naples, was in the speedy assistance of the emperor, whose forces were advancing, with all expedition, on the northern confines of Italy. But this was a distant aid, and, before it could arrive, great apprehensions were entertained that much mischief might be done.

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C H A P.

C H A P. X.

Vast and unbounded Ambition of the French Republic.—A formidable Armament sails from Toulon.—Conjectures concerning its Destination.—Attacks and reduces the Island of Malta.—Reaches and makes a Descent on the Coast of Egypt.—Proceedings of the English Fleet in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Nelson.—Signal Victory of the English over the French Fleet at Anchor in the Bay of Aboukir.—The French Fleet almost all taken or destroyed.—The Effects of this instantaneous and great Event over all Europe.—Bonaparte makes himself Master of Alexandria.—And of Grand Cairo.—The French in Possession of all Egypt.—And occupied in organizing a Government there, on their usual Plan.

THE coincident manœuvres of the directors, to overthrow the ancient constitution of Switzerland, to march their conquering legions across the Appenine mountains, and to dictate to the congress of Rastadt (of the progress and issue of which we shall give some account in our subsequent volume), were declared by themselves, and appeared in reality, to be only subsidiary to their grand design of an attack on this country; without humbling which, their scheme of universal influence and domination must ever suffer interruption. There they meant to plunder the continent of Europe. Here they meant to conquer the world.

But the mighty preparations of France, notwithstanding the distractions and insurrections in Ireland, were beheld in Great Britain without dismay, and with an elevated courage, which even sought to encounter the enemy. From Caithness, to Kent and Cornwall,

the united nations were in arms. Internal conspiracies were quashed, and all hearts and hands were united, in defiance of the French: the greatest fear was, lest they should not carry their threats of invasion into execution, but pursue the lingering mode of exhausting and cutting us off by a consumption. While the British navy watched and cut off, or seized, the ships and squadrons of the enemy, gun-boats were fitted out in the British creeks and harbours. The invaders could not land any where, without being greatly crippled. In addition to all these circumstances, the leaders of opposition, though they had too often predicted the danger and distress to be apprehended from entering into and persevering in the war (even after an opportunity had offered for an honourable pacification), magnanimously determined, at the present crisis, to support the government: burying, for a time, all past disputes in oblivion.

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By this formidable front, that invasion which had been so long in preparation, and so loudly threatened, was, for the present, averted.

The directory, having laid aside the project against England, thought it necessary to substitute another in its place, which might seem no less conspicuous, and balance the disappointment of the public, when it found its expectations from that project frustrated. They concerted with Buonaparte, whom they had destined for the command of what they called the army of England, but who had never entered warmly, if he at all approved, their design of invading this country, * a project which (to make use of the language of the French) was to strike all Europe with astonishment.

The preparations, for an invasion of England, were apparently continued for a considerable time after the design was laid aside, that, under the veil of those preparations, their real design might be the better concealed and accomplished. While certain bodies of troops, and stores, were drawn towards the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, others were collected at Toulon: from whence the armament, destined for the secret expedition, set sail, under the orders of Buonaparte, on the

twentieth of May. It consisted of thirteen ships of the line, of which one carried a hundred and twenty guns, three eighty, and nine seventy-four, seven frigates of forty guns, besides smaller vessels, making altogether forty and four sail. The transports amounted to nearly two hundred, carrying about twenty thousand men, regular troops, with a proportionable number of horses and artillery, and immense quantities of provisions and military stores. This fleet carried also a number of artists of all denominations, with astronomers, geometers, chymists, mineralogists, botanists, physicians, men versant in ancient and modern languages, and, in a word, whatever might conduce to the improvement of the colony in view, and the advancement of knowledge.

A variety of conjectures were formed with regard to the destination of this formidable armament: the largest that had ever been equipped in France for any distant expedition. Malta and Egypt were generally pointed out as its principal objects; which they proved accordingly. The riches of the former were deemed a sufficient temptation for France to seize them, in its present need of resources, exclusive of the abundant supply of

* It has been said that Buonaparte refused to take the command of the army of England, unless he should be at full liberty to use all that moral artillery which he had exercised with so much success in other quarters; not only to make war, but also at his own discretion to make peace: and that it was his wish to settle the affairs of Great Britain, as well as those of all the rest of Europe, at Rastadt, on the basis of the treaty, and particularly the famous fourteenth article of the treaty of Campo-Formio. The directory was actuated by jealousy and envy. The degree of respect he had shewn to property, to religion, and to sovereign princes, though less than what would have been satisfactory to the friends of monarchy, was greater than what accorded with a spirit of Jacobinical union, fraternization, and destruction. But what was of the greatest importance of all, had the power of peace, as well as war, been lodged in the hands of Buonaparte, they would have been deprived of those personal advantages to which, it now plainly appeared, they looked in all their negotiations with foreign powers.

excellent mariners to be drawn from that island, were the French to retain it. The latter appeared an acquisition of the highest importance to the commercial interest of France, which it would enable to intercept and ruin the trade of England in India, one of the principal sources of its opulence and naval grandeur.

The French fleet arrived off the island of Malta the ninth of June. A pretext was wanting for permission to enter the harbour; but it was demanded for the procuring of water. Such a request, so soon after leaving Toulon, excited the suspicion of the grand master. Unwilling, however, to appear inimical, he consented, on condition that only two ships should enter at a time. This being construed into a refusal, the French prepared to attack the place; which they did on the next morning, at every point that was found accessible. The defence of the Maltese was so spiritless and feeble, that the French effected the landing of as many troops as were necessary to invest the city of Valetta on every side; and a capitulation took place on the eleventh, by which the knights surrendered the island to France. It had, at this time, a garrison of seven thousand men; the shores were defended by ten fortresses of uncommon strength, and the city itself was reputed almost impregnable. Two centuries before, it had been besieged by the celebrated Solymán, the Turkish emperor, at the head of two hundred thousand men, who was obliged to withdraw, after a prodigious slaughter of his army. These particulars induced all Europe to believe that it fell into the hands of the French

as much through treachery as cowardice. The advantages resulting to the invaders, from the reduction of Malta, were certainly great. They found here, two ships of war, four galleys, and one frigate, with twelve hundred cannon, and immense magazines of military stores.

The possession of the isle itself was of the highest importance, having the best and safest harbour in the straits; commanding the navigation between the European, Asiatic, and African, divisions of the Mediterranean, and affording every convenience for the refitting and construction of shipping.

This conquest filled the French commander and his army with the brightest hopes: leaving a sufficient force to guard it, Buonaparte sailed from hence on the twentieth of June, 1798, and reached his ultimate destination, the coast of Egypt, on the first day of July. What were the final projects of the French government, or rather of the extraordinary genius who commanded this extraordinary expedition, remain doubtful at this day. To record, however, the most plausible speculations on this subject may not be quite foreign to the design of describing the relative situation of states and kingdoms, at given periods, and the views to which this naturally gives birth.

Buonaparte who, to a mind naturally lofty, and fertile in expedients, had added all the advantages of a learned and liberal, as well as a military education, viewed things on a grand scale, and under a vast variety of relations, and was animated by the contemplation of ancient times to a love of glory. He had often expressed in conversation, even

even for several years before, his opinion, that there could not be a nobler enterprize, or one more conducive to the interests of the human race, than to relieve India from the domination of the English, and to open the richest commerce to the whole world. His plans, therefore, of exalting France on the ruins of England, were tinged with ideas somewhat sublime and generous, and what might be expected to conciliate the grateful affection as well as the admiration of the world. As he could not take India, the great spring of British wealth and naval power in London, he conceived the design of shutting it out from England, by the possession of Egypt: whether by making that country, so singularly and happily situated,* only a stepping-stone to the coast of Malabar,† where he might be joined by Tippoo: or whether by making it a permanent settlement; by colonizing it, improving it, and raising all those productions in which it is so fertile, and which are proper to countries in the same latitude in different parts of the world; by uniting the Indian trade to that emporium, by means of canals, harbours, and forts, on the Red-Sea; and, on the whole, gradually, and by a course of harmonized actions, to turn the tide of commerce against England. The first of these projects, to go directly to India, though romantic and full of danger, was generally held to be the most congruous both to the character of Buonaparte, and the

French nation. The last, which was the most natural and solid, is that which appears to have been embraced by Buonaparte.

But this, however great and comprehensive, it is fair to presume, from measures previously taken by this daring chief, as well as his character, impatient of repose, and enjoying tranquility only in action, was not his only object. There were other collateral plans which he had in contemplation, the execution of which might go hand in hand with his designs on Egypt and India, if these should be favoured by fortune and crowned with success. Corsica, with other islands, Malta, and Egypt, while they would open, on the one hand, outposts for undermining the power of England in the east, would open also, on the other, various avenues for exciting insurrection and revolt in ancient Greece and other parts of the Turkish empire; republican ideas might be cherished in Hungary, and the southern provinces of Austria; and political independence with civil freedom restored to Poland. Such, probably, were the animating views, and such the wide and splendid theatre of action, that were originally in the contemplation, or would certainly have been opened by success to the ardent and aspiring genius of Buonaparte.

The project of seizing and colonizing Egypt, had been suggested, by the count Vergennes, to the French government during the monarchy; and, at one period, it had

* Egypt was happily denominated, by Augustus Cæsar, "the key of the land and the sea."

† For which navigation, a sufficient quantity of shipping might be furnished by the trade between the coasts of Malabar and Arabia.

been very seriously thought of. There were some circumstances which not only pointed out the present time as very opportune for carrying it into execution, but which seemed to threaten danger to the French republic if this should be much longer delayed. The power of the Ottomans over the pachas, and other officers, had now become more nominal than real. Passawan Oglou, of Widdin, was in open rebellion, and not only maintained his independence but threatened to advance to the gates of Constantinople. The Greeks, in the two last wars between Russia and the Porte, had shewn a spirit worthy of liberty, and capable, with a due proportion of foreign aid, to assert it. They would unquestionably, in the present juncture, be ready to join any foreign power that promised and was likely to afford them protection; they might, if neglected by France, become the friends, allies, and, in some measure, the dependents of Russia, of Austria, or of Great Britain. The Turkish empire, verging fast to a dissolution, was precisely in the situation of the Mogul empire, when the authority of the emperor had ceased, and was assumed by the governors of the different provinces. It was soon, if France should not interfere, to be divided among the three great allied powers, Russia, England, and Austria, lately become a maritime power, by the acquisition of Venice and a large tract of coast on the Adriatic. The commerce with India was about to fall back into its ancient channel. The bulky commodities of that country might still be carried round by the Cape of Good Hope: but the lighter and

more precious articles of trade would find their way by Syria, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. A succession of travellers had lately shewn there were different routes from Bombay to Leghorn, and London, much shorter than had been imagined. In 1779, private traders in India had risked a caravan by the way of Egypt, to the value of several millions sterling. This caravan was, indeed, plundered by the Arabs; instigated by the English East-India company and government: but still it was a proof of the facilities for commerce, presented by the isthmus of Suez. The channel is natural that is shut only by the intrigues of monopolists and the power of governments. If Egypt and the Red-Sea should not be occupied by France they would be occupied by England, with whom, while the coalition should be held together, and Russia, some commercial arrangements would be made for the mutual advantage of all the contracting parties. On the whole, if the imbecility of the Turkish empire should not be improved to the advantage of France, and freedom, its approaching fall must become the means of strengthening the hands of despotism.

Buonaparte, in the midst of his proceedings in Italy, found means to carry on a correspondence with the Greeks, under the veil of commerce, through the agency of different individuals of that nation, attached to his person and cause, by pecuniary gratifications, Pamphlets, poems, songs, in ancient and modern Greek, with fabricated gazettes, had been in circulation for two years, throughout Macedonia, Epirus, Albania, the Morea, and the isles of the

the Archipelago, rousing the Greeks to an emulation of their ancestors, under the auspices and protection of the great nation. There was an aged Greek, named Dimo, who had taken refuge, for a long series of years, from Turkish intolerance and oppression, with his family, in the island of Corsica, where he became acquainted with Buonaparte. Him the general sent for, and dispatched, with a letter, to the patriarch of the Mainotes, Christians of the Greek church, and descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, who had maintained, in a very considerable degree, the independence of their ancestors; the whole tribe, or nation, being constantly armed, from the first irruption of the Turks in Europe to the present moment. To the letter of Buonaparte, fraught with sentiments of respect and benevolence, to the patriarch, the Mainotes, and all the Greeks, the reverend father sent an answer, pointing out many circumstances in the present state of the Greek nation, and the Turkish government, which invited the co-operation of the French republic, for the emancipation of the former, and the chastisement of the latter. "Through the weakness of the Ottomans, he said, and their inability to maintain subordination and peace, the Greeks in Albania and Epirus had been under the necessity, and even allowed by the Porte, to take up arms in defence of their property. Bands, from two to five and six hundred men, had, for a long period of time, occasionally scourged the country, and laid the villages

under the heaviest contributions, besides other acts of an insolent and enormous nature. Those maraudings, and the necessity of resisting them, had come to even an unusual height, during the course of the last war with Russia; since which time the Greeks had become so inured to arms and military exertions, that they were able and well-disposed to face a Turkish army, if any foreign power should obtain a footing in Greece: without which, they were sensible that the Turkish force must ultimately prevail over all their efforts. The Turkish empire, the patriarch observed, hastened to the last stage of its fall. The public treasury was not replenished by the wonted supplies of the provinces. A great number of pachas, not less than sixteen, had declared themselves to be independent of the grand seignior and divan of Constantinople. Nor were they satisfied with detaining in their own hands the customary contributions; but would not suffer caravans with contributions to the Porte, from other provinces, to pass through their districts. Passawan Oglou having set out from Widdin, in Bulgaria, with only a small army, on his way to Constantinople, had found it increased to the number of forty thousand by the time he arrived at Adrianople; from whence he had sent a message to the grand seignior, in a haughty and imperious tone, charging him with the introduction of various European customs and violations of the law of Mahomed.* In the vicinity of Bursa, there was another pacha,

* It does not fall within the design of this sketch of the History of Europe to give a detailed account of the rebellion of a Turkish pacha. It may be a satisfaction to our readers,

pacha, at the head of a strong army, who intercepted the revenue of the Porte from that quarter. So that, on the whole, Greece, at the present moment, belonged to any power that would deliver the Greeks from the yoke imposed on them by the Turks.

So sensible, the patriarch continued, were the Russians of the imbecility of the Turkish government, and of what might be effected by the Greeks if duly supported, that a prince of the Imperial family had been baptized, by the name of Constantius, as the legitimate heir of the throne of Constantinople; and received a Grecian education. He spoke no other language than Greek; he had few besides Grecian chiefs about his person; and evidently aspired to the Grecian empire." But he declared, in conclusion, that the Greeks, being more attached to a free government than aristocracy, would prefer the protection of France to that of any other country whatever: and, above all, if Buonaparte should be its principal organ! This letter, written in Greek, was signed Trephanopoli.

Without charging the patriarch with aught of the *Grecia mendax*, or of voluntary exaggeration, it may be observed, that his statement is not exactly accurate, and that he has probably given ear, as is very natural, to every report that favour-

ed his wishes. Yet it is, on the whole, in conformity with the most authentic accounts of the dispositions of the Greeks, and the internal state of the Ottoman empire.

The letter of Trephanopoli, together with an account of certain mischances, which rendered a farther supply of money necessary for farther correspondence with the Greeks, was carried, by Dimo, to Buonaparte, who said, "I will read this report with all the interest that I have taken in those you have already sent me: I will take care of all that you mention." As Dimo retired, the general said, "in four days I shall want to see you." But, from this moment, Dimo saw him no more. On the fourth day, Buonaparte set out for Toulon: so that Dimo concluded that it was in the interval of those four days that the expedition to Egypt was resolved on.

Besides this secret correspondence, Buonaparte, when in Italy, endeavoured to encourage and excite revolt among the Greeks, by open declarations. The islands, lately acquired by the French republic, in the Ionian Sea, were divided into three departments, Corcyra, Ithaca, and the Ægean Sea. By the orders of Buonaparte, a manifesto was published by the administration of the central department of those islands, which was, that of Corcyra, proclaiming to

readers, just to observe, that Passawan Oglou is, by birth, a Greek; that he enlisted, at twelve years of age, into a corps of Janissaries, submitting to the rules of the Mahomedan faith, of which he is, or pretends to be, a zealous votary: yet he is a warm friend to the Greeks, and condemns the injurious and brutal treatment of this people by the Turks, as a gross contempt of the law of the prophet. Before he declared his own independence, and ventured on hostilities against the grand signior, he had been at war and obtained an ascendancy over his neighbouring pachas. He is chiefly distinguished by an inflexible perseverance in his resolutions.

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the whole Greek nation the reduction of Malta, inviting the Greeks to listen to the general cry of liberty, resounding from shore to shore; and holding out to them the greatest hopes, from the victories and conquests of the French in the Mediterranean. By the orders of Buonaparte, too, emissaries of sedition were sent abroad, into every quarter, by all the French consuls in the Archipelago.

The French squadron, under the orders of admiral de Brueys (who had left Toulon, with a numerous fleet of transports, having on board the flower of that army which had with rapidity over-run Italy, and then under the orders of their celebrated general, Buonaparte), excited considerable apprehension, with some anxiety, respecting their destination.

That the British ministry had formed a tolerably correct conjecture thereof, but were not positively certain, may be ascertained by the traverse which the British squadron made in quest of them.

The command of this squadron was vested in rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson, by private recommendation, from the first lord of the admiralty to the commander-in-chief, off Cadiz.

The rear-admiral had been previously detached into the Mediterranean, with his flag, on board the Vanguard; accompanied by the Orion, Alexander, and some smaller ships and vessels: these, except the Orion and Alexander, were separated from him by a gale of wind, in which the Vanguard's fore-mast was carried away. He repaired to Cagliari, in Sardinia, and refitted with a jury-mast in the best possible manner.

During that period, the earl St. Vincent, who was off Cadiz, blockading that port, had victualled, and otherwise prepared, ten ships of the line, to be detached into the Mediterranean; so soon as a reinforcement from the channel-fleet, under the command of rear-admiral sir Roger Curtis, should join, and thereby enable him to spare such a detachment, and still maintain the blockade.

The expected squadron was no sooner announced to be in sight of the look-out ships in the N.W. quarter, than the noble admiral made signal for the others to weigh and proceed under the orders of the senior captain, Trowbridge, of the Culloden, to whom he had previously given his instructions. The whole of that fleet, and these ships, were habitually alert in their movements. They were soon all under sail, and, steering for the Mediterranean, were actually out of sight in their course before the squadron from the channel, under sir Roger Curtis, had anchored.

The passage of this select squadron was somewhat tedious, before they effected a junction with the rear-admiral Nelson, who was by that time refitted, and again cruising; but had not been rejoined by any of the frigates who had before separated.

The squadron, together, now were,

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Vanguard 74 | { | Rear-admiral sir H. Nelson. |
| | { | Capt. Berry. |
| Orion . 74 | — | sir J. Saumarez |
| Culloden 74 | — | Trowbridge. |
| Alexander 74 | — | Ball. |
| Zealous . 74 | — | S. Hood. |
| Goliath . 74 | — | Foley. |
| | | Bellerophon |

Bellerophon 74 Capt. Darby.
 Minotaur . 74 — Louis.
 Defence . 74 — J. Peyton.
 Audacious . 74 — Gould.
 Majestic . . 74 — Westcott.
 Swifture . . 74 — Hallowell.
 Theseus . . 74 — Miller.
 Leander . . 50 — Thompson.

And Mutine, brig, Hardy.

No time was lost after the junction, of proceeding in search of the enemy, and arranging the squadron in an established order of battle;* which the rear-admiral divided into two divisions, placing his own ship in the centre of the van and the

Orion, captain sir James Saumarez, in a similar station of the rear; the next senior captain, Trowbridge, in the Culloden, to lead the line on the starboard tack;† and the next senior captain, Darby, in the Bellerophon, to lead on the larboard tack. By that arrangement, the rear-admiral conformed to the old fashion, of paying a compliment to seniority, shewing a confidence which their acknowledged character merited, and thereby avoided cause for dissatisfaction among the commanders, by a partial selection of junior officers to lead in the line of

* ORDER OF BATTLE.

| Ships Names. | Guns. | Men. | Commanders Names. |
|----------------------|-------|------|--|
| 1 Culloden . . . | 74 | 590 | Captain T. Trowbridge. |
| 2 Theseus . . . | 74 | 590 | — R. W. Miller. |
| 3 Alexander . . . | 74 | 590 | — J. A. Ball. |
| 4 Vanguard . . . | 74 | 590 | { Rear admiral sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. |
| 5 Minotaur . . . | 74 | 640 | { Captain Edward Berry. |
| 6 Leander . . . | 50 | 343 | Captain J. Louis. |
| 7 Swifture . . . | 74 | 590 | — J. B. Thompson. |
| 8 Audacious . . . | 74 | 590 | — B. Hallowell. |
| 9 Defence . . . | 74 | 590 | — D. Gould. |
| 10 Zealous . . . | 74 | 590 | — J. Peyton. |
| 11 Orion . . . | 74 | 590 | — S. Hood. |
| 12 Golah . . . | 74 | 590 | — Sir James Saumarez, knt. |
| 13 Majestic . . . | 74 | 590 | — Thomas Foley. |
| 14 Bellerophon . . . | 74 | 590 | — G. B. Westcott. |
| | | | — H. D. S. Darby. |
| Total 1012 | | 8068 | |

† The terms of starboard and larboard tacks are familiar to men acquainted with a sea life: for the information of others, it must be understood, that, when standing aft, or near the stern, and looking forward, toward the bow, the side of the ship, or vessel, then on the right hand is called the starboard side, and that on the left the larboard side; farther, when a ship is sailing close or near to the wind, on the right-hand side, she is said to be on the starboard tack. On the other hand, when blowing on the left-hand side, she is said to be on the larboard tack. To apply this, let it be understood that the wind blows from N. W. as was nearly the case in the instance this subject alludes to, and the squadron were sailing towards the S. W. in the order of the preceding note, they would be said to be in the order of battle a-head on the starboard tack, when the Culloden would be the leader, and the Bellerophon bring up the rear: on the contrary, were they to be formed with their heads towards the N. E. or be directed to wear or tack together in the order of battle, and sail in that direction, then they would be said to be in the order of battle a-head on the larboard tack, when the Bellerophon would lead and Culloden bring up the rear of the squadron; and the order would be the more perfect as the keels of each ship were on a straight line with each other; and at such equal distance from each other as might be ordered.

battle:

battle; which, in some instances in the present war, had been done.

The duty which the rear-admiral now had to perform was of the most important nature to his country, and many of the other states of the world. The enemy had sailed with a great armament, and their purpose remained yet unknown to any, but those of their private council, and the commander of the expedition. Whatever it was, certain we may be, that the orders of the British admiral were, to frustrate their attempts. To effect these, he must have viewed with high satisfaction the squadron which was placed under his command: on whom he might with confidence rely on all being done that human exertion could accomplish with such a force.

The captains were men of unquestionable zeal and professional talents, assisted by officers who highly merited their respective stations; and these were supported by crews who had been long practised in the habits of all that appertains to naval war.

The greater part of the ships had borne a share in some of the distinguished actions which had previously taken place during the war; and the others were partly filled with officers and men who had been engaged in much real service.

With this squadron, the admiral proceeded toward Naples, in quest of the enemy, and detached captain Trowbridge in the *Mutine-brig* for intelligence: none being obtained there, he bent his course toward Sicily, where he was informed the enemy's fleet had been seen off Malta. Thither he pressed all sail, and on arrival was informed, they

had departed from thence a few days before, and steered to the south-eastward. Concluding they were bound to Egypt, he steered direct thither; but, on arrival off Alexandria, had the mortification to find that not a ship had made its appearance there. That disappointment was severe to the hopes of the whole squadron, who were anxious for a meeting, fearless of the consequences, and confident of the result terminating favourably, whatever their strength might be. Conjecture was much strained to guess whither the enemy had gone: no time was lost in continuing the search. The British squadron was led to Rhodes, where the enemy had not appeared, nor been heard of: from thence the squadron plied westwards, by Candia, to Sicily, and entering the bay of Syracuse, by great exertions completed their water and wood in a few days, and, taking on board a considerable stock of live cattle, proceeded again to the eastward, in quest of the enemy.

When off the south coast of the Morea, captain Trowbridge, who was detached to Coron for intelligence, learned from the Turkish governor that the enemy had been heard of being off Candia a month before, and had gone towards Alexandria. Thither the British admiral pressed all sail which the *Culloden* could keep company with, her rate of sailing being somewhat lessened by the incumbrance of a small vessel laden with wine, in tow, which had been lately taken: independent of this, the rate of sailing of the whole squadron were nearly equal; a circumstance of great importance when any evolution was required to be performed.

It

It was the first of August before the Pharos of Alexandria was got sight of by the Squadron, who were then steering direct for it towards the S. S. E. and as they approached discovered a wood of masts in the harbour. The advanced ships (the Alexander and Leander about two leagues a head) made signal for having discovered ships of war to eastward. The admiral, who, with the bulk of the Squadron, was in close order of sailing, being thus directed to a view of the long sought-for fight, immediately altered his course accordingly, and made signal to recall those on the look-out. The Culloden was then about two leagues to the eastward of the admiral, and, after some time and signals exchanged, obtained leave to cast off the vessel towed from off Coron. The Alexander and Leander, who had run in nearer Alexandria, were thereby obliged to hawl more to the wind than between N. N. W. and N. W. in order to round the point off Aboukir; which threw them considerably later than the main body; who sailing with a free wind reached about, or soon after five o'clock, the point; which having rounded and got the bay fairly open, the admiral hawled up on the larboard tack, under an easy sail, probably for the purpose of viewing the situation of the enemy, or more likely for giving time for those of his own Squadron to close; the Culloden being still about two leagues distant in the N. W. quarter. While the Alexander and Leander were still farther distant in the W. S. W. the Squadron of the enemy, which shewed 13 sail of the line of battle, were but a few miles off, bearing from S. W. to South, and anchored in a line extending nearly N. W. and

S. E. with their admiral's flag on board a three deck ship in the centre, and four frigates, with several gun-vessels, dispersed inside towards the van and rear.

The Squadron did not remain long with their heads from the enemy. The admiral speedily determined on what plan of attack was to be adopted. He gave orders, by signal, to prepare to anchor by the stern, and wore with the whole Squadron together by signal. That manœuvre at once changed the situation of the Squadron, by giving the lead to those, who were, while their heads were to the offing, dropping a-stern to join their situation in the rear, in the order of sailing: or, as some have alleged, loitered a-stern from an unwillingness to be drawn off even a few hundred yards from the enemy. If such were the sentiments of any, they were now indulged by the admiral bearing up toward the van of the enemy, and making the signal to form the line of battle a-head, or most convenient: that is, for each ship to fall in as their situation at the time best suited, without regard to the established order of battle.

On that occasion, there were such displays of emulation by each ship to gain an advanced post in the attack, as must have tended to inspire each other with an invincible confidence. But so alert were the whole, that no one ship could gain the point of getting a-head of another, who had the advantage of laying their heads towards the enemy. The admiral, as they were drawing into a form of battle, made the signal to attack the enemy's van and centre: and soon after, added the signal for a close engagement, which was kept flying.

The

The wind, which was between N. W. and N. N. W. had been a fresh top gallant sail breeze, and, though moderated as the day drew towards a close, still swelled out the lighter sails. Before the *Goliah* (the leading ship) had approached within a mile of the enemy's van ships, they commenced a brisk cannonade with their starboard guns, as did the batteries at the castle of Bequires and the gun-vessels, which galled the British Squadron much as they closed. But the situation of the enemy's anchorage, and the shallowness of the water around, rendered it impossible to evade that annoyance. It was therefore borne with a firmness worthy of their character. The period was but short when it became theirs to return the annoyance. The gallant leader* in the *Goliah*, on that occasion displayed a conduct which shewed him worthy of the post he had taken. Keeping his ship under all convenient working sail, he kept as near to the edge of the bank as the depth of water would permit, and passing a-head of the enemy's van ship, *Le Guerrier*, poured into her a most destructive fire; and bearing round up shortened sail,† and anchored by the stern inside of the second of the enemy's line, *Le Conquerant*.

The *Zealous* followed in the track of the *Goliah*, but not so far,

having dropped her stern anchor, so as to preserve a situation on the inside bow of *Le Guerrier*, whom she handled in the severest manner, without being exposed to annoyance in return. The *Orion* next followed, and passing to windward of the *Zealous*, and round her, plying her larboard guns on *Le Guerrier*, while they bore, continued on a S. E. course, and passed the inside of the *Goliah*: when, being annoyed by a frigate's fire, she yawed as much as was necessary to bring her starboard guns to bear, and gave her so complete a dose as to silence her for ever. Then hawling round toward the enemy's line, she dropped the starboard bower anchor inside between the third and fourth ships from their van, and with some exertions, by spreading all her after-sail, (probably to force her keel over the ground, which it most likely touched) got her swung round abreast of *L'Aquilon*, who had, without annoyance, suffered the *Orion* to place herself in this situation. The *Theseus*, who followed the *Orion*, passed between the *Zealous* and *Le Guerrier*, so close to the latter, (whose foremast was by this time over the side) only preserving sufficient distance to avoid entangling her rigging with the jib-boom of the enemy's ship, and when abreast of her bow, poured in a broadside,

* The passing around the bow of the enemy's van and inside of their line appears to have originated with the leader, captain Foley, as no signal was made to direct such a manœuvre: and the suggestion, so apropos, was highly worthy of a seaman, having ready and clear ideas of what appertained to his profession. The example was followed by four other of those who composed the van, and the advantage which was derived from that manœuvre may be best calculated by a reference to the result.

† The wind had become so moderate that it was not necessary to furl the sails, that the anchor may hold; they were only hauled as close up as was possible, which circumstance allowed the men to remain at their quarters on the principal batteries.

until then reserved, the effect of which on the enemy was instantaneous. The main and mizen-masts were also brought down. Thus, in less than fifteen minutes was the van ship of this line reduced to a mere hulk, incumbered with the wreck of her own masts and yards, and doubtless the crew much mutilated. That destructive broadside was given just as the sun dipped in the horizon; after which the *Theseus* passed on the outside of the *Goliath*, and dropped her stern-anchor a-head of her; and thus was placed inside of the third ship of the enemy, *Le Spartiate*, and had commenced the cannonade about the time or before her leader, the *Orion*, was got completely placed, from the little interruptions before-mentioned.

The *Audacious* followed next, and passing between *Le Guerrier* and *Conquerant*, increased the misfortunes of those ill-fated ships, by a destructive fire, and afterwards dropped her stern-anchor, so as to preserve her station inside bow of the latter, over whom the *Goliath* had already got a decided superiority, by the comparative fire maintained. The breeze by this time (as above observed) had lessened as the day closed: most probably too, it had been lulled the more by the effect of the cannonade, which had for some time been maintained: hence the ships which were in the rear of the British squadron were not enabled to close with the celerity suitable to their ardour on that occasion.

The *Vanguard* was the follower

of the *Audacious*; but did not like the five who had preceded her pass the enemy's line: the rank of the admiral (whose flag this ship bore) gave him a privilege of deviating from the example of his leaders, whose manœuvres were to be guided by his direction: she was anchored by the stern on the outside, and close to the third ship from the van, *Le Spartiate*. Her followers respectively passed on a-head of their leader, anchoring by the stern as they came up on the outside as the admiral had done. Thus the *Minotaur*, *Defence*, and *Swiftsure*, took position a-breast of the fourth, fifth, and sixth ships from the van; by which arrangement it was left for the *Bellerophon* to attack the French admiral's ship, *L'Orient*, of three decks:* nor was the undertaking shrunk from, because of the apparent inequality of the contest: the *Bellerophon*'s stern-anchor was dropped on the outside bow of the *L'Orient*, whose collection of heavy batteries was reserved for the closing. The effect of these will be best judged of by the reference to the list of killed and wounded of the hardy assailants, in which stands enrolled the names of almost every officer of that ship. By that time the day was so much closed, as to obscure from general view the conduct of each ship; particularly towards the centre, which was covered with the clouds of smoke blown thither from the van, by the light breeze which yet continued. Under these circumstances, the *Majestic*, who followed the *Bellerophon*, had to grope for an antagonist;

* The difference of force between *L'Orient* and *Bellerophon*, or any other of the squadron, by estimating the weight of ball fired from one broadside of each was above seven to three, and the weight of ball from *L'Orient*'s lower deck alone exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon*.

in doing which, it is said, she found her jib-boom had entered the main rigging of one of the enemy's ships a-stern of their admiral; by whom, she was most severely treated while thus entangled: but, after some time, she swung clear, and avenged herself completely on another of the enemy farther a-stern.

Having thus got all the ships into action, that had formed the body of the squadron, the Culloden, who had been detained by the towing of the wine-vessel, may now be looked after; also the Alexander and Leander, who had been thrown out a-stern, by their having been on the look-out towards Alexandria.

It was with extreme mortification observed, before the day had closed, that the former had run a-ground on a shoal, which was found to extend N. E. from the point on which the castle stood. It may be better imagined than described what were the feelings of the gallant commander and crew of that ship, to be so arrested in their passage to the participation of the fatigues and glory of the combat then depending. The loss of the assistance of such a ship, on so important occasion too, must have excited emotions of deep regret among those engaged, many of whom had witnessed, on an important and splendid occasion in the preceding year, how eminently that ship, under the command of the same officer, and with the same crew, had been distinguished.—Great as the loss of this ship's assistance was, it yielded some consolation to conclude, that her running a-ground served as a beacon to induce the two ships (Alexander and Leander, then to the westward of her) to haul more out to the offing

than they might otherwise have done, from an anxiety to be as soon as possible up to the assistance of their companions; in which case the assistance of two ships would have been lost instead of the Culloden. The Mutine brig made towards her, and remained to render her assistance in getting off the ground; and the Leander, in passing, had communication to know if she could render her effectual aid: that being judged impracticable, she followed her companion, the Alexander, who, having rounded the end of the shoal, was then steering for the centre of the enemy, under all sail: nor did she shorten any, until closed with the French admiral's ship, whom she passed and anchored in a most judicious position inside of that tremendous ship, whom she attacked with a briskness, and maintained with such vivacity, as indicated the impatience of the crew in having been thrown out so long from entering into the action. Without pretending to minute accuracy with regard to time, this may be stated to have taken place about, or soon after eight o'clock. Soon after, the Leander ran in under the stern of the fifth ship; and, anchoring there, took a position whereby she could, without annoyance, fire her guns of one side in the stern of *Le Peuple Souverain*, and those of the other side into the bows of *La Franklin*. It is unnecessary to remark on what must have been the effect of so destructive a raking fire, even from a ship of the Leander's small force.

Thus did each of the British ships enter into action. The result shews the manner in which each performed its duty. By the time the last-mentioned ships got placed in
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their respective positions, those which formed the van of the enemy were silenced, and some had struck. Their submission had extended as far as the fourth ship, about nine o'clock. And, soon after, *l'Orient*, in their centre, was discovered to be on fire, which spread with such rapidity that she was soon in a general blaze, and precluded even a shadow of hope for her preservation. The cannonade was, in the mean time, maintained with equal briskness by the British ships, whose opponents had not yet surrendered, while some of them, very much sickened, were barely able to maintain resistance.

While the flames were consuming *l'Orient*, great were the exertions made by the *Alexander* to remove to such distance as her captain judged necessary to save her from danger of being covered with the wreck of her unfortunate antagonist. About ten o'clock, the fire had reached *l'Orient's* magazine, when she blew up with a most tremendous explosion, by which fragments of her wreck were thrown to a considerable distance on every side; and those ships, who were nearest to the place of the explosion, were for some time completely obscured, by the thick column of smoke which spread around. The cannonade at that moment ceased, and a silence ensued, strongly expressive of the awe with which the minds of the combatants were impressed by that dreadful event.

That impression appeared to be effaced, by the recollection that there was still duty left to be performed; for, in about ten minutes after, the cannonade was renewed around the spot where *l'Orient* had exploded, and in a few minutes was maintained with vivacity, and continued with little abatement until after midnight, when it became flacker, with some intermissions, indicating the exhausted state of the combatants, by the fatigue already undergone: * but the firing did not entirely cease until three o'clock.

Thursday morning, the second of August.—When the day opened, how different was the prospect from that which the preceding evening had closed! The greatest part of the ships, which formed the van of the French line, dismasted, and all struck! Not a vestige of their admiral's ship to be seen! The frigate (*la Sérieuse*), whom the *Orion* had silenced the preceding evening, now sunk! The *Bellerophon* was observed several miles to the eastward along shore, at anchor, dismasted. Some of the British ships, which had attacked and defeated the van, now shifted more towards the rear, and others moving thither, to complete the conquest of the enemy's ships. In that part, this led to a recommencement of the cannonade, in the outset of which, a frigate (*l'Artémise*), in the centre, displayed a conduct mean and unworthy of the squadron to which it was attached. After firing a broad-

* As an instance of the fatigue, it may here be noted, that one of the ships, which were inside of the van, and had finished her duty there, did, in the morning, some hours before day-light, weigh her stern anchor, for the purpose of going towards the rear, to attack the enemy there; and, as the men unshipped the capstan-bars, many of them lay down among them, being so much overcome with fatigue as to fall asleep, notwithstanding that they must have known the anchor was got up, and the ship then moving toward the enemy, to begin a fresh cannonade.

side,

side, she struck; but, before she was sent to, by any of the British ships, was observed to be on fire, and the crew making for the shore in their boats, where they were so ill received by the natives, that a remnant of them were fain to return, and trust to the generosity of their enemy, whom they had so recently offended, by a flagrant breach of the laws of war.

Without entering into any farther detail of the whole, after the cannonade had been long maintained, with some intermissions, it was closed with the surrender of *l'Heureux* and *Mercure*; and dismasting of *le Tonnant*. The two rear ships, *le Guillaume Tell* and *Genereux*, observing all their companions either surrendered, or in a disabled state, prepared to get under sail, which they did, without interruption, before two o'clock, and were accompanied by *la Diane* and *Justice* frigates, neither of whom had been annoyed. *Le Timoleon* made an attempt to follow, but, casting with her head into the bay, and not being alertly managed (probably, not in a manageable state), her head was not got out to the offing, but run ashore at a little distance from whence she had laid, in the south-east part of the bay, where they set her on fire. The *Zealous*, who was under sail when the rear ships of the enemy left the bay, stood after them; but, as there was not any other then under sail, to accompany and support her, she was called in by the admiral.

There yet remained, to be taken possession of, *le Tonnant*, intirely dismasted, but who had not struck, and had shifted a considerable distance, to leeward, from her original

position. In that state, incapable of moving or helping herself, a message was sent, to demand her surrender, which the captain refused, without the condition of vessels being furnished to carry him and his crew (which he stated to be then 1,500) to France: This requisition was communicated to admiral Nelson, who desired him to be informed, that the surrender must be unconditional, else force would be employed, against which resistance would not avail. These communications were not exchanged till late in the evening of the second, owing to the distance.

Friday morning, the third of August, the French flag was observed to be still displayed on the stump of *le Tonnant's* main-mast. The admiral made signals to the *Theseus* and *Leander*, to attack her. It appeared they had, in some measure, recovered from their late fatigues, by the alertness of their movements. They were soon under the necessary sail; and, on the *Theseus* approaching her rear, the flag of truce was hoisted. An officer was then sent from the *Theseus*, to desire the colours to be struck unconditionally, which was complied with. Thus was the close put to that distinguished battle.

Whether a retrospect is had to the unremitting perseverance in continuing the search after the enemy, to the promptness of decision in attacking them when found, or to the skill and intrepidity with which the attack was executed, it is difficult to decide which has the highest claim to admiration. The renown of this action has reached to every part of the globe, and been re-echoed back with the high praises so justly merited.

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The thanks of the houses of parliament, in both kingdoms, were voted to the whole. Distinguished notice was taken of the commander under whom that celebrated action was achieved, by his majesty's advancing him to the dignity of a peer of the realm; and the parliament of the sister kingdom, also the East-India company, voted liberal annuities to support that dignity, as a recompense for his services. The captains were honoured with a gold medal, as a testimony of his majesty's approbation of their conduct. The oldest officer of the marines, captain Oldfield, was promoted to the rank of major in the army; and the first-lieutenants of each ship of the line were promoted, by the lords of the admiralty, to the rank of commanders. There, immediate distinction and reward rested. The remaining thousands were left, for the time, to the enjoyment which an inward consciousness must produce, of having done their duty. The high satisfaction which that reflection must produce, cannot be confined to any rank. Even the humblest survivor must feel an honest pride, that he was one who contributed his aid toward that glorious achievement. The bounty of individuals was great and general, too, on this occasion: liberal subscriptions were collected, and impartially distributed, under the direction of some patriotic men, among the wounded, and widows and orphans of the slain.

With the admiral, Bruyes, who commanded the French fleet, and who was esteemed as brave and expert a seaman as any in France, fell two other admirals, and three captains. The French fleet, at the

commencement of the action, consisted of thirteen sail of the line, and four frigates, carrying twelve hundred guns, and from ten to eleven thousand men. Nine sail of the line were taken, two were burned, and two escaped. Of the frigates, one was sunk, another burned, and two escaped. The loss of men was calculated at nearly eight thousand: but the prisoners and wounded were all restored, on condition of not sailing against England, until exchanged.—The British squadron, consisting, as already stated, of thirteen sail of the line and a fifty-gun ship, carried a thousand guns, and eight thousand men. Of the English, the slain and wounded were nine hundred. Among the former, was captain Westcott, of the *Majestic*, who fell greatly regretted. He was an officer of uncommon abilities, and had raised himself entirely by his merit.

The roaring of the cannon, the flashings of the lightning, interrupted only by short intervals of suspense, shook the Egyptian shore for many leagues around, and filled the alarmed and trembling inhabitants, both strangers and natives, with unspeakable agitation. The French transports in the harbour, and garrison in Alexandria, waited in suspense for their personal doom, as well as the fate of the French navy. Even as far as Rosetta, distant about thirty miles from Aboukir, the battle, by the aid of glasses, was seen by French officers, from its minarets and towers, though confusedly. And the explosion of *l'Orient* was accompanied by a shaking of the earth, perceptible at that distance. Bodies of Arabs, drawn to the shore by the awful sight and sound, and learning the fate

late of their invaders, felt their resentment and indignation awakened by the hope of revenge on their enemies. They lighted up fires on the shore, in testimony of their joy and exultation at the successful bravery of the English. They gave no shelter, but, on the contrary, committed every outrage on parties of the vanquished who made their way to the villages, for safety, from their wrecked and burning ships. They interrupted the communication of the French, for some time, between the bay and neighbouring towns, until Buonaparte made arrangements for their security by superior force.

This victory was the most signal that had graced the British navy since the days of the Spanish armada. Its effects were surprizing and instantaneous over all Europe. The enemies of France every where recovered from the despondency they were in, previously to this great event; and an evident re-animation took place in all their councils, which were now occupied with the means of improving a success of so much importance.

It was the intention of Buonaparte, as alleged in his dispatches to the directory, that the French fleet, as soon as possible after the landing of the troops, should sail straight to Corfu, if they should find it impracticable, by the shallowness of the water, to take shelter in the old port of Alexandria. It has been asserted, on the contrary, by different French officers of rank and character, that admiral Bruyes was detained in the bay of Aboukir by the express orders of the commander-in-chief, who was unwilling to deprive himself of the means of retreat, until he should have reason

to think that he had obtained a firm footing in Egypt. Buonaparte acknowledges that he sent orders to the admiral not to put to sea, at one period. But this was after the lapse of several weeks after the debarkation, and after the English fleet were cruizing on the coast of Syria and Egypt. Yet the general imputes no blame to the brave admiral, on whom he bestows merited praise. He had probably discovered a passage, he says for the heaviest ships, into the old port of Alexandria, where he wished to secure them, rather than in Corfu or any other distant port, that they might be in a situation for co-operating, on any emergency, with the army. Reluctant to give credit to so foul a blemish, in so splendid a character as Buonaparte, we leave the decision of the point in question, between him and Bruyes, to the development of time and future inquiry.

In the mean time, Buonaparte, who arrived on the coast of Egypt, and effected a landing, had made himself master of Alexandria, which he took by storm, with the loss of about three hundred of his men, killed or wounded. The inhabitants of this and other places in the neighbourhood, finding themselves unable to resist the French, submitted to them. Buonaparte, in order to obtain their good will, and engage their fidelity, published a declaration, to inform them, that the French were the friends and allies of the grand seignior; that they were come to chastise the beys, who were his enemies; and would pay every respect to their laws and religion, and provide and pay regularly the due tribute to the sublime porte.

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Having provided for the security of his acquisitions on the sea-shore, Buonaparte, on the seventh of July, began his march for Cairo, defended by Murad Bey, a distinguished chief of the mamelukes, who were in great force, to the number it has been said of twenty thousand, but wholly composed of cavalry. The mamelukes made several brave but ineffectual charges on the French, who had only infantry. The dispositions of the French were so skillful, that Murad Bey, after losing three hundred of his best men, was obliged to retire towards Cairo, and from thence afterwards to the Upper Egypt.

At Cairo, he assembled the whole of his forces, and advanced into that vast plain, where stand the pyramids. He was at the head of a numerous army, commanded, under him, by three inferior beys: all men of determined bravery, but used, like their soldiers, to fight only on horseback. They were all mounted on the finest horses, provided with the most splendid arms, and, along with these, rich purses of gold; it being the custom of the mamelukes to carry along with them what they deem most valuable. Being excellent horsemen, well acquainted with the defiles and contour of the country, and of intrepid courage and resolution, though barbarians, they were no contemptible enemies. They attacked the French with much courage and impetuosity, endeavouring to surround them, or at least to make an impression upon their flanks and rear, but were every where repulsed with such a slaughter that they were compelled to fly on all sides, leaving two thousand killed or wounded on the field. An entrenchment, which they threw

up to protect their camp, was carried, together with fifty pieces of cannon that defended it, and all their baggage. Many of the beys were killed or wounded. Cairo, evacuated in the night, was taken possession of by the French the next morning. This decisive action took place on the twenty-first of July.

Buonaparte, master of the capital of Egypt, proclaimed peace and amity to the inhabitants, with the full enjoyment of their laws and religion. He secured its authority to the Turkish government, and confirmed his undertaking to make good the receipt of the usual revenue. After establishing a divan, or council, consisting of the chief priests and notables of Cairo, for the administration of the police, he set out in pursuit of Ibrahim, the next in power to Murad Bey, who was retreating towards Syria. He overtook the bey on the confines of Egypt, when he attacked, defeated him, and took part of his baggage. Ibrahim defended himself valiantly, and was wounded in the engagement. It was with difficulty he continued his march. His troops were in want of water, which was their principal, and other provisions, and had an extensive desert to traverse, in their way to Gaza, the place to which they directed their retreat. Murad Bey, after the defeat at Cairo, had retired, as already mentioned, along the Nile, to the upper parts of the country. But his forces were so reduced, that he did not attempt to act on the defensive: while the French were preparing to follow him, in order to destroy the remains of his army.

The French were now in possession of all Lower Egypt, and occupied

occupied in the organization of that country, upon the usual plan.

But, notwithstanding these successes, their whole fleet of transports, together with some frigates, lay blocked up at Alexandria: their communication with France and Europe was entirely cut off, and all hopes of relief and reinforcement to their army completely inter-

cepted. Their invasion of Egypt had converted the Turks, so long their well wishers, into decided enemies. The divan at Constantinople had formally declared war against France, and was preparing a fleet and numerous army to drive them out of its Egyptian dominions.

C H A P. XI.

Ireland.—State of Catholic and Protestant Parties.—Innovations projected.—Petitions for a Parliamentary Reform.—Rejected.—United Irishmen.—Orange Men.—Defenders.—French Mission to Ireland.—Plan of Insurrection for the Purpose of facilitating a French Invasion.—A military Organization in several of the Provinces.—Military Law proclaimed.—Minister sent to France from the Chiefs of the Irish Association.—Jealousy of the Designs of France on Ireland.—Military Committee of United Irishmen.—Fourteen of the Delegates apprehended.—Insurrection.—Insurgents defeated in various Encounters — Yet proceed in very considerable Force against Wexford.—Which they reduce.—Other Proceedings of the Insurgents.—The Insurrection in the South of Ireland suppressed.—And in the North.—Lord Camden succeeded in the Viceroyalty of Ireland by the Marquis Cornwallis.

WHILE Buonaparte was employed in his expedition to Egypt, of his success wherein the French entertained little doubt, particularly after the capture of Malta, the directory had turned its attention to an object of more importance, and nearer home, in which, were fortune to favour them, the impression thereby made on the capital enemy of France, would be truly great and decisive.

This object was the kingdom of Ireland, which France had a century before attempted to dismember from England; and to erect into a separate dominion, under the expelled house of Stuart. The political expediency of such a measure, to the interest of the French monarchy, was no less obvious at that epoch, than the severing of that island from its connection with Great Britain, would essentially forward the system of the French republic at the present day.

Since the breaking out of the war between England and France, in the beginning of 1793, those who held the places of government there soon perceived the probability of exciting disturbances in a country so full of discontented people as Ireland, and of which not above one-eighth of the inhabitants has hitherto been reputed cordially attached to the English; few, but members of the church of England, being considered as well affected to this country.

During the space that elapsed, between the American and the French revolution, the British ministry, taught by the fatal experience of its colonies to renounce the system of coercion, had adopted a series of liberal measures in Ireland, which had, in the hopes of the pacifically inclined, put an end to all causes of dissention. The penal statutes against the Roman catholics had been repealed; they held their land on

on the like terms with the protestants; they enjoyed, in short, every right and franchise in common with the former, saving only the offices of state, and the privilege of sitting in parliament.

These exceptions, however, were viewed in the light of persecutions for difference of religion; and, as a boundless liberty of conscience began at this time to be the favourite maxim of the European world, the Irish catholics deemed themselves injured by the restrictions laid, or to speak more properly, continued upon them, through the united severity and bigotry of intolerant ages.

But the protestants, dreading the consequences of putting themselves in the power of the Roman catholics, whose disposition they still considered as unaltered, maintained the propriety of those restrictions. Without these it was affirmed the whole authority of the state must be lodged in the hands of the catholics. Their numbers would overpower them in parliament. Supported and stimulated by the vast superiority and zeal of their adherents, they would hardly refrain, when invested with authority, from treating the protestants with harshness, and availing themselves of the opportunities now afforded them to retaliate for the injuries they had suffered, and to do themselves what they might imagine was no more than strict justice, by claiming and recovering the possessions of their ancestors, as alienated from them through force, and detained through manifest usurpation.

These being the sentiments of the protestant party, they were extremely tenacious of those privileges, on the exclusive exercise of which

they depended for the security of their estates, resolved on no account to permit a participation in the power they enjoyed, to men who undisturbedly stigmatised them as intruders, whom they were entitled by the clearest equity to eject from their ill-gotten lands, and to call to account for damages and dilapidations.

Such being the relative situation of the protestants and the Roman catholics, no real confidence or cordiality could subsist between them. The rancour of the lower classes of the latter was particularly violent, and was scandalously encouraged by the Romish clergy, who, with some exceptions, were mortal foes to the protestants, and excited the mass of the people to hold them in utter abhorrence.

It was the sincere desire of the British ministry to extinguish this religious inveteracy; but it was so strongly connected with political consideration, that no remedy appeared fully adequate. The Roman catholics asserted that they were the lawful owners of the property held by the protestants, whom, for this reason, they hated as plunderers, as much as they detested them for being heretics: which of these motives excited the most antipathy, may not easily be determined, when the excessive ignorance and bigotry of the common people, and the influence of their priests, are jointly considered.

From the commencement of the French revolution, innovations had been projected in Ireland, by those who expected that some would take place in England, thinking probably that the apprehension of exasperating the great body of the English nation, by the refusal of a demand they

they had so perseveringly insisted on for more than twelve years, would induce the administration to listen to the petitions for a parliamentary reform, in order to prevent the people at large from taking that business into their own hands, as the French had already done: a precedent which at this time was frequently held up, as an admonition to government, to beware of imitating that of France, lest a similar fate should attend it.

When those extraordinary events happened, on the tenth of August, 1792, which overturned the French monarchy, the hopes of the reforming parties, both in England and Ireland, were equally elated. They now thought their wishes would infallibly be accomplished, and that the dread of the people would operate so powerfully upon their rulers, that these would hardly venture any longer to reject their demands, with such terrifying consequences before their eyes, of the king of France's opposition to popular requisitions.

It was with deep felt resentment that these parties still experienced as firm a denial as ever. That in England continued with unabated perseverance to act on the plan of uniting gradually the people in every part of the kingdom to an unanimity of sentiments on this matter; confident that in time, the majority would become so numerous and powerful, as to bear down all opposers, and convince them of the inefficacy of resisting the national will, when clearly and resolutely expressed.

But the people of Ireland proceeded with more celerity. They had in the foregoing year instituted a society to which they gave the name of United Irishmen. Its in-

tent was to connect the whole Irish nation firmly together, for the purpose of obtaining, not only a reform of parliament, but an entire deliverance for the Roman catholics from all the restrictions laid on them on religious accounts, and of placing them on a parity with the protestants in every respect. This institution was projected and organized by the celebrated Wolfe Tone, a gentleman well-known for his abilities and unhappy end. The independence of his country was an object he had long had in contemplation, and the tempestuousness of the times appeared favourable to such an attempt, through the vigour and activity they communicated to men of daring dispositions, and the prospect of success held out in the example of those who had succeeded in the most extraordinary enterprises.

The plan of union and of action, drawn up by Wolfe Tone, was equally simple and judicious. It formed a concatenation of agents, and a unity of design, that combined at once order, expedition, and secrecy. For the more effectual concealment, no meeting consisted of more than twelve persons: five of these meetings were represented by five members in a committee, vested with the management of all their affairs: from each of these committees, which were styled baronial, a deputy attended in a superior committee, that presided over all those of the barony or district: one or two deputies from each of these superior committees, composed one for the whole county, and two or three from every county committee composed a provincial one. The provincial committees chose in their turn five persons to superintend the

the whole business of the union: they were elected by ballot, and only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees, who were officially the scrutineers. Thus, though their power was great, their agency was invisible, and they were obeyed without being seen or known.

It has been a matter of doubt, whether the designs of this great association terminated, as given out, in a reform of parliament, and the admission of the Roman catholics to all the rights they claimed, or whether, like the jacobins in France, they concealed their ultimate ideas, keeping them for disclosure and execution as opportunities arose. Certain it is that the shrewdest members in the Irish parliament, considered the real object of those who contended for a parliamentary reform and a catholic emancipation, to be finally an entire disjunction from the sister kingdoms. On this conviction the zealous friends to their permanent union, firmly persuaded that its only security depended on supporting the protestant cause uninjured, and upon its established footing of superiority, entered into formal associations every where for this purpose. They assumed the name of Orange-men, in honour and remembrance of king William, to whom the protestants in Ireland acknowledged themselves indebted for their deliverance from the oppression of the Roman catholics.

The object proposed by these associations was, to disarm the Roman catholics: they began the execution of this plan in the county of Armagh, but carried it beyond its original intention, burning the houses of the catholics, and expelling them

from the country. Irritated by this usage, the catholics also associated for their defence, whence they were called Defenders. They retaliated upon the Orange-men, plundering their habitations, and committing the same outrages that had been exercised upon themselves.

These disturbances were accompanied at the same time by a bold and turbulent spirit in the metropolis, that threatened, if not speedily suppressed, to involve the kingdom into still greater confusion. As it was hostile to government in the extreme, the legislature passed an act to suppress the assembling of people for political discussions and other purposes of the like nature, without permission from a justice of peace. This was looked upon as the prelude to those similar prohibitions in England, known by the name of Pitt and Grenville acts.

The feuds and hostilities between the Orange-men and the Defenders, had filled various parts of Ireland with great confusions. The latter acted with such rancour and inveteracy, that many of the former heartily repented that any occasion had ever been given for such deeds of desperacy and revenge as were daily taking place, to the reciprocal terror of each party. The Defenders, it was said, became at last the more active and formidable of the two. Their incursions and depredations were conducted with the utmost fierceness and animosity. They had bound themselves to each other, by the strongest oaths of fidelity and secrecy, and they were incessantly laying schemes to circumvent their adversaries, who were obliged to remain continually on the watch: so quick and sudden were their motions.

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As their numbers encreased and occasioned considerable alarm, an act was made to prohibit them from administering those oaths; and such as committed irregularities were punished with the extremest rigour of the law. But this did not deter them from prosecuting their plans of vengeance with the more eagerness, that they thought themselves justified in shewing no mercy to those whom they considered as the primary aggressors.

These intestine broils did not escape the notice of those at the helm in France. They were at this period in the full career of their victories, and grasping at every plan that could humble or distress their enemies. None could be more acceptable to them, than one that seemed to point out an invasion of this kingdom, the ancient and most dangerous enemy of their country. Hither one of their emissaries was dispatched in the course of the year 1794, to the intent of reconnoitering the situation of parties in England, and to encourage the disaffected, with the hope of meeting with ample support from the French republic. This emissary, whose name was Jackson, was a native of Ireland, and had been a clergyman of the church of England. On his arrival here, not finding matters in that state he had expected, he thought it more advisable to make a trial in Ireland, where he knew that the discontents of his countrymen would afford him a much more extensive field of action. He had, in the meanwhile, in an evil hour for himself, entrusted the secrets of his errand to a person in whom he reposed entire confidence, but who disclosed them to the British ministry, by

whom he was directed to keep a vigilant eye upon Jackson. This latter, on coming to Ireland, formed a connection with Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, and some of their associates, to whom he communicated the purport of his mission from France, and proposed a plan of insurrection at home, in order to facilitate a French invasion. But while thus occupied, he was arrested upon the information of the person whom he had trusted, brought to trial, and the charge of high-treason clearly proved against him. Averse to die by the hand of the executioner, he put an end to his life by poison. Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, and others implicated, in this business, found means to escape, and it was suspended for more than a twelvemonth.

In the year 1795, the British ministry placed lord Fitzwilliam at the head of affairs in Ireland. He was commissioned, as he conceived, to terminate all disputes in that country, by making the concessions demanded by the Roman catholics. Such was the general persuasion; but as it was frustrated, and lord Fitzwilliam recalled, the discontents became greater than ever.

From this time the united Irishmen proceeded with more dispatch and decision in their arrangements: a military organization took place in the several provinces: arms were procured, and pikes fabricated, and every preparation made to enter upon the execution of the schemes they had in view.

These differed however according to the character of those concerned in them. The chiefs, and men of superior abilities and weight that had now joined the association, intended nothing less than a thorough revolution,

révolution, and an abolition of all church establishments; while the common people fought principally to be discharged from the payment of tythes and ecclesiastical dues to the protestant clergy; in order to obtain which, it was easy to persuade them, that a total change of government was necessary. The activity of those who guided these various measures was indefatigable: through their influence, the mass of the Irish nation was gradually and effectually organized in the manner proposed.

In the mean time, those members of the association who had absconded, on the discovery of Jackson's plot, and had since taken refuge in France, were busied in settling a communion between their associates and the French government; a proposal was made, by which to assist the Irish with a considerable body of forces, to enable them to throw off their connection with England, and to form themselves into a republic. The offer was accepted, and lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor were appointed to settle the terms of a treaty. To this purpose, they went over to France, and were met by general Hoche, with whom the whole business was arranged, and the time and manner of the projected invasion agreed upon. This transaction took place about the middle of 1796, and in November following, the heads of the Irish association were informed that a fleet and army were in readiness to sail, according to agreement: but this intelligence was, to their astonishment, shortly after countermanded, and they were told, that, France being to attack Great Britain itself in the ensuing spring, the

attempt upon Ireland would be made at the same time, when it would be more likely to succeed, from the necessity of keeping the strength of England at home for its own defence. Hence it happened, that, when the French armament arrived on the coast of Ireland, towards the close of the year, the Irish that were to second them, being wholly unapprised of their coming, were in no state of preparation; and the determined spirit of loyalty displayed by the friends to government was such, that their adversaries were kept in awe; and the French, perceiving no signs of insurrection in their favour, and that forces had been collected to oppose their descent, did not think proper to attempt one, but returned immediately to France.

The cause of this inaction, on the part of the Irish, was, doubtless, the false information they received of the intended proceedings of the French; but whence this information came has never transpired. Some have thought it a deception, fabricated by some secret partisan of the English: by others, it has been attributed to the French themselves, with the view of lulling friends and foes into general tranquillity, thereby to effect their designs without either opposition or interference.

It ought, however, to be noticed, that the vigor exerted by government, sometime previously to the appearance of the French armament, had essentially contributed to strike the disaffected with terror. On the first rumour that an expedition was preparing at Brest, the uncertainty of its destination was a sufficient warning to put every part of the British dominions in a posture of

of defence. The Irish Roman Catholics, who had long testified the highest discontent, were of course observed with the strictest vigilance. An act had been passed, in March preceding, to authorize magistrates to proclaim military law, in case of imminent danger: it was resorted to upon this occasion, and had been duly put in force a whole month before the arrival of the French. This accounts in no small degree for the inactivity of one party, and the resolute exertions of the other.

The disappointment of the united Irishmen, and of the French government, from whatever cause it proceeded, did not discourage either of them from prosecuting with the greatest ardour the plans they had in contemplation. In hopes that the year 1797 would prove more auspicious than the antecedent, a minister was sent to France, from the chiefs of the Irish association, invested with fuller powers than any before. This was Doctor M'Nevin, a man of abilities, and of the highest consequence in his party: he laid a project before the French government for an attack upon Ireland, informing them, for their encouragement, that the numbers ready for insurrection were immense: in Ulster alone, they amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. He demanded a supply of arms and money, and particularly recommended that the French plenipotentiaries, then treating at Lille with lord Malmesbury, should be instructed to make the dismemberment of Ireland from England a condition of the peace. He obtained all his requests, that for money excepted; notwithstanding a solemn assurance, on the part of the association, that all the advances made,

for the services required in Ireland; and all the expences already incurred, should be reimbursed, as soon as its affairs were settled, and its independence secured. The scarcity of money was such both in France and Spain, that neither of them were in a condition to furnish any, though for the accomplishment of an object they both seemed equally to desire.

In the meanwhile, this vast conspiracy had hitherto been carried on with profound secrecy. The Irish government suspected, indeed, that machinations were on foot; but had procured no precise information either of the men or of the measures. It was not till the month of April in that year, that they obtained any certain intelligence of the transactions that were taking place in so many parts of the kingdom. They were informed that, on the fourteenth, a number of seditious people were to meet at a house in Belfast: on this information, it was entered by a party of the military, and two of the association-committee were found actually sitting; their papers were seized, and sufficient documents appeared to bring at once to light the nature and extent of the plot in agitation. This important discovery led to others in various places, and the danger and magnitude of the conspiracy were clearly ascertained, to the conviction of all men.

Precautions of every kind were immediately taken by government; the insurrection-act was enforced wherever it appeared necessary: additions were made to the army, and search was made for arms, of which large quantities were seized. Heavy complaints arose, that the military employed on those occasions

sions were guilty of many barbarities; but it was retorted, on the other side, that the united Irishmen had set the example, by breaking open houses, and pillaging them; and by murdering the inoffensive dwellers.

The increase of these confusions and calamities spread consternation every where. The moderate party in the Irish house of commons, which consisted of some of the most respectable and popular characters in the kingdom, endeavoured to put a stop to them, by moving for a parliamentary reform; which they hoped would prove conciliatory to the contending parties: but the motion was negatived, by one hundred and seventeen against only thirty that supported it. It was alleged, by the majority, that the turbulence of the times was unfavourable to such concessions as had been demanded: the party that required them would not be satisfied with them alone; they would insist upon others, and if not gratified, would remain as discontented as before. Foiled in this attempt, the moderate, or whig, party withdrew from parliament. This secession, which was final, took place in May, 1797.

Ireland was, at this period, in the most deplorable situation: the businesses and occupations of civil life seemed to have been deserted, and the people intent every where on preparations for war. Those who were peacefully disposed could promise themselves no security; they were plundered by the malcontents, who collected in numerous and armed bodies, and committed every species of outrage and devastation. Proclamations were issued, threatening severe punishments to the of-

fenders; but they were as little regarded as the offers of pardon to those that forsook the rebellious associations, and which were extended to all that were not guilty of murder, burglary, or house-burning.

The military were now in motion throughout every part of the kingdom; the malcontents mustered in such force, that every effort was become necessary to resist them. They had projected, about this time, a general insurrection, which would have taken place had the promised assistance from France been at hand, to second them. After waiting for it, with impatient expectation, during the months of June and July, they were apprised, at last, by their agents at Paris, that two armaments were fitting out for the attack of Ireland, one in the ports of France, the other in those of Holland; but the latter was the only one that ever appeared at sea: nor was it completely ready till October, when it received orders to proceed on the intended expedition; but had no sooner ventured out of the Texel, than it was attacked by the English fleet, under admiral Duncan, who defeated and took the greater part of it as already recorded.

This was the more fatal a blow to the united Irish, that they began to entertain little hope from the naval strength of the French. As these had made no attempt to join the Dutch squadron with any of their own, it was inferred, that either they had none in readiness, or that it was too feeble to hazard an engagement: these inferences were just. France now relied entirely upon the maritime exertions of Holland and Spain; but both these had been so unfortunate, that it was not expected that either of them

them had at present any inclination to expose themselves to farther defeats.

Nor were other causes wanting to discourage the Irish. Their agents plainly perceived that the act of France was prompted by base motives; subjugation more than assistance appeared the ultimate object of the French government in the interest it was so eager to take in the affairs of Ireland, of which it sought to transfer the connection with England to itself. The number of French auxiliaries required by the Irish was ten thousand: they were decidedly averse to accept of more, from the suspicions which they harboured of this ally: they would even have been satisfied with half that number: but the French were positive that without an army of fifty thousand men all attempts upon Ireland would be fruitless. Instead of so large a number, it was recommended to them to divide the moderate force proposed into separate bodies, and to land them at different places, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, and compel him to break his strength into small parts. Whether the French were unwilling or unable to make the efforts demanded of them, they paid little regard to the schemes laid before them by the Irish deputies. This was the more surprising that they had accomplished their designs in most countries on the continent. The greatest part of Italy was under their immediate controul, Holland and the low countries obeyed them. Spain acted wholly by their impulse, and they had concluded an advantageous peace with Austria. This, in the opinion of politicians, seemed a favourable opportunity to assail

their only remaining enemy, with all the strength they could possibly collect, in that part where he was deemed the most vulnerable: but probably both they and their allies were so dispirited by their late defeats at sea, and felt themselves so unequal to their enemy on that element, that they dreaded another meeting. The French government was also meditating designs of more facility in the execution, as its numerous armies were in the vicinity of the theatre of action; and the immediate employment of them was judged indispensable for the repose and safety of the republic. To these causes were owing the neglect and inactivity of the French respecting Ireland for a considerable time.

This conduct in the rulers of France excited great dissatisfaction in the Irish. Mistrusting their assurances of aid, which, however, were continually reiterated with their usual warmth, and impatient of a delay which was evidently ruinous to the cause of the associates, they came to a determination to proceed to action, without waiting any longer for the co-operation of their French confederates. In the month of February, 1798, a military committee was named, which drew up a body of instructions for their officers and commanders. A letter of a most pressing nature was also written to the directory, urging them to lose no time in dispatching what succours they were able; but the means of communication with the continent were so completely intercepted, by the vigilance of government, that this letter could never reach its destination.

In the mean time, great numbers of the united Irishmen, that were
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now preparing for insurrection, were wholly destitute of arms and military accoutrements. They had relied on the importation of these by the French, and were now reduced to a forlorn condition, through the want of them. Nevertheless, so enthusiastic was their ardour, that they crowded every where to the summons of their chieftains. In the course of February and March, they had gradually spread themselves over many of the southern districts, and had established an extensive correspondence with those of the north. Their behaviour was so merciless and atrocious to their adversaries, that all the loyal inhabitants fled before them to the garrison towns; the only places where they could find security.

As parliament was sitting, efforts were made to bring about a pacification between the insurgents and government, by several members in both houses. In that of peers, lord Moira pronounced a very pointed and pathetic speech, on the nineteenth of February: — the purport of which was to expose the cruelties inflicted upon many individuals, against all forms of law. Houses, he said, had been burned, with the property of the owner, upon the loosest accusations; people had been put to the torture, to extort from them a charge against their neighbours. Such were his words. He imputed the miseries of Ireland to the errors of the British administration, and urged the necessity of adopting conciliatory measures, in the present circumstances of the Irish nation. He did not deny the existence of conspiracies, and the commission of enormities; but argued against the inflicting of punish-

ments upon the whole community, for the transgressions of its members. He explicitly declared for the concessions claimed by the Roman catholics, and was of opinion, that if the general wishes were for a parliamentary reform, they ought to be complied with, for the sake of national tranquillity.

It was replied to lord Moira, that the united Irishmen were, in reality, the promoters of the calamities of their country, by their machinations against government. Their enmity was so determined, that, during the negotiations at Lisle, they had agents there, who made it their business to persuade the French plenipotentiaries to refuse their assent to all pacific proposals. Their publications were positive incitements to rebellion; and their insurrections had undeniably been attended with every kind of outrages, and, in several instances, with the most inhuman murders. Such were the affirmations of lord Glentworth.

It was asserted by the lord-chancellor, that government had proceeded upon the system of conciliation with the Irish malcontents, but had found it utterly ineffectual: the object of the united Irish was to subvert the existing government, and to dissolve the connection between the sister kingdoms. He acknowledged that enormities had been committed by the adherents to government, but they were unavoidable, amidst tumults and confusions. He affirmed, that the hostile disposition of the malcontents was such, that they would treat with lord Moira no more than with himself.

Other lords spoke on the same subject, and recriminations passed

on both sides. But the motion of lord Moira, for endeavours to effect a conciliation, by concessions, was rejected by a great majority.

The fact was, that, had concessions been offered, they would no longer have been accepted. On the very day that lord Moira made his motion, the Irish committees took a formal resolution to pay no attention to any offers from either house of parliament, and that nothing should be deemed satisfactory but a total emancipation of their country.

Still, however, these resolves, and the authors of them, remained undiscovered. The existence of the conspiracy had been ascertained, but the heads and principal conductors lay hidden, together with their transactions. They were detected at last by one of their own people: his name was Reynolds: he had formerly been an eminent manufacturer in Dublin, but had retired from business, and settled in the county of Kildare: after becoming an united Irishman, he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and employed in trusts of importance. Struck with remorse at what he had done, he opened himself to a person with whom he lived on terms of intimacy, and who prevailed upon him to make a full disclosure of the business to government. In consequence of his informations, fourteen of the chief delegates were seized at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, in Dublin, together with himself and several others, on the twelfth of March. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was included in the warrant of arrest, but made his escape. On discovering the place of his concealment, which was not till two months after, seve-

ral persons were sent to apprehend him; but he stood on his defence, and wounded two of them desperately. He was, however, mortally wounded himself, and died a few days after.

The death of a person of his courage, zeal, and consequence, with the apprehension of so many of their chiefs, decided, in a great measure, the fate of the whole party. Their places were supplied by fresh elections, but their successors were equally unsuccessful. An officer in the Irish militia, of the name of Armstrong, enrolled himself among the united Irishmen, seemingly as a proselyte, but, in reality, with the intent of coming at their designs, and revealing them to government. He was received the more readily, that they were anxious to procure adherents among the military, of whom they stood in particular need at this time, purposing to attack the troops encamped in the vicinity of Dublin. He was introduced to the heads of the party, who hoped, through his means, to gain over others, and employed him as one they could trust.

A general insurrection had been resolved on. The plan was, to surprise, in one night, the camp, the artillery, and the castle: other places were to have been seized at the same time. But they differed in many particulars relating to this plan, each adhering to his opinion so pertinaciously, that a quarrel ensued; the one threatening the other with a denunciation to government, unless he came into his measures. But it was so opportunely apprized of their designs, by captain Armstrong, that the two Sheares, of Dublin, Neilson, of Belfast,

fast, and several other chiefs, were arrested on the twenty-third of May, and the metropolis was put into a state of perfect security against any attempt.

Disappointed in this unexpected manner, they still were determined to execute their project of a general insurrection, though deprived of the leaders in whom they chiefly confided, and scantily provided with arms and necessaries for an enterprise of such a nature. They began their operations on the twenty-fourth of May, by attacking Naas, a town fifteen miles distant from Dublin: but they were forced to retire by lord Gostard, the troops under whose command flew and took about two hundred.

A body of them had, the same day, taken possession of the heights near Kilcallan; but they were dislodged by general Dundas, and between one and two hundred were killed and taken. On the other hand, a detachment of the army was surprized at a place called Prosperous, and another at Clare; and both suffered considerably.

Some hundreds of the insurgents assembled, on the twenty-fifth, at Rathfarnham, but were attacked by lord Roden, at the head of some cavalry. They were totally routed, and numbers killed and made prisoners: among these, were the two chiefs, Ledwich and Keough, who were both sentenced to die, by a court-martial, though acting, as they alleged in their defence, by compulsion.

Another party of them was, on the following day, defeated on its march to Dublin, near Tallang-Hill. Between three and four hundred were slain, with their commander, who was a French officer.

The town of Carlow had been attempted by them on the twenty-fourth, the first day of the insurrection; but, by the skilful dispositions of major Dennis, they were repulsed, with the loss of four hundred men. Sir James Duff encountered them on the twenty-ninth, at Kildare, which they were obliged to abandon, with the loss of two hundred men.

They proceeded against Wexford on the twenty-fifth, about fifteen thousand strong. Part of the garrison marched out, to give them battle; but they were surrounded, and entirely defeated. The commanding officer, colonel Foote, and two soldiers, were all that escaped. Three days after, the insurgents marched to Enniscorthy, which they took, with the help of the catholic inhabitants, but with the loss of nearly five hundred men.

The town of Wexford, being no longer tenable, in the reduced state of the garrison, surrendered to the insurgents on the thirtieth of May. Some of the protestant inhabitants escaped, with the remains of the garrison, to Duncannon fort, near Waterford, but the majority were left behind; and the insurgents, on taking possession of the town, plundered their houses, and threw most of them into prison.

Here the insurgents found several gentlemen of their party, who had been arrested, and whom they delivered from confinement. Among these was Mr. Bagenhal Harvey, a man of large property, whom they placed at their head. They now advanced against New Ross, a town lying upon the confines of Kilkenny, and guarded by a strong division of the army under major-general Johnson: on the fifth of June they attacked

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tacked it with much fury and obstinacy, but were driven back with a very great loss of men: nearly three hundred of the army fell upon this occasion; lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, was one. A cruel act of vengeance, for this defeat, was perpetrated by the insurgents upon their protestant prisoners at Wexford, of whom upwards of a hundred were massacred in cold blood.

On the first of this month, a strong body of the insurgents made an attempt upon Newtown Barry, from which they compelled colonel Lesfrange to withdraw; but being reinforced, he returned to the charge, and expelled them from the town, with the slaughter of five hundred men; a larger number than that under the colonel's command. A reverse was experienced on the fourth: colonel Walpole was slain in the attack of a strong post of the insurgents, and his party defeated and obliged to fall back upon Arklow. They were followed by the enemy, who, after collecting a large force, made a fierce attack upon the place: general Needham, who commanded there, received them with such a fire of cannon and musketry, that, notwithstanding their repeated efforts, they could make no impression, and were totally defeated, sustaining a heavy loss of their best men.

As the insurgents were masters of several strong holds in the southern counties, it was necessary, for the re-establishment of tranquillity, and the protection of the loyal inhabitants, to reduce them with all speed: as soon therefore as the force requisite for this purpose was in readiness, general Lake advanced with it, to attack the principal sta-

tion of the insurgents, which was on a strong ground called Vinegar-hill, in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy. He made his approaches with great skill, and having nearly surrounded the enemy, assailed him on the twenty-first of June: the resistance was vigorous for some time, but, fearing to be invested on every side, he at last gave way, and fled: the victory was complete; the multitudes that fell, both in the battle and the pursuit, equally weakened and disheartened the whole party. The insurgents at Wexford, hopeless of retaining it, offered to capitulate upon terms of security to their lives and property; but the conditions offered in return were, a general pardon to the common men, provided they returned to their allegiance and delivered up their chiefs. To this last condition they unanimously refused (and this certainly is not to be condemned) to assent. It was not insisted on: and the town was evacuated on the twenty-second, and entered by the army without any opposition.

Thus the rebellion was entirely suppressed in the south of Ireland: the defeat of the insurgents at Vinegar-hill put an end at once to all their hopes; they dispersed in various directions, and nearly the whole of those multitudes that had joined so eagerly in the revolt now retired quietly to their former occupations, happy to think that they would be permitted to remain unmolested in their dwellings, after the enormities of which they had been guilty. Some of the most obstinate still continued in a body, and occasionally attacked those towns and villages that were least upon their defence, and infested those parts where they expected to meet

it with plunder; but they, too, in a short space, compelled to fly from those vagrant hostilities, were glad at last to shelter themselves, from punishment, under amnesty that was proffered to the insurgents, with a very few exceptions, who returned, within a short time, to their allegiance.

During these transactions in the north of Ireland had also acted considerably in the rebellion. The counties of Down and Antrim joined in this insurrection; having mustered a numerous force, ventured to oppose the troops were sent against them: but, on the twelfth of June, after an unequal engagement near Ballinahugh, they were at length totally defeated.

Shortly after, lord Camden was removed from the lieutenancy of Ireland, and succeeded by lord Cornwallis, who brought over with him general pardon to all that submitted, with a very small number of exceptions. The two Sheares, Dan, and Byrne, conspicuous actors in the conspiracy, were brought to trial and execution. Mr. Bond was also tried and condemned; he was given to understand, that he would be spared, provided he made an unreserved disclosure of every thing he knew respecting the conspiracy.

To this he consented, on condition that no information from him should affect the lives of his fellow-prisoners. A commutation of death for banishment was next proffered to them, on their making the like promise: the only restraint put on them was, that they should choose, for the place of their banishment, any country at war with Great Britain. It was stipulated, at the same time, that all prosecutions, relative to the conspiracy and the rebellion, should cease, and that offenders only should be punished.

Attempts were still made, by the French, to re-animate the expiring flame of rebellion; but these were neither well-timed, nor of any considerable magnitude, nor, what sometimes sheds an interest and importance even on ill-concerted projects, successful. About 900 men, under the command of general Humbert, landed at Killala, on the twenty-second of August, and proceeded, without a moment's loss of time, to Castle-Bar, being joined, on their march, by a few of the country people. They repulsed a force, more than thrice their number, under general Lake, whom they forced to retreat, with the loss of six pieces of cannon. They continued to advance towards Tuam, but, after displaying the most resolute courage, were overpowered, by the superiority of numbers, led on to receive them, by the marquis Cornwallis, and forced to lay down their arms.

A French squadron, of one ship of the line, the *Hoche*, and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, destined for Ireland, was, on the eleventh of October, taken or dispersed, by a British squadron, under sir John Borlase Warren. The whole French squadron, with the exception of two frigates, fell ultimately into the hands of the English. Among the prisoners taken in the *Hoche*, was Wolf Tone, who, being tried and condemned, hastened out of life by a voluntary death. The famous chieftain, Holt, surrendered himself to the British government: no other leader remained to be subdued: and thus, through the vigilance, sagacity, and seasonable vigour, of the British administration, of whom it is but justice to say, that their moderation and humanity, on this unfortunate occasion, were equal to their activity and abilities, an end was put to the rebellion.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Meeting of Parliament.—His Majesty's Speech.—Debates on the Address in Answer to it in the House of Lords.—And in the House of Commons Documents relating to the Negotiation at Lisle.—Debates thereon in House of Lords.—And in that of the Commons.

THE British parliament assembled on Thursday, the second of November, 1797. The speech from the throne touched on the inefficacy of the measures that had been taken by his Majesty for the restoration of peace; the flourishing state of our revenue, national industry, and commerce; the public spirit of his people; the successes of his navy, and particularly of his fleet under admiral lord Duncan; and the necessity of continuing the most spirited exertions in defence of all that is dear to us, till a more just and pacific spirit should prevail on the part of the enemy.

In the house of lords, an address to his majesty, in answer to his speech from the throne, was moved by the earl of Glasgow. The speech, he said, proved to him, and certainly also to their lordships, that the confidence of government in the object of the present great contest, their resources to carry it on with vigor, and the prospect of bringing it to an honourable conclusion, was in no respect diminished from what it originally was. For, his majesty's ministers, in the centre of intelligence, embrace, at one glance, the whole complete machinery of our domestic and foreign politics. And

this being the case, the people of England could not but rejoice their situation was not worse, repose themselves contentedly, government thus enlightened, well as happily disposed to do nothing for the best. Our late victories, particularly that obtained by admiral lord Duncan, (which perfectly annihilated the enemy's fleet) substantiated our competence to extort from the French more eligible terms than they seemed inclined to grant. We never had been successful on any occasion at the commencement of hostilities which ought to encourage our perseverance. From these and other considerations, urged by lord Glasgow, he trusted that their lordships were prepared to strengthen the hands of government, and were accordingly agree with him in moving an address, in answer to his majesty's most gracious speech.

Lord Gwyder esteemed it a duty which he owed their lordships and the public, to declare the principles which had hitherto governed his public conduct. He had supported the war from its commencement every act of the enemy, every event of the war, every consequence that had followed, had served to col-

him in the opinion he had at first formed. Thrice had his majesty's ministers gone every length that prudence and honour permitted to terminate the miseries of war in vain; nay, perhaps, farther than honour permitted: honour, which was almost the only rational ground for war. A dispute about feuds or territorial possessions might be easily compromised; but the honour of this country once gone, it would sink from its present rank among nations into derision and contempt. His lordship proceeded to speak of the unprincipled ambition, insolence, and fury of France, and the good faith, the resources, and spirit, of England. "Those, said his lordship, who, in France, supported by public opinion, wished for peace on fair and honourable terms, have been seized and transported like criminals; and with them, all appearance of liberty and justice have vanished also. The jacobin despotism is now at its height: let the powers of Europe, which still retain their independence, look well to its explosion." He concluded by calling on their lordships for their support of the motion.

The earl Fitzwilliam said, that his concurrence with the address should not be withheld, on condition of allowing a trivial alteration in a few words. The same lust of universal empire, which poisoned and debased the old French government, seemed the only principle that distinguished the new. Disorganization, in all its extent, had uniformly succeeded every establishment it had been able to overthrow. The French had, indeed, but one character, which discriminated them at the beginning of the revolution; which had never since changed; and

in all probability never would; an incompatibility of coalescing with any other power whatever. Wherever they penetrated, by art or arms, the revolutionary mania followed them in its full effects. Had not the object for which, as advanced by his majesty, in a former speech, we fought, (order, morality, and religion), the same value in their estimation, and the same claim on their decision or exertion as ever? His lordship concluded by moving, as an amendment, to leave out that part of the address which respected "his majesty's endeavours, to procure for his people the blessings of peace," which, in his lordship's opinion, went to acknowledge the justice and legality of the French government.

Lord Grenville by no means intended to offer any sentiments in opposition to the well-grounded doctrines thrown out by lord Fitzwilliam with respect to the conduct of the French. It was only by a vigorous resistance of their principles, a manly disregard of their threats, and a zealous maintenance of our own principles, that we could secure to ourselves the blessings of our established government: but, acting on these ideas, and trusting to our own genuine vigour, he differed from the noble earl so far as to believe that even with the French republic, as now constituted, peace on these terms might be both practicable and permanent.

The marquis of Lansdown lamented to see the house deserted by so many noble peers; which, though it did not surprize, afflicted his heart. He did not, however, know whether their secession was not even a wise, salutary, and patriotic measure. It was a measure

[M 4]

on

on which he had himself often contemplated with seriousness, and which he had more than once thought of adopting. For what availed it for a few men, unsupported by public opinion, to spend their breath against a system not to be assailed by wisdom, nor moved by patriotism; which reposes itself on other bases than discussion, experience, and truth? If, said he, I come down thus single, it is not from any motive of self-conceit, but because I think the times themselves demand from every man exertion in every way in which it is possible. It is this, my lords, that induces me yet to trouble you with my faint, perhaps my unavailing voice. The declaration, he said, published by order of his majesty on the twenty-fifth of October,* had made a most serious impression upon him. That the French directory have no intention to make peace with us was a most serious and important matter: for then the question came to be, what are we to do in such a predicament? The noble earl says, continue the war? I ask how you are to continue it? I leave all that has been said about Geneva and Genoa, and the other states which have suffered from the conduct of France, to men better acquainted with the circumstances. We have nothing to do with those details. Our case is not parallel. Great Britain is not to be put on a footing with the petty states, which the drunkenness of the French revolution has disturbed, and we ought not to be diverted from the contemplation of our own case by such references. I leave them with all the speeches, books, and pamphlets predicting the ruin

that must follow the depreciation of assignats and mandates, and the impossibility of the French continuing their system, which have so long and fatally deluded your lordships. We are now come to that point when we are doomed to act by ourselves, and I need not tell your lordships, that through the whole of this business, it has been the invariable principle of those who have carried on the war, that we could not make any impression on France, without a continental ally. Lord Lansdown having insisted much on this argument, the inefficiency of our naval victories for the purpose of humbling France, and the strong and menacing situation into which we had driven that country, said, "I profess to God, I see but one means and one chance for safety: I see but one powerful reserve left to the nation, and that is a change of ministers. The directory of France could not have any confidence in the sincerity of our present administration in negotiating for peace. If he were asked upon what line and basis a peace ought to be concluded, he could only say, that, provided it were concluded in the spirit of peace, he would not be very anxious to specify the conditions. He did not think our colonies, either East Indian or West Indian, a sufficient argument for continuing the war: not even Trincomale itself. Let us come to our senses: our system ought to be purely defensive: a defensive war is not a great evil to this country compared with that which we have been doomed to endure. But let us, above all, regain the good opinion of Europe;

* See State Papers, vol. XXXIX. p. 223.

which

which good opinion we had lost by our intemperance, our pride, and rapacity. Let us proclaim freedom of commerce to neutral nations. We shall be forced to do it, and that with an ill grace. The present is the moment favourable to conciliation. If thus we recognize the commercial freedom of the world, we shall be the first to profit from the grand and generous system. On the subject of Ireland, he saw no means of restoring the people to the security of property, and the satisfaction of repose, but by making peace with that mighty people, who, to the enthusiasm of liberty, added all the resources of a nation yet before them." The marquis said, that he had had some intentions of putting some words into the shape of an amendment, but he knew it was useless. He had now, for forty years, seen the fate of amendments in parliament. He looked to a nobler quarter for our remedy. We had on the throne, a prince of experience, who had friends capable of giving him serious and sound advice. It was, perhaps, come to the critical moment when, acting on their counsel, he might yet rescue us from the fate that impends over our heads. May God grant, he said, that we may still owe to his paternal care the national safety.

Lord Mulgrave said, it was indeed true, that originally, and early in the contest, the varied and prodigious efforts of the common enemy; their publicly declared hostility to the religion, the government, the crowns, and the venerable establishments of Europe, had necessarily provoked a gigantic coalition against them: but time had softened the passions which had given birth to those enormities, and

the coalition against them had gradually vanished. The necessity that then existed for our not carrying on war without an ally had ceased, and we were to seek, in the dignity, the courage, and the resources of the country, the means of repelling or treating with the common enemy. As to a change of ministers, his lordship was very far from imagining that greater talents, more virtue, or more wisdom could be collected and formed into any administration, from the most distinguished classes of society, than were to be met with among the present ministry.

The duke of Norfolk said, that he would not have attended the house that night had not his hereditary situation (that of the earl Marshal) imposed it on him as a duty; yet as this had been the case, he would make one or two remarks on what had been advanced by lord Mulgrave. He could not concur with the noble lord, in attributing to his majesty's ministers either great talents or great virtues. After a victory the most brilliant but desperate that ever adorned our annals, ministers seemed not to possess the calm and settled passions of lovers of peace, but the stormy turbulent passions of minds projecting war. His grace, after some observations on certain passages in the late declaration above quoted, complained that this piece was unaccompanied with those documents which are things necessary to sustain facts.

Lord Grenville, after a satisfactory apology on this point, assured the house, that he should, tomorrow, lay before the house such of the papers referred to in his majesty's speech, as his majesty might deem it prudent to communicate.

The

The question on the address to his majesty, re-echoing as usual the speech from the throne, was then put and carried. But, on the day following, the earl Fitzwilliam, entered in the journals of the house a protest against the address, for the following among other reasons: "Because, the amendment, which had been rejected, appeared to him to be necessary to save the honour of the house from being implicated in approving a negotiation of which they knew little more than that it had drawn down new calamities and indignities, new injuries and outrages on his majesty and people. Because the sacrifices which his majesty had been lately advised to offer, and to declare himself still ready to make, could not now have the same object which the same or similar offers had on a former occasion: when they were anxious, by the cession of our own acquisitions, to redeem the most important part of the ancient established system of Europe, in which a breach had been made, and which was menaced with still farther danger. And because, the pecuniary distress and embarrassments of the enemy had encreased so as to have been a pretence for some of the late violent proceedings in France, while, on the contrary, the inquiries of their committees had long since prepared the house to anticipate the pleasing assurance of his majesty, "that we possess means and resources proportionate to the objects which are at stake; that our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry extended, and our commerce surpassed its former limits."

The address, in answer to the speech from the throne, was moved

for in the house of commons, by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle. The restoration of tranquillity, and of uninterrupted commerce, he said, were objects of as much importance to the sovereign, as to the subjects of a commercial country. The sincerity with which the negotiation at Lisle had been entered into, on the part of the British government, was, therefore, not to be doubted. Since the revolution of last September, the executive directory had taken no pains to conceal their intentions of continuing hostilities. In order to remove the possibility of doubt upon this subject, the revolution had no sooner taken place, than they took the negotiation out of the hands to which it had been entrusted, and sent creatures of their own to Lisle, charged with pacific professions, but with express orders to break off the negotiation, or at least to advance propositions which had been before rejected and abandoned, and which they well knew could not be accepted. As it must be evident that the restoration of peace could not be attained by any relaxation of efforts on our part, and as the continuance of the calamities of war seemed to be for a time unavoidable, we should consider the situation in which we stood at present, with respect to the means of carrying it on. Upon looking only to the events of the three last years, we should find ample subjects of triumph and exultation. We had swelled the list of our prizes to a degree unheard of in former wars. We had ruined the wars, and crippled the navy of the enemy. We had kept possession of the sea against three formidable allied powers. We had blockaded their ports, while superior fleets lay mouldering

mouldering in inaction within them. And when, at last, the menaces and reproaches of their indigent countrymen had forced them reluctantly to battle, the result had invariably been what we had expected.—Among the innumerable good effects, arising from the late victory, obtained by the fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan—one perhaps of more real importance and incalculable advantage than any by which our arms had hitherto been distinguished, it had tended to restore the confidence of the nation, to a quarter from whence it had lately been withheld; it had shewn to the world, that, though the spirit of British seamen might have been for a time directed to improper objects, and misled by the artifices of designing men, yet when necessity required, and their duty called for their exertions, it would fall with ten-fold vengeance on the enemies of their country. Mr. Bootle, in conclusion, trusted that the house would be unanimous in their vote of that day. It was of material consequence in the eyes of the nation, and of foreign powers that they should be so.—The motion for the address was seconded by Mr. William Drummond, who, among a variety of considerations urged with great perspicuity and animation, observed, that it was some consolation to Englishmen, if the evils of war must still continue, if greater treasures must yet be expended, and if more blood must yet flow, the blame was not imputable to them, but solely to the insatiable ambition of their enemies—enemies who had so often and so ostentatiously professed the love of peace; but who had, nevertheless, so uniformly, so invariably, and so syste-

matically persevered in the practice of war. If this enemy, continuing their exorbitant demands, and denying the respect which we have always claimed, and always received from other nations, refuse to grant us peace on fair terms, let us not be wanting to ourselves: let our union be the signal to our foes, that we will resist their aggression on our national independence, with all the zeal, all the energy, and all the perseverance, which the love of justice, the love of liberty, and the love of our country, can inspire.

Mr. Bryan Edwards cordially assented to that part of the address which related to the late glorious victory obtained by our fleet, under the command of the gallant admiral lord Duncan, over that of Holland. But how feeble the consolation that a single victory can supply? the triumph of an hour: a triumph dearly bought: a triumph which may, perhaps, have disconcerted a hostile expedition, but has certainly thinned the ranks of our gallant defenders. Amidst the rejoicing for such a display of our naval superiority, what sort of heart must that be which reflects without sorrow on the havoc of that day? which, without regret and horror, reads the bloody detail in the gazette?—that register of a slaughter-house—that muster-roll of death. Two hundred millions of money have been the waste of four years, and two hundred thousand the number of lives lost. And now, at the end of this frightful, irreparable loss, what does the king's speech hold out to us? Does it hold out the effectual relief of our burdens? No! Does it hold out the promise of *indemnity for the past, and security for the future*? No! Does it hold out peace? No, no such

such thing, but the reverse. It promises a renewal of the waste and devastation we all lament, or have cause to lament. It menaces us with more carnage and slaughter, with new scenes of blood, with more tears, more sighs, more, and perhaps, deeper groans of widows and orphans. But some gentlemen will say, "Why this mournful recital? What useful end can it serve to draw this gloomy picture? Have not efforts been made to obtain a peace?" To this, sir, I shall answer, that I am sure efforts suitable to the occasion have not been made; efforts founded in sincerity and breathing a true spirit of peace. The terms which the French would have granted, on the first mission of lord Malmesbury to Paris, and which the minister then refused, were such as he would now gladly accept, but which they now decline to give. The French would have granted peace on condition of holding what they then had; but the minister would be contented with nothing short of the restitution of Belgium; and the safety of England was sacrificed to the interest of the emperor. Mr. Edwards, for his part, was persuaded that it would have been a happy circumstance if lord Malmesbury had been empowered, at the outset, to make the restitution desired by France. It had been stated by sir Francis Baring, whose acquaintance with the British interests in India was undoubted, that the Cape of Good Hope, instead of being an advantage, would be a burden: he had also stated, and Mr. Edwards was sure that he stated no more than the fact, that Trincomale, in Ceylon, could not be kept in our possession

unless we become masters of the whole of that island; an acquisition utterly hopeless. And, as to the West Indies, if it was to-morrow in our power to capture the whole of the French islands, so far from being productive or advantageous, they would either be untenable or ruinous in the holding.

Mr. Edwards, in an enumeration of the various circumstances that threatened various imminent evils mentioned "the disgrace of the peerage, by the introduction of men without abilities or praise-worthy services, to entitle them to that distinction." The last resource of the wretched, Mr. E. observed, in conclusion of a very warm and pathetic speech, was, the hope that, when things are at the worst, they would mend. But, he said, even this consolation seems to be denied to us: for the right honourable gentleman, who has so long, and with such distinguished ability influenced the opinions of this side of the house, I am sorry to perceive, has retired from the contest. "Sir, if the advice of that right honourable gentleman, whose transcendent talents are his smallest praise, had been attended to, we should not, at this day, have to mourn over the calamities of our country. He has retired, I fear, wearied and hopeless, in prophetic and silent anguish. And when he despairs, when talents, eloquence, and firmness like his, which once, in spite of parliamentary majorities, saved the kingdom from a ruinous war with Russia, are withdrawn, in the present juncture, what remains for men of inferior endowments, but, like him, to retire from the scene, to mourn in secret over those evils they

they cannot prevent, and silently expect the dissolution which awaits this unhappy kingdom.

Mr. Wilberforce, with regard to what had been alleged concerning the merit and the retirement of Mr. Fox, said, that, for his own part, he knew of no good reason why the right honourable gentleman should refuse his aid and advice to the great council of the nation now, any more than upon any former occasions: nor should he be at all surprised to see him immediately enter the door, and walk up to his seat, as he was wont to do in the preceding session. As to the melancholy and silent anguish ascribed to him, it appeared from a public newspaper of the eleventh of October, that his melancholy was merely of a temporary nature: for although the right honourable gentleman had been found beginning the day of his annual festivity with regret and lamentations for the hopeless condition of his country, the same vehicle of intelligence had informed us, that after several toasts were drank, with great applause, the conviviality of the evening was heightened by some jovial songs. Respecting the efficacy of Mr. Fox's proposition, which Mr. Edwards had deemed infallible, he not only entertained doubts but absolute disbelief. He did not, therefore, at all regret the absence of the right honourable gentleman, because he did not think his counsel worth the accepting. He was willing to make any sacrifices that might be deemed necessary: not to the Hollanders, nor to the Spaniards, nor to the French, but to his country. Nay, he would go farther than the honourable mover in this surrender, to put a period to the war: for he would not

only make a surrender of all our conquests, but make a sacrifice of all things, of every kind, which, as an individual, he either possessed or valued. Nothing then remained but to call on the country to submit cheerfully to the sad alternative to which it was reduced, to join in returning thanks to providence for the signal victory which had improved their condition, and to unite zealously and firmly to save the country from the destructive hatred and immoderate ambition of the enemy.

Sir Horace Man, having spoken in vindication of the sincerity of both lord Malmesbury and ministry, in the late negotiation at Lisle, and of the hostile spirit of the French rulers, who had banished the two directors who had betrayed a disposition to peace, proceeded also to vindicate the character of the new peers from the aspersions of Mr. Bryan Edwards, and particularly that of his noble relation, the late master, now lord Powis. They were gentlemen, he said, who had uniformly served their country with ardour and fidelity. As to the address, he perfectly agreed with the honourable gentleman by whom it had been moved and seconded.

Mr. Elford put it to the honourable gentleman, Mr. Edwards, whether or no it was fair or just to say any thing that might tend to do away any part of the effect of the glorious victory over the Dutch fleet. He had brought into a prominent point of view that unhappy circumstance which was not peculiarly characteristic of this particular action, but the necessary concomitant of all splendid victories; because the severity of the contest was one source of their celerity.

Mr.

Mr. Nichols was heartily disposed to join with those who lamented the absence of Mr. Fox, on whose parliamentary conduct and public services, particularly the share he had had in terminating the American war, and giving a true statement of the East-India company's affairs in his India-bill * he bestowed much praise. It was his sincere wish to support royalty, the nobility, and the rights of the commons, not forgetting episcopacy, essential to our political existence, the whole of which he now saw, with pain, were in extreme danger. But while he saw it was necessary to wage a war *pro aris et focis*, he could not stifle the resentment and indignation that rose up in his breast against a minister, by whose ill-advised rashness it was begun, and through whose incapacity its conduct and progress had been disgraced by disaster and defeat. He could not but concur with Mr. Edwards, and for the reasons which that gentleman had given, for his opinion, that ministers were not sincere in their endeavours to negotiate: no, not in the late attempt. Should the war be continued for three years, the funds must give way, the middling class of the people inevitably be ruined, and the whole country be oppressed and overwhelmed with burdens. Our finances are our main object; to these we must attend. Even should ten shillings in the pound additional be laid on land, we should not be able to continue the war for three years. We owe it as a duty to his majesty to recommend to him a change of his ministers. They

have long been tried, and tried to no purpose.

Sir William Young asked whether, because a menace had been thrown out by the enemy, it was prudent or necessary that we should sit down in despondency? But it was said, that if we had sent out a person with full power to surrender all our conquests we should have been enabled still to treat with the enemy. To treat? for what? for our navy? Yes, assuredly. Such would be the final demand of the enemy; and we should be permitted at last, like Carthage, under the tyranny of ancient Rome, to keep up so many ships only on the sea as must eventually destroy our commerce, our liberties, our security, and our existence.

Mr. J. H. Browne observed, that when the taxes were slated to be grievous, gentlemen ought to review the increased value of estates, manufactures, and of commerce, to defray them. The internal wealth of the kingdom, he said, was never so abundant as at present. And this, he said, was the permanent cause of the courage in our troops and seamen.

The question on the address was then put and carried.

On the 8th of November, 1797, the order of the day in the house of peers, for taking into consideration the papers relative to the negotiation at Lisle being read, lord Grenville, after a long exordium, called their lordship's attention to the papers before them. After a copious detail of the points on which he should not insist, though in this detail he touched on them *en passant*,

* By which it was made to appear, that they were in arrears more than four millions sterling.

such

such as the conduct of the enemy in the commencement of the late negotiation, the insinuations thrown out against the character of lord Malmesbury, the unexampled liberality and frankness of his majesty's ministers, in giving almost, in the first interview between the plenipotentiaries, a full and detailed plan of the terms on which they were willing to make peace, &c. Lord Grenville, after a long statement of what he would not do, came at last to the great point on which the failure of the negotiation turned. Although, at the beginning of the negotiation this demand had been abandoned, they again renewed the proposal which had been declared inadmissible, viz. the complete renunciation of every thing that had been taken during the war from them or their allies. They would not enter into any discussion of the *projet* delivered by lord Malmesbury, nor did they want to see whether the terms proposed by this country would admit of any modification by mutual facilities and mutual compensation. They demanded, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to ask, and to declare all that we had to concede. The motives, by which the majority of the directory were actuated in the course which they pursued, it would not be difficult to explain. It would easily be recollected in what circumstances, amid what violence, the constitution of 1795, overthrown by the revolution of the fourth of September, 1797, was established. In no sense was any freedom of election permitted till about the middle of April last, when a very considerable change in the temper of the councils, as well as the people at large, was apparent. A majority in the

legislative bodies seemed disposed to put an end to the miseries under which the French nation groaned; and to oppose the progress of that revolutionary principle which the directory endeavoured, with too much success, to spread over Europe. They were desirous of enjoying the blessings of peace. These views, however, ill suited with the schemes of a majority of the directory. They wished to spread confusion over Europe, on jacobin principles and by jacobin means. Had the majority of the directory, by whose influence the whole of the proceedings at Lisle were conducted, chosen to break off the negotiation on the terms which this country offered, they would have put the councils on their guard, they would have made all France and Europe judges of their conduct, and they would have anticipated that event which the directory were preparing. Again, had they brought forward another *projet* of their own, they must have disappointed the object they had in view; that of breaking off the negotiation without specifying any terms. At the very moment, however, when they were practising every evasion, creating every delay, constantly refusing to deliver in a *counter-projet*, they held a language directly opposite in their messages to the council. In these they threw the charge of delay on the coalesced powers; and to whom could this insinuation apply, but to this country in conjunction with its ally? At this very moment their plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing for the extraordinary delays which took place. In these circumstances, does it not most plainly appear, that delay was their object; that they wished to gain time till their plot was ready to be executed

executed, and till it would be safe to throw off the mask? In their views they unhappily succeeded, by the weakness of their enemies, and the frail fabric of the constitution of 1795 was overturned. Had they broke off the negotiation abruptly before this period, they would have defeated their own object. It was clear to every man who watched the progress of events, and of opinion in France, that it was not at Lille, but at Paris, that the result of the conferences would be determined. It was obvious that it must depend upon the result of the disputes which agitated the councils of the government. It depended upon the decision of the struggle, and if the majority of the directory succeeded, every man was prepared for what followed. Perhaps, indeed, this forms the only excuse which his majesty's ministers could urge for having so long submitted to the delays and evasions of the enemy. They could only be justified by their desire to wait an event which might promise a favourable result to the negotiation, and facilitate the attainment of peace. This consideration alone shields them from the reproach of having so long endured the trifling and the evasion of the enemy, and contributed to aid the fatal deception which the directory wished to pass upon the people of France, by keeping up the appearance of negotiation, and cherishing the hope of peace.

When at last the fourth revolution of September arrived, the directory immediately changed their system, and avowed their objects. They immediately recalled the men whom they had formerly instructed to support their views, and whom they had authorized to make professions which they no longer meant

to perform. Every thing which had been done was retracted, and demands required which two months before had been abandoned. But it is needless to enter into a detailed exposition of their conduct. Their present avowed objects explain their former chicanery. They now shew, without concealment, the purposes for which the disguise had been assumed. They now declare, that it is our constitution, our laws, our religion, with which they war; that it is the whole system of our public glory, and of our private happiness, that they wish to overthrow. They avow that the government of this country, and that of France, cannot be co-existent. They wish not peace with this country, but the utter annihilation of our government, and the destruction of the whole scheme of our political existence.

With such avowals lord Grenville confessed himself at a loss to conceive in what manner the conduct of the enemy could now be excused or palliated. On the other hand, with regard to our own conduct and situation, this was not the moment to despair. The resources of this country were great and powerful; and hitherto there had been no pressure to call them with all their vigour into action. "I have the fullest confidence," said lord Grenville, in the public spirit and determined disposition of the people of this country. From you, my lords, I only ask that you will persevere in the sentiments you have expressed, and in the conduct you have pursued. I ask you to carry to the foot of the throne the address that I have drawn up, and now lay before you. His lordship then moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, assuring him,

him, that they had taken into their most serious consideration the papers which had been laid on the table, relative to the negociation for peace; that, in the steps which had been taken, they had recognized the pacific disposition evinced by his majesty throughout the whole of its progress, and observed the inveterate hostility of the enemy; that while, on the one hand, his majesty had given an example of the greatest moderation, the enemy on the other have abandoned every pacific disposition; that they entertain the most determined hatred and animosity to the constitution, laws, and liberties of this country; that the destruction of our constitution and government was the object at which they aimed; that the lords know that great exertions were necessary, but that they were prepared and resolved to stand or fall with the constitution, laws, and liberties, upon which the happiness of every class of the community essentially depended."

After a few words in support of this resolution, by lord Darnley, who also took occasion to bestow much praise on lord Malmesbury, and to compliment lord Duncan on his very brilliant and decisive victory, the address, being read by the chancellor, was unanimously agreed to. That this act might be rendered as solemn as possible, lord Grenville wished that it might be presented to his majesty as the joint address of the two houses of parliament. For this end, a conference was held with the commons: and Mr. Dundas, on the tenth of November, moved, that the commons do concur with their lordships in that address: to which an amendment was proposed by

Sir John Sinclair. He confessed himself perfectly astonished at the mean and degrading manner in which ministers had carried on the negociation. When the renewal of overtures for peace was first talked of, he had meant to move, that no plan should be delivered to the French government until the latter should have preferred their counter-plan. That he had refrained from making that motion afforded him now much regret. For ministers, being left to themselves, had carried on the negociation in the most disgraceful manner. It was begun against the customs and usages established in the intercourses of different nations. It was carried on when every idea of moderation and justice, on the part of the enemy, had been abandoned. What must be the effect of this? Must not such a mode of conduct tend to the debasement of the country? And would it be easy to revive the spirit of the nation after it had been so humbled? To the declaration of the twenty-fifth of October he objected, as full of rash and violent invective, and as intended for the express purpose of establishing between the two countries inveterate and lasting animosity. To justify this inveteracy, government brought various charges against France, which they had by no means been able to make out. If, indeed, it were the wish of the people of France to overturn the government of this country, he frankly confessed that he should give his assent to the address. But the fact, he believed, was, that if the French were inveterate against this country, it was because this country had been inveterate against them. If they wished to overturn our constitution, it was because ministers had

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evinced a desire to overturn theirs. The French people, he really thought, would be glad to let us alone, and to be at peace and in amity with us. On these grounds he moved an amended address, expressing the firmest resolution to maintain the honour and dignity of the crown, and independence of the nation, but avoiding any thing that might seem to imply animosity; and, in the spirit of conciliation, the concluding paragraph of the amended address proposed was as follows: "We trust that the two nations will see the wisdom and policy of speedily renewing a negotiation so favourable to the interests of humanity, and of concluding the war in terms just in themselves, and honourable to the parties interested, the only true foundation on which a lasting pacification can be expected. But if unfortunately such hopes should not be realized, your majesty may be assured of the firm and unalterable support of your faithful commons, in making every exertion that circumstances may render necessary for procuring a safe and honourable peace." This amendment, or rather amended address, was seconded by Mr. Bryan Edwards, but opposed by the earl Temple, in his first speech in parliament, in which he deemed it not only improper but impossible for him, in the relations in which he stood to give a silent vote that night, on the subject before them. He reviewed the conduct of the French since the revolution, and particularly in the late negotiation on the one part, and that of his majesty's ministers on the other, to whom he thought the warmest thanks were due for the manly manner in which the nego-

ciation had been concluded, and which he rejoiced had proved unsuccessful. He was convinced that there was a great antipathy in France against this country. The amendment he decidedly opposed. The honourable baronet, who brought it forward, asserted every thing and proved nothing. Lord Temple thought, that if it passed the house, the country would be sunk to a lower pitch of degradation than ever.

Mr. Pitt confessed himself to be in some degree disappointed, even by the speech of his noble cousin (much as he rejoiced in the specimen he had given of his talents), and still more by the speech of the honourable baronet, and the amendment he had moved. We ought not to rejoice that the negotiation for peace had not proved successful. Nor was this negotiation concluded by his majesty's ministers, but by others. The merit of his majesty's ministers, if they had any, consisted in their persisting, in every attempt, to conduct that negotiation to a pacific termination, as long as their enemies had left them not the prospect but the chance of doing so, consistently with their honour, dignity, and safety. As to the amendment proposed by the honourable baronet, who had left every thing out of it that was honourable to the character of his own country, was it possible that such an amendment could be proposed by the same gentleman, who had, in the same breath, brought a charge against his majesty's ministers, for having even commenced the negotiation in the manner and under the circumstances in which they did commence it? — and also for persevering in it, after violations
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of form and practice had been insisted on, in the earliest stage of it? Does he discover that the French government, whom they had accused of insincerity, had been sincere from the beginning to the end of the negotiation? The charges of the honourable baronet were sufficiently refuted by his own speech. He complains much of the declaration, by order of his majesty, on the rupture of the negotiation, as tending to perpetuate animosities between two nations which must one day be at peace. But what does that declaration express on the subject? His majesty's language is distinctly this: "While this determination continues to prevail, on the part of his enemies, his majesty's earnest wishes and endeavours, to restore peace to his subjects, must be fruitless: but his sentiments remain unaltered; he looks with anxious expectation to the moment, when the government of France may shew a temper and spirit corresponding with his own."—Mr. Pitt proceeded at great length, and with his usual perspicuity and energy, to illustrate the sincerity of the British government, in the late negotiation, and the studied eva-

sions and arrogant and repulsive demands of the French directory.

The amendment proposed by Sir John Sinclair was highly disapproved by Mr. Pollen, Mr. Martin, Mr. Gerard Noel Edwards, Mr. John Lloyd, Mr. Tyrwhit, Doctor French Lawrence, who spoke much against our either allowing the freedom of the seas, or his majesty's renouncing the title of king of France,* and who rejoiced, with Lord Temple, that the negotiation had proved unsuccessful. It was also opposed by Mr. Wilberforce, who regretted that doctor Lawrence, at the same time that he strenuously recommended unanimity, had made use of language very likely to produce a contrary effect. He was sorry that this learned gentleman had not followed the example of his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had purposely waved the subject introduced by the former, and had said expressly, that whether his majesty's ministers had gone too far in concessions, or not, was a question on which he would not give an opinion: to introduce that question, and make it a subject of discussion, at a time when all should be

* The doctor, who was a political pupil and enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Burke, on this occasion, said, that "he could not bring himself, with Mr. Pitt, to regard his majesty's title, of king of France, as a harmless feather: should that feather go, other feathers, closely connected with it, and which borrow from it their chief support, must go also, and share the same fate. He recommended to the contemplation and imitation of this country, certain precedents in the history of the wars of Edward III. who, supported by his parliament, invaded France, conquered the French, and brought their king a prisoner to England. The same result, the doctor said, might perhaps attend the present contest, did the same springs of action animate and direct our efforts, that animated and directed those of our ancestors!" There would, doubtless, be even greater glory, in bringing Buonaparte a prisoner to England, than there was in bringing John, king of France, captive thither, by the prince of Wales, in the reign of Edward III.

unanimity and harmony, was, in his mind, exceedingly improper; and, therefore, he protested against what had fallen from that learned gentleman, who, in endeavouring to interpret his right honourable friend, had but too fully spoken for himself.

Sir John Sinclair said, that he

had not proposed the amendment without due consideration. But he was not insensible to the display of eloquence he had just heard. He, therefore, withdrew his motion, in compliance with the earnest intreaties of all the members who had spoken on the subject.

C H A P. XIII.

Measures of Finance.—Restriction on the Bank, from Payments in Cash, continued.—Army Estimates, and Supplies for 1798.—Treble Assessment Bill.—Debates thereon in both Houses of Parliament.—Land Tax Redemption Bill.—Debates thereon.—Farther Supplies.—New Duties.

THE inquiries and discussions concerning the negotiations for peace, broken off at Lisle, were naturally followed by others relative to the ways and means for maintaining our government, and carrying on the war. On the fifteenth of November, 1797, Mr. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, moved for a committee of inquiry into the expediency of continuing the restriction upon the bank, which had been laid, in the preceding session, by an act, intitled, “An Act for confirming and continuing, for a limited time, the restriction contained in the minute of council, of the twenty-sixth of February, 1797;” a measure, he said, which the avowed policy of our enemy, and other circumstances, rendered necessary. — Though, by this bill, the restriction was nominally continued during the war, still it empowered the bank, at any intermediate period, to resume its payments in cash, by communicating its intentions to the speaker of the house of commons, and giving one month’s notice. It was necessary to shew to the enemy, that the country was prepared to meet all the efforts of desperation: but it did not follow that the restriction would be continued during the whole war. The bill went

through the several stages, in both houses, with little opposition, and was passed into a law.

On the twentieth of November, 1797; the secretary of war moved, in the house of commons, the usual resolutions on the army estimates. In the estimate of the present, compared with that of last year, there appeared to be a saving of one million. The whole of the regular force, Mr. Windham stated, would amount to 78,627 men. Regulars and irregulars (these last constituting the militia and fencible regiments, infantry and cavalry), amounted, together, to the number of 140,829 men. The regular force in Ireland and the East Indies, amounting to 30,018 men, was not, in this account, included. On this occasion, general Fitzpatrick suggested a material alteration in the mode of recruiting the army. It had often been observed, he said, that in this country, where we boasted of so high a degree of liberty, the condition of the soldier was worse than in any other part of Europe. In this country, the soldier was bound to serve for life. In other parts of Europe, the term of service was limited. He urged several reasons why the period of service should be limited; but the principal of these

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these was humanity. It was well known that men were too frequently entrapped into the service. The idea of fixing the period of service was not new. He had, twenty years ago, voted for such a measure, when it was brought forward by colonel Barré; and when that period was proposed to be fixed for six years. If colonel Barré's bill had passed, the nation would at this moment feel an additional security, in knowing that there were spread over the country a large body of men accustomed to the use of arms. Mr. Windham said, that, previous to his coming into office, the measure now suggested, or something like it, had often been in contemplation: but it had always been found to be attended with obstacles which it was not easy to surmount, and particularly in time of war. However motives of humanity, and considerations of policy, might incline him to such a measure, he was not prepared, for the present, to say any thing, one way or other. He, therefore, proceeded on the business which he had opened; and a great number of resolutions, as usual, were moved and carried.

The house again formed itself into a committee of supply on the twenty-second of November, when the

chancellor of the exchequer moved and carried a series of resolutions for various miscellaneous services; as our civil establishments abroad, in Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the island of St. John, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Bermudas, the Bahama Islands, Dominica, and New South Wales. For the civil list, for these establishments, there was a demand of 32,246*l*. For bills that were or might become due for the settlement of New South Wales there was a farther requisition of 36,000*l*. For the suffering clergy and laity of France, 168,000*l*.* For pensions and allowances to the American loyalists, 44,000*l*. For secret service abroad, 150,000*l*. For maintaining convicts at home, 33,325*l*. For bills on Douglas Harbour, 2,500*l*.

On the twenty-fourth of November, Mr. Pitt stated in the house of commons, the general outline of the measures proposed as the foundation for raising the supplies, and for meeting the exigencies of the ensuing year. He stated, under the usual heads, the amount of the supplies which would be required, and from the whole of which he made it to appear, that the sum now to be provided for, was about twenty-five millions and a half.† The navy estimates for the present

* We cannot help remarking, that so small a sum, for such a purpose, is wholly unworthy the humanity and munificence of the British nation.

| | £. |
|----------------------------|------------|
| † Navy | 12,539,000 |
| Army | 10,112,000 |
| Ordnance | 1,291,000 |
| Miscellaneous services | 674,000 |
| Reduction of national debt | 200,000 |
| Deficiency of grants | 680,000 |
| Total | 25,500,000 |
| | year |

year had been made out in a new form, intended, with more correctness than formerly, to present a full view of the expence that would be necessary. Instead of the former allowance, for the service of the navy, of 4*l.* per month, which was found to be inadequate, the full expence was taken into view. But, even in the present state, the estimates were not to be considered as so accurate as to exclude the possibility of any excess. Besides, the above-mentioned sum, there was a navy debt, owing to the excess of the preceding year above the estimate, amounting to three millions. There were other incumbrances, which he mentioned, to the amount of just other three millions.—These six millions, however, formed no part of the expence for which it was necessary to make a cash-provision. The sum of 12,539,000*l.* was all that entered into the account of naval supplies for the ensuing year. Supposing the statements of the army and navy to be correct, there would be a reduction, on these branches, to the extent of two millions and a half: and, including the reduction on the head of extraordinaries, the savings on the whole amounted to the sum of 6,700*l.* But, notwithstanding this diminution there still remained the above-mentioned sum of 25,500,000*l.* to be provided for, as the supplies of the ensuing year.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state the usual articles which composed part of the annual ways and means. These were the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and the land and malt tax. The former he took, along with the lottery, at 750,000*l.* making, with the land and malt tax, the sum of three millions and a

half. There then remained the sum of twenty-two millions to be supplied by some other means. The bank would agree to advance on exchequer-bills, to be repaid at short periods, the sum of three millions. According to the received system of our finances, the ordinary mode of proceeding, for the remaining nineteen millions of the supplies, would be a loan. But, in lieu of a part of this, he would propose a new mode; namely, that of raising, by a general tax, seven millions of this sum within the year. This plan was, an augmentation of the assessed taxes.

Those who contributed to the assessed taxes, he said, composed a number of about seven or eight hundred thousand house-keepers and masters of families, including a population of nearly four millions, on whom the sum proposed would be raised. The number of those who were not included at all, on account of their poverty, he estimated at five hundred thousand house-keepers and masters of families, covering a population of from two to three millions. The assessed taxes amounted, as far as could be ascertained, to 2,700,000*l.* The additional assessment, on the whole sum of the assessed taxes, would amount to something less than a treble contribution. The greatest contribution, he calculated, would not exceed a tenth part of the income of the highest class of those by whom it was to be paid. To prevent evasion, not future but past assessments were to be made the basis of the new contribution: because the most impartial evidence that could be obtained of the ability of each individual to contribute to the exigencies of the state, was the

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amount of the expenditure of his income before he had any temptation to lower it, in order to elude taxation. Mr. Pitt, having given the outlines of his plan of a treble assessment, adverted to the remaining twelve millions, to be raised by loan. Four millions, he said, might be borrowed, without making any additional debt, for the sinking-fund would pay that sum. For the other eight millions he proposed that the increased assessed taxes be continued till the principle and interest be completely discharged: so that, after seven millions should be raised for the ensuing year, the same taxes in one year more, with the additional aid of the sinking-fund, would pay off all that principle and intermediate interest. His propositions, therefore, if carried into effect, would not only furnish a current supply, but quicken the redemption of the national debt. And this, he said, would speak a language to the enemy, which, by cooling the ardour of their expectations, and shewing them the absurdity of their designs, would afford the best chance of shortening the war, and of lessening the duration and weight of our taxes. He concluded his speech, by moving the following resolution, which was agreed to, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that there shall be paid a duty, not exceeding treble the

amount of the duties imposed by several acts of parliament now in force, on houses and windows, and inhabited houses, and likewise the several additional duties of ten per cent. per annum, imposed thereon by several acts of parliament, with certain exceptions and abatements." This assessment, with the other funds just stated, would make up the whole of the sum wanted.*

Mr. Tierney wished to be satisfied upon what grounds the bank refused the people payment in specie, while it increased its advances to government? The present measure would occasion an emission of paper to an extent considerably increased: besides its tendency to raise an expectation of still farther and farther advances. As to the raising of seven millions within the year, it would serve to shew, that our funding system was approaching its end, even in the opinion of the minister. He asked, what was to be done in the next year of the war? For, with the present minister he held it to be impossible that the country could have peace. He wanted the confidence, not only of France, but of Europe.

Mr. Pitt, with regard to the alleged impropriety of advances made by the bank, asked, what similarity there was between the limited and voluntary advances of the bank to an amount which would

* WAYS and MEANS for 1798.

| | £. |
|--|------------|
| Growing produce of consolidated fund, with probit on lottery | 750,000 |
| Land and malt tax | 2,750,000 |
| Exchequer-bills | 3,000,000 |
| New loan | 12,000,000 |
| Increase on assessed taxes | 7,000,000 |
| Total | 25,500,000 |
| | shortly |

shortly be repaid, and the *cedules hypothecaires*, assignats, and depreciated millions and milliards of the French government? As to the personal objection of Mr. Tierney to the minister, Mr. Pitt asked why was not he and his colleagues equal to the task of concluding a peace? Because they had *not the confidence of the enemy*. This argument of Mr. Tierney's, Mr. Pitt, with much felicity turned to his own account, and against its author, at whose expence there was raised, on one side of the house, great laughter. It had also been objected to the minister, that he had not the confidence of the other powers of Europe. On this subject he could not express himself better than by using the very words of Mr. Tierney: who had complained "that these powers had deserted us, had deceived us, had failed in the payment of every debt due to us, and, after all this, they had lost confidence in the English government." Why? because the English government had uniformly performed every one of its engagements to its allies, and had met with no reciprocity on their part. If any other claims to confidence were required, than the fulfilment of engagements, neither he, nor his colleagues, could hope for the confidence of the enemies of Great Britain, nor that of Europe, nor that of the honourable gentleman. On the great point, which was the subject of this night's debate, he had heard nothing new. It had not been contended by Mr. Tierney, that a less supply was necessary. On the contrary, he even argued that a greater supply would be necessary: though he had not proposed a better mode for raising it. As to Mr. Tierney's ar-

gument, that the measure for raising seven millions within the year would shew that we were near the end of our funding system, he had not said a word that could lead to such a conclusion. In fact, it was a part of the proposed plan, by husbanding, to prolong the resource of funding.

Mr. Tierney, after complaining of the severe and unmerited attack on him by Mr. Pitt, who appeared to have got by heart a string of fine flourishing sentences, for the purpose of chastising any body who should doubt the excellence of his plans, and also of the laughter of his friends, for which he saw no reason, repeated what he had said on the subject of confidence, which was, that the enemy knowing that he acted with a cabinet, one half of which was hostile to him in general principles of policy, and agreeing with him in nothing but hatred to the French revolution, could never have any confidence in him with regard to his professed pacific intentions. Mr. Tierney, smarting still from the philippic of the minister, consoled himself with the observation, that a man might be in that house as if he had gone to live in a mill. "He might be a good deal frightened at first, but he would soon become acquainted with the noise: so with me. After a dressing or two more from the honourable gentleman, I shall care nothing for his noise."

Mr. Nicholls considered the increased number of stockholders as one of the calamities of war; and the funding system, by which it was carried on. Hence no money could be raised by the tradesman, for the purpose of his business; while the money borrowed by government was enormous in amount, and bor-

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rowed at enormous interest, the trade of the country must be greatly prejudiced.

Mr. Curwen contended that the war was no longer a war of necessity: and it became gentlemen to consider whether as a war of indemnity, that indemnity was worth the price at which it was to be bought. It was replied by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Vansittart, that the negotiation for peace had been broken off, not from difference about terms, but, from the implacable hatred of the enemy to this government.

On the fourth of December, 1797, the chancellor of the exchequer stated to the house of commons the particulars of his plan for increasing the assessed taxes, of which he had before given only the outline. The assessed taxes, he observed, consisted of two descriptions: the first comprehended the tax on houses, windows, the commutation-tax, and the two additional ten per cent. duties on the amount of these; making in all the sum of 150,000*l*. This was but a small proportion of the whole sum collected by the assessed taxes; which shewed that care had been taken to avoid too hard a pressure upon those who could not bear it. The other description contained all the same charges on houses, windows, the commutation-tax, and the twenty per cent. additional duties; while, over and above, 1,300,000*l*. was raised upon male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches. It was his intention, therefore, as the latter were chiefly articles of luxury, to triple the duties upon these, while he took care to have the proportions of the former modified.

Mr. Pitt next stated to the commit-

tee the different proportions of contribution which he proposed to affix to the different classes of those housekeepers who came under his first description, of subscribing only to the house, window, and commutation, taxes. He afterwards stated the different proportions of additional assessment which those were to pay who came under his second description, of contributing not only to the house, window, and commutation, taxes, but also to the taxes raised upon male servants, horses, dogs, and watches. Of the bill, when, after various alterations in its various stages, it passed into a law, the following is an outline. More, did our limits admit of more, would be trifling with our readers time, as, early in the subsequent session of parliament, it was repealed, or rather (the principle of contribution within the year, according to the respective abilities of individuals, being preserved entire) moulded into another form.

Persons paying assessed taxes were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of those persons who paid for male servants, carriages, and horses, on or before the sixth of April, 1798, and were to pay as follows: where the amount of the old duties did not exceed 25*l*. per annum, an additional duty was to be paid, equal to three times the present amount; that is to say, if the amount of the old duties was 25*l*. an additional duty was to be paid of 75*l*. From 25*l*. to 30*l*. three times and one-half the amount, from 30*l*. to 40*l*. four times the amount, from 40*l*. to 50*l*. four times and one-half, and from 50*l*. the old amount, and upwards, five times the amount. The second class consisted of persons paying duties on houses

houses, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches. Where these taxes did not amount to 1*l*. the persons were exempt from the additional duty: persons paying 1*l*. or upwards, but under 2*l*. were to pay an additional duty equal to one-fourth of the present amount; persons paying 2*l*. and under 3*l*. one-half of the present amount; persons paying 3*l*. and under 5*l*. three-fourths; persons paying 5*l*. and under 7*l*. 10*s*. were to pay an additional sum, equal to the old amount, and so on, in a ratio increasing, in similar proportions, to 50*l*. and upwards, when an additional assessment was to be paid, of five times the old amount. The third class consisted of persons keeping boarding-schools (not less than ten boarders), ready-furnished or lodging houses, shops, and licensed victuallers. Those persons of this class, the amount of whose last assessment, for duties on houses, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches, did not amount to 3*l*. were exempt from the additional duty: where the amount of such taxes was 3*l*. and under 5*l*. an addition was imposed equal to one-tenth of the amount. Where the amount of such taxes amounted to 30*l*. and upwards, an additional duty was imposed equal to twice the present amount. Intermediate amounts were taxed in intermediate proportions.

To this bill there was added, also, a scale of reduction of duties, according to certain gradations of income. Persons whose annual income was less than 60*l*. and under 65*l*. were to pay an additional duty of only a one hundred and twentieth part of such income; those whose income was 100*l*. and under 105*l*. to pay an additional duty of one-

fortieth part, and so on, in an increasing ratio, to incomes of 200*l*. per annum, and upwards, which were to pay an addition equal to one-tenth part of such income. No abatement of the treble duty was to be allowed to persons with an income above 200*l*. per annum.

Mr. Pitt estimated the amount of this treble assessment at seven millions; and contended that there could not be a plan which embraced more necessary abatements, allowed more just and necessary exemptions, or which regulated the proportions of wealth, circumstance, and situation, with more fair and equal justice. Mr. Pitt, after a variety of observations on the necessity of the most spirited exertions for surmounting difficulties and repelling dangers, thought it proper, though it was not perfectly regular, that all the resolutions on the subject of the measure proposed should be read before the committee proceeded to the discussion of any of them. These being read accordingly,

Sir William Pultney said, that he approved the plan of taxation before the committee very much: he thought the system of raising the supplies of the year within the year extremely proper, and therefore he should support it as far as it went. He thought the chancellor of the exchequer entitled to the support and to the approbation of the house, not only for the general plan, but for the modifications he had suggested. But he was afraid that, notwithstanding every modification that could be suggested, there would be still very considerable inequality in the operation of his tax. There was not a doubt but some men of large property, spend

spend less than men possessed of much inferior fortunes, and would consequently pay less to this tax. In many of the subdivisions, too, of this general tax, the burden fell only on the honest part of the community, for the smuggler and contraband dealer paid nothing. Yet he did not from thence mean to argue that the plan, which might be amended, ought to be rejected. He was inclined to carry this principle of providing the supplies farther than the chancellor of the exchequer had done; being sure that the burden would be less felt by the community at large, if the plan had been formed on a larger scale. The great difficulty that would arise from carrying the present plan into execution would be, that many persons now lived up to the full extent of their incomes. The law required, and very properly, that the king's taxes should be paid first; but, if a man had no money what was he to do? could he borrow money? certainly not; and for a very obvious reason: government gave such exorbitant interest, that an individual could not expect any body to lend him money at 5 per cent. But, suppose that, instead of raising a sum of seven millions in the manner now proposed, it had been proposed to raise the sum of nineteen or even twenty-one millions in the year, it would be felt lighter by the country than raising seven millions. If the whole sum had been raised within the year, government would not have had occasion to borrow any money: and if government did not borrow, then individuals might. There was to be a loan of twelve millions: every body knew what large interest government must, in the present

state of the funds, give for money; then, how could a private person borrow any money, who was not allowed by law to give more than 5 per cent.? It was very well known, that the consequence of people's getting such large interest in the public funds was, that the country was in a manner drained of money. If the plan proposed were adopted in the extent sir William proposed, this inconvenience would be avoided: as the public would have no occasion to borrow money, then a private individual might borrow it. The saving that would be made by the adoption of this plan, of raising the whole of the supplies within the year, was obvious; for government now paid 6 per cent. for money, an expence which fell upon the public at large: but, in the way he proposed, the public would only have 5 per cent. to pay. This was a new idea, and certainly might, at first view, appear rather objectionable: but he was convinced that it might easily be carried into effect. Sir William did not expect to find many gentlemen who would go to the whole extent of his ideas on this subject; but he thought it his duty to state them to the house. For a like reason, it has been judged proper to give in this place sir William's project, though concisely, yet more fully than is strictly consistent with the plan and limits of this narrative. Many projects, deemed impracticable at first glance, have been carried into effect by perseverance in a gradual removal of obstacles, and modification of adverse circumstances.

Lord Temple entirely assented to the measure proposed, and only regretted, with sir William Pultney, that it was not more extensive.

Sir Robert Macreth proposed a tax on mortgages, and an equal land-tax; and the abolition of all other taxes: to sell the forests and mortmain lands, and to throw the proceeds into the sinking-fund, for the purpose of discharging the national debt.

Mr. Nicholls objected to the tax proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, as not being either just or necessary. If it was considered as a tax upon luxury it was not just, because it was not optional; if it was considered as a tax upon expenditure, it was also unjust, because expenditure was not proportional to property. As to the point of necessity, he said, the tax was not necessary, because the war was not necessary. This observation, so often made by Mr. Nicholls, occasioned loud and incessant laughter, as usual: which he encountered by declaring, that he stood there as one of the representatives of the people, and that he did not believe sincere measures had been pursued for the attainment of peace. Dismiss the present ministers, he said, and the war may then be terminated.

The debate now turned chiefly on the trite subjects of the primary object, and the question concerning the necessity of continuing the war: though some financial ideas were also introduced, not unworthy of summary notice.

The secretary at war, with his usual logical alertness, said, surely Mr. Nicholls must have been off his guard, in attributing the continuation of the war to the insincerity of his majesty's ministers: as this observation must bear equally hard on the sincerity of the French directory, whose conduct some gentlemen, on all occasions, were so

anxious to defend. The honourable gentleman's argument was, that in negotiations, whenever people are sincere, they can never fail of accomplishing the wished-for object. Had the French directory, therefore, been sincere in their wishes for peace (as, doubtless, the honourable gentleman thinks they were), then peace would necessarily have been attained. Mr. Windham proceeded to avow and repeat his opinions (well known) concerning the necessity of the war. After taking a view of the avowed designs and efforts of the enemy, he asked, how he could but deprecate the return of peace with parliamentary reform (and that, too, a reform on the principles avowed by the honourable gentleman, in whose expectations a peace would be followed up by a parliamentary reform), or in other words, with a revolution? With regard to what Mr. Nicholls seemed to consider as the great question, Mr. Windham asked, what the sincerity of administration had to do either with retarding or accelerating this great object of peace? Was it not the nature of the terms proposed, which must decide that point, and not the secret sentiments and wishes of the negotiators? As to the notion, that the enemy would make no peace with the present ministers, what did Mr. Nicholls mean? Did he wish that such ministers should be chosen as should be recommended by the enemy? And for what? In order to conciliate the enemy, to promote the cause of parliamentary reform, and to introduce among us universal philanthropy, and fraternization, and French liberty!

Mr. Hobhouse, in a speech of considerable length, but not tedious, stated

stated various objections to the various modes proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer for the supply of the public wants, and said, that he had dwelt more particularly upon that part of his plan, in which he deviates from his usual course of raising money by loan, because he thought it injudicious, with respect to the impression it would make upon the enemy, unequal and oppressive in its operations at home, and big with the most ruinous consequences. "But (said he) I will frankly own, that if I could think more favourably of the minister's financial schemes, I should, with great reluctance, confide to him the expenditure of the public money. The ministers have, in the speech they put into the mouth of their sovereign, recommended to this house to persevere in the same principles and conduct which have hitherto been pursued. To this eulogy, which they have bestowed upon themselves, I can by no means assent. They are the authors of all our calamities. By intermeddling in the interior concerns of other states, they have plunged this country unnecessarily and wantonly into a ruinous and expensive war, which they have been unable to conduct with success, and which they often might have terminated with honour and advantage. They have attempted to bully foreign nations into a compliance with their demand, to make common cause with us against France, but, upon the least shew of resistance, have withdrawn their ineffectual menace. They have borrowed upon the most exorbitant terms, and spent with the greatest profusion; so that a vast addition is made to our public debt, and an immense load of taxes

thrown upon the people. They have subsidized many of the European courts, in order to enable faithless potentates to fight their own battles, and defend their own territories; and have sent money out of the country, without the consent, and even during the sitting, of parliament. They have introduced a system of *espionage*, of setting man against man, and brother against brother. They have invaded the just liberty of speech, and of the press; and have cut off from the lower classes their only source of political information. Can you wonder, sir, that, feeling these sentiments so strongly as I do, I should be unwilling to trust the public purse in the hands of the present administration? After the observations which I have made, it is almost needless to add, that I shall give my hearty negative to the proposed resolutions."

Mr. Pierrepont said, that some part of the public burdens should be borne by the royal family and their dependents. If they would come forward, it would have a good effect. Though the sum could not be much, it would endear them to their country.

Mr. Mark Wood wondered to hear any difference of opinion, relative to the necessity of great and extraordinary supplies, after the present government of France had not only declared their intentions to subvert the liberties and destroy the constitution and government of this country, but held out the plunder of its inhabitants as an excitement to their soldiery to embark in their mad and frantic expeditions. He proposed that no person, whose property, whether in land, bonds, funds, goods, or whatever else, was under

under 5,000*l.* should be called on for any farther public contribution than the present taxes and assessments, but that every person, whose property exceeded [or, we presume, amounted to] that sum, should be required to contribute a certain proportion of this property, whether a half *per cent.* or one *per cent.* as might be adequate to the services of the state, in lieu of all taxes and assessments whatever. He calculated the whole property of this kingdom at two thousand millions; a very small *per centage* on which [he must have meant, on as much of which as was divided among proprietors of 5,000*l.*] would soon relieve this country from all her embarrassments.

Mr. Tierney, after badgering Mr. Pitt about deserting, and Mr. Windham about persevering in hostility to all principles of political or parliamentary reform, and charging the former with many errors and blunders* in matters of taxation and finance, said, that with all our professed hatred to French principles, our ministers were following the French system. "A noble lord (Temple) who spoke in this debate, had said in as many words "Let us attack the capitalists." The words were scarcely out of his mouth

when another honourable member proposed the sale of the crown and forest lands. This is really proceeding upon French principles: for it is saying to the people of this country, that government will have, at all events, one-tenth of the property of every man in the kingdom. I see no reason why it may not be followed up with a demand of one-eighth, then a sixth, afterwards a half, perhaps, and finally, the whole. The principle certainly leads to that. I say this in a war, which, if I countenanced for an hour, I should betray the interests of my constituents. Before I consent to take money out of the pockets of the English people, I ought to be well assured that it will be fairly applied for their interest by a good English administration. Above all, I ought to be well assured, that those in the highest stations among us are ready to set to the lowest a patriotic example. Instead of this, I see every man who possesses place, pension, or sinecure emolument, carving, not for the public interest, but his own. Impressed with these sentiments, I must give the propositions before the committee a decided negative."

Mr. Addington, (the speaker) was confident that many persons of as-

* One blunder Mr. Tierney mentioned on this occasion, which, though it is universally deplored in all private circles, has not yet been brought so much as it ought to be, and as it no doubt will be, if the voice of humanity be not entirely stifled, under the attention of parliament. "The minister's first duty on wine, Mr. Tierney observed, was a good one: but by the additional duty, he occasioned a defalcation in the revenue which cannot easily be made up. It now appears, that it produces less than it did at the first impost." This enormous tax, it was well observed by Mr. Hobhouse, in his excellent speech, in the same debate, had occasioned many of those who had been in the habit of assisting the poor with wine, to discontinue the practice of affording them that help under sickness. The sufferings, and the fatal consequences flowing from this inhuman and absurd tax, according to the concurring testimony of all physicians is incalculable. Yet it has not been repealed. It is continued, though to the loss of the revenue, as a wanton triumph over both humanity and reason.

fluent fortunes, sensible of the regard and delicacy which are manifested in not searching too minutely into capital, would come voluntarily forward to make such a contribution above the amount of the class of their assessment as should be equal to their real property. A clause, giving such persons such an opportunity, might be introduced at the first, or in the progress of the bill.

The committee divided on the first resolution, which was carried by 214 against 15. The others were also carried of course.

The bill was read for the first time on the seventh, and for the second on the fourteenth of December, 1797, when it was opposed by Mr. Wigley, Mr. J. Nicolls, who felt with increased force the objections he had made against the measure from the beginning, Mr. alderman Combe, Mr. Henry Thornton, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Mainwaring; and by all these gentlemen, except the two first mentioned, at the express desire of their constituents. It was supported, on the other hand, by Mr. Yorke, lord Hawkesbury, alderman Lushington, (though against the voice and instructions of his constituents) Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt. A very great part, indeed by far the greater part of the speeches on this, as most other occasions, strayed from the point in question, to topics that evidently appeared to be uppermost in the minds of the speakers, the necessity or inexpediency of the war, and the dismissal or continuance in office of the present administration.

When Mr. Fox passed through the lobby of the house of commons, which, as well as the gallery, was full of what, in the language of

parliament, are called strangers, there was a great burst of applause and clapping of hands. Every one in the gallery arose, as by one impulse, and a general sensation of somewhat interesting pervaded the whole house.

Mr. Yorke declared that he was willing to pay the last shilling he was worth, and shed the last drop of his blood, to defend the country against the designs of France. At this stage of the business, the house had only to consider the principle of the bill before them; particular provisions and various modifications might yet render the bill effectual. Mr. Yorke indulged a vein of some pleasantry on the return of Mr. Fox, to the house of commons, after so long absence. He would have time, he said, during his retirement, to read the history of what has lately passed in Europe. To him he would look up for an opinion. He would be glad to hear what the right honourable gentlemen had to say about the design of relieving the funds? He had often heard him expatiate on that subject with pleasure, because he had always spoken in favour of that plan. Mr. Yorke concluded his observations with reprobating the doctrine of members of parliament being guided by the instructions of their constituents as unconstitutional.

Mr. Sheridan urged with his usual energy, various objections to the principle of the bill: but none that had not been before stated. He dwelt particularly on the circumstance that the tax proposed was a tax upon expenditure, not on property. But the main tendency of his speech was to shew that no peace could be made by the present administration. He began and concluded

cluded his speech by declaring that he would not vote for granting any supplies for the farther prosecution of the war, while the present ministers continued in office.

Mr. Dundas, among various observations, made the two following: First, the funding system had not been abandoned, for it was by this that the greater part of the supplies were to be raised. Secondly, money raised for public services, was not withdrawn, as had been so often and thoughtlessly alleged, from the public service. Money expended for the clothing and pay of the army, or for the support of the navy, did not decrease the resources of agriculture or commerce. Trade and commerce, during the present expensive war, had decreased.

Mr. Fox declared his opinion to be now what it had long been, that the present administration of this country had, by the unfortunate blindness of that house, and the too easy temper of the people of this country, so impaired and deranged its finances, so increased its embarrassments, and above all, so disfigured its constitution, that no services of any individual in the course of the closest attendance, would be sufficient to balance the mischiefs that must arise from giving countenance to an opinion, that the decisions of that house were always the result of full discussion. Nothing short of a total reform of the late system, and a return to the true principles of the constitution, and the popular maxims of our ancestors, could save us from utter ruin. With regard to the plan proposed, of voting part of the supplies within the year, Mr. Fox thought that it came with a very ill grace from those who had contributed so much already to the bur-

dens to be transferred to posterity; but which they are afraid farther to increase. When they are absolutely under the necessity of stopping in their usual career, they turn round, and generously call upon us, in order to support their measures, to bear an intolerable burden ourselves. This plan, said Mr. Fox, proceeds from absolute necessity, not from any tenderness felt for those who are to come after us: and I cannot help thinking that its public spirit will not be much respected in the world. If there was any period (and I am now begging the question merely for the sake of proceeding in the argument) but if there had been any period in which such a measure as this could have been well-timed, it was at the commencement of the war. The chancellor of the exchequer proceeded upon something like it, as far as it can be considered as a plan to diminish future burdens, immediately after the Spanish armament. Why not produce this plan at the commencement of the war? Why? because it was necessary to delude this house. Because it was necessary for the purposes which the minister had then in view to treat you all like children! This was the reason why this plan was not at first adopted. If it had, the delusion would have been over, and the people would have seen the abyss to which the minister was disposed to lead them. No! that would not suit his purpose. The people would have revolted at a system so developed. So well aware was he of this, that in an early stage of this contest, he advised his majesty to tell his parliament, it was a great consolation to him, that in the prosecution of this just and necessary war, there need not be imposed upon

upon his people very heavy and oppressive burdens. Why did he not then come forward with the patriotic principle which he now assumes? Why? because he thought it necessary to delude you, to gain your assent to enter into the contest, by telling you the burden would be light; and now that you are involved in all its difficulties, and when he tells you you cannot retire with honour, he comes with this impost, which would have been too abominable at the onset, but which he now means to pass in the desperation of your affairs.

Although no friend to novel systems of finance, I am ready to say, that any thing that is new ought to be adopted, provided it appears to be wise; but I am ready to confess also, that I have never heard of a better system for raising money in times of great difficulty than that of the funding system. By making income the basis of taxation, you impose on diligence, activity, and industry, double the weight that you lay on him who chooses to repose indolently and supinely on the produce of his capital. But this, Mr. Fox observed, was not all. They were called upon to regulate their future transactions, not by the future prudence of men, which would be a fair rule of impost in certain cases, but by the last expenditure of men. By this bill no choice was left to the imprudent and improvident man of retrieving his fortune, by contracting his expenses. We cannot stop to relate all the striking remarks made by Mr. Fox, on the present occasion, yet we cannot pass by what follows, as it is so well deserving, and indeed so loudly demands, universal attention. "The nominal amount of

the proposed assessment is a tenth of the income. But in this the assessment is proportioned in name only, not in substance. There is no equality in its pressure on the people. The gentleman of 1000*l.* a year, for instance, who has to pay 100*l.* a year, is much more severely taxed, than the man of 10,000*l.* who has to pay 1000*l.*"

Mr. Fox said in conclusion "it is only by a quick return to the genuine principles of our ancestors that we can be safe. If there are any men who feel themselves capable of restoring peace with the enemy, and internal tranquillity to these kingdoms, without a change of system, and restoring the constitution to its vigour, I can only say, they are more sanguine than I am. I can speak without any personal motive on the subject: for I publicly declare, that I never will take a part, high or low, in any administration, until public opinion shall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all our abuses, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

Mr. Pitt, after stating, at much length, his determination to persevere in what he conceived to be the line of duty, and his reasons for considering the assessed taxes as the best criterion for diffusing the public burdens equally over the community, replied to the principal arguments against the bill proposed. With regard to the great object to which the speeches of an honourable and right honourable gentleman seemed to tend, a change of ministry and also a change of political system, Mr. Pitt observed that, though they had contended that there was an impossibility of the present administration making peace, they had neglected

neglected to point out and prove the means by which any other minister would be enabled to effect that desirable object. What that radical change which Mr. Fox so strenuously insisted on, Mr. Pitt was at a loss to conjecture. One thing, however, might be clearly collected from his speech, which was, that a total reform of parliament was only a part of that general change which he was so anxious to obtain: a change, from which, it appeared, no part of the existing government was exempted. Supposing that gentlemen in opposition had succeeded in proving to the house, that the king's ministers ought to be dismissed, and that this great, radical, and unexplained change ought to take place, still supplies would be necessary, because the war must be carried on until these great changes could be effected: and consequently, in the interim, supplies would be wanting: therefore, on their own principles, they ought not to oppose this measure.

Mr. Fox, in explanation, denied that he had ever said, that no peace could be obtained before a general reform should be actually carried into execution.

The second reading of the bill was carried by 175, against 50.

The bill, having undergone various modifications, in a committee on the 18th of December, was proposed to be read a third time on the third of January, 1798, which gave rise to a very long debate, continued by adjournment for two days, but which, as usual, wandered from the question immediately before the house to the present war, and the general conduct of the minister and other inferior branches of administration.

Mr. Thompson reprobated the bill, as not only unwise, impolitic, and ruinous in its principle, but cruel, unequal, oppressive, and unjust, in its particular provisions and distributions.

Mr. Tyrwhit apprehended that the bill would be found very different in its operation from what was expected by the chancellor of the exchequer. Instead of one-tenth, the tax would operate as one-sixth on the property of the rich, which would not fail to lessen consumption, consequently to fall ultimately on the poor, and in that way to alienate their affections.

Mr. Nichols argued that the tax was unjust, as imposing equal burdens on unequal portions of property; that it was not necessary, because the continuance of the war was not necessary; that the continuance of the war was not necessary, because sincere endeavours had never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace. Why did he say that sincere endeavours had never yet been in vain employed to obtain peace? Because some among his majesty's ministers never could have employed sincere endeavours to obtain peace, except they had relinquished those principles on which they had involved us in the war: and; if we might argue from the language of the secretary at war, on a former night, when the present bill was under consideration, they had not abandoned those principles.

Mr. Dickinson reminded the learned gentleman who spoke last, that immediately previous, and subsequent to the revolution, up to the establishment of the sinking fund, large sums had been raised precisely on the principle of the assessed taxes.

[O 2]

Mr.

Mr. Simeon thought the war just and necessary, but the tax proposed, at once ineffectual and oppressive. He proposed a substitute, of which as it seems worthy of re-consideration, we shall briefly state the substance: which was, to charge a duty of five per cent. upon all de-
visable property above a certain amount. To charge a duty on all retail tradesmen and dealers, making the rent of the house the criterion of property or income: but not to take away above one-fifteenth of the income, after deducting the charges of trade. And to charge the transfer of stock with a duty of half a crown in the pound. He did not think that such a tax would fall short of eight millions and a half; perhaps it might produce ten millions.

Mr. Addington, the speaker, compared the present war with that of the war carried on by king William III. against the French king, Lewis XIV. What was the object of that war, and what the enemy with whom we had then to contend? To preserve the balance of power in Europe; to secure the country, not against a pressing and most alarming danger, but one distant and problematical. The enemy was a prince, certainly of vast ambition, fond of glory and of conquest: but an enemy who had no particular antipathy to crowned heads; who had never threatened conquered countries with the annihilation of their nobility; the destruction of all their old institutions; and the subversion of their established forms of government. Did we want to know the object of the enemy in the present contest? By reading their own declarations, we should find, that it was not merely subjugation, but universal plunder; with the excep-

tion only of the mutineers in the navy, and the friends of reform, on whose co-operation they foolishly and madly relied.

Mr. Rose, junior, approved the bill under consideration, as it would be a relief to the people.

Sir Francis Burdett shewed the fallacy of this idea, and that every part of the expenditure of government fell upon the shoulders of the people. The way in which the tax proposed, as well as other taxes, would injure the people, was by its indirect tendency to decrease the demand for labour, by dissipating those funds which pay the wages of industry. Sir Francis proceeded to treat the present question, not merely as a question of finance. He opposed the granting of the supplies, because he detested the purposes they were intended to promote; the prosecution of this disgraceful war, and the support of an infamous system of corruption. Of the present minister sir Francis said, that he had placed terror in the throne of reason, and under pretence of maintaining the constitution, had squandered the wealth, shed the blood, and annihilated the liberties of the people of England. "Sir, said sir Francis, we seem to imagine that we have only to assemble within these walls, to devise ways and means for extracting large sums of money from the country. Then, we are told, we are to be relieved from all our embarrassments, and our enemies struck with terror. But, sir, money is not the sinew of war. Was money so all-powerful as most persons, in spite of experience, continue to believe. I say, in spite of experience, for the whole tenor of history proves the contrary. The extravagance of our
minister

minister would surely have entitled him to every sort of advantage; and the people of France would long ere this have been exterminated, according to the pious intentions of the undertakers of the war, and would now have been held out to trembling nations as a dreadful example of the danger of incurring royal vengeance." The modern political maxim, that money is the sinew of war, is indeed an error, to which we have long been inclined, with sir Francis Burdett, to ascribe our public calamities and misfortunes.

On what had been asserted by Dr. Nichols, Mr. Sheridan, and others, that we might obtain peace were the executive power of this country placed in abler hands,

Mr. alderman Lushington doubted whether there were in this country any description of men, who could, by their address, or any other talents, convert so vindictive a foe, as that with which we had now to contend, into any thing like an opponent ready to treat with us upon honourable terms. He would go farther, and say, it was contrary to the principles of our enemies, and contrary even to the character of the human mind, that men who had acquired so great and so new a power, contrarily to the spirit of a great military republic, or rather democracy, to act upon just and honourable terms towards its opponents. The French had in fact acted with cruelty, not only to their foes, but their friends. To suppose that Great Britain, which had been so long their rival, would be better treated by them than they had treated others, would be insanity.

Mr. Ellison, after reprobating egotism, expatiating on his own in-

dependence, and displaying the evil tendency of French principles, declared himself a warm friend to the bill, as a measure calculated to preserve the constitution of this country.

Mr. Jekyll said that this honourable member had taken the most singular mode of rescuing his character from the imputation of egotism, that he had ever witnessed: for in the course of what he had delivered at considerable length, he had literally talked of nothing but himself. Of the chancellor of the exchequer he said that, amidst his various and endless incapacities as a statesman, his ignorance of the various gradations and classes of the community, was not the least prominent feature, especially of the middle and inferior orders of men: what their necessities and the extent of their abilities. Of the lowest class, he was still less competent to form the remotest judgement. Witness the pompous and famous speech he made on that subject, when he snatched from the hand of Mr. Whitbread, a wise and salutary measure he had offered to that house, for the amelioration of the state of the labouring poor. Months elapsed, and at last, the minister's arrogance was ripened into a bill, which was such a haph, such a farrago of impracticability and nonsense, that there was not a lawyer, a magistrate, nay, not a parish-officer in the kingdom, nor single individual, who had a glimpse of understanding on the subject, that did not turn from the project with disgust and derision. The consequence was, that, though the speech still stands recorded as a beautiful display of what may be said, without any applicability to the subject in question, the bill was sneaked out of the house in a way that marked the disgraceful

disgraceful manner in which the original subject had been wrested out of the hands of its intelligent and honourable mover. With regard to the present monstrous measure, Mr. Jekyll reprobated it as unproductive, as tending to perjuries, and the diffusion of an opinion, that the house of commons had no sympathy with those it professed to term its constituents. But this extraordinary exertion was to shew to the enemy our energy, and the extent of our resources. Mr. Jekyll here reminded the chancellor of the exchequer that he had, in 1795, observed with much exultation, on the purity of our own mode of revenue, that "the French could support their present system only by an arrest of property and a requisition of men," a system, said he, "that could originate only in despotism, and be maintained only by terror." Requisitions of men, said Mr. Jekyll, we have witnessed repeatedly: arrest of property is the avowed object of the present measure. Would the right honourable gentleman accept the inference? A system that could originate only in despotism, and be supported only by terror.

Dr. Lawrence thought it necessary, before he said any thing of the present measure, to touch on the nature of the terms of peace which we were likely to hear proposed by the enemy. These, he said, so far from being of a mild and pacific tone, breathed nothing to England but utter destruction. The French considered themselves as the Romans, and the English as the Carthaginians. Having expatiated warmly and at length on the subject of the rancour of France against monarchies, and particularly England, he proceeded to contrast the griev-

ous financial operations of the French republic, with the easy modes of raising the supplies in this country. He next inquired into the causes of the war, which originated solely with the jacobins, and on the part of this country was altogether avoidable. He next adverted to the tendency of the new measure of increased assessment, and discoursed on the propriety of not bearing too hard on the funding system. No solid argument had been urged against this measure. In his mind, all the arguments opposed to it were but random-shots. Some said the poor would suffer from it; others that it would press hard upon the rich; and others again, with perhaps greater plausibility, that it would be peculiarly oppressive to the middle classes of society. But this was a mode of reasoning which ought to be discouraged: nor ought one class to inquire what this or that other class could best afford to pay. Whether any man was to pay too little, or more than his neighbour, he would only say, that whoever had a stake or interest in the country, should cheerfully contribute to the exigencies of the state, according to the amount of that stake or interest. As to the objections made against the taking of oaths, he was surprised that they should come from one of the legal profession. Animadversions on opinions delivered in that house, whether moral or religious, he could not but consider as unparliamentary. The doctor, after taking, a second time, a comparative view of the taxes imposed in France and England, asked if, after that view, they would be ready to receive the French, and their kind offers of French freedom? He was sure,

sure, on the contrary, the people of England would think that the present war should be vigorously supported. Were it to be a war of fifty years, the country would have sufficient spirit and resolution to carry it on until it could obtain a safe and honourable peace. But, to this effect, it would be absolutely necessary, as he had shewn in a former debate, to carry on an offensive as well as a defensive war, and to let loose that arm of our power which had been too long tied up. If this other branch of our strength was powerfully to co-operate with our navy, then indeed we might safely deride and baffle all the projects of invasion so proudly meditated by the democratical enemy.

Mr. Courtney could not approve of the coarse invective with which the French government and all their measures were treated by the learned gentleman. Such language was more becoming the fish-women of Paris than the dignity of that house: and he was sorry to see it persisted in by those on whom a great man (Mr. Burke) seemed to have thrown the mantle of his zeal, but who did not appear to have imparted to his disciples one spark of his genius. Nor was there more force, he said, in the learned gentleman's arguments in favour of the bill, than there was liberality or decency in his language. The learned doctor seemed desirous to prepare transports and every necessary, again to march to Paris, under the command of a noble lord near him (Hawkesbury) and to renew the triumphs of our Henries and our Edwards.—Mr. Courtney proceeded to examine this and the other principal opinions and positions of Dr. Law-

rence with a mixture of reasoning and irony, and concluded by declaring that, in his mind, the principle of the tax was neither just, equitable, nor prudent.

Mr. W. Smith opposed the bill, as tending to entrust extraordinary resources to the hands of ministers, whose uniform conduct, since the beginning of the war, had proved them to be utterly incapable of effectually applying them to the purposes for which they were intended.

Lord Hawkesbury endeavoured to shew, that, in every point of view, the present war had been wise (though he confessed that he had expected better things from the continental members of the confederacy), as well as, in naval affairs, successful.

At a very late hour, the debate on the motion of Mr. Pitt was adjourned till next day, the fourth of January, when it was resumed, and continued to considerable length, through many explanations, repetitions of sentiments and arguments, as well as some new proofs and illustrations, many personalities (particularly relating to Mr. Fox), school-boy analogies, on the one hand, and distinctions, on the other, between the relative situations of Rome and Carthage, and France and Britain, and much gaiety and pleasantry: which, indulged temperately, and with true taste and sound judgement, are a very agreeable seasoning, in the gravest debates, but which, when they appear to be the main object of the speaker, would be more suitable to a place of public entertainment, than to the councils of a great nation, agitated by a great crisis of fate or fortune. It was not, therefore, without reason, that

that, when Mr. Sheridan had finished a long speech, fraught throughout with ridicule, particularly at the expence of Mr. Windham, lord Ho kelbury, and, above all, of doctor Lawrence, who conceived himself to be in possession of the spirit of his Elijah [Mr. Burke],

Mr. Dundas rose immediately, and said, that, from the political and financial tenour of the honourable gentleman's speech, he should have considered the country to be at its last gasp; but that, when he heard him declaiming, throughout, with such gaiety and so many lively fallies, he could not suppose the honourable gentleman himself entertained any such idea.

The following extract, from a speech by Mr. Hobhouse, drew, from many of the members, and certainly deserves, general attention: "Let the government of a country, according to the sense it entertains of the circumstances or exigency in which that country is placed, impose a tax upon hounds, horses, carriages, or any other articles whatsoever; but let it never interfere with, or obstruct the exercise of, the right of the individual, to subject himself to that share of the burden which, in his own judgement, his fortune in life will allow. But this bill takes away all discretion, all option whatsoever; and the same power, which thus seizes upon the tenth of my income, may hereafter seize upon the fifth or fourth part, or even that capital from which my income is derived. If, sir, this bill should pass (and that it will cannot be matter of doubt), all the property of the kingdom is virtually transferred into the hands of the minister of the crown. Did gentlemen

consider that I am now pleading the cause of private property, against a most unwarrantable act of government, they would not, surely, lend the least countenance to so arbitrary a proceeding. That his majesty's ministers should thus endeavour to make themselves masters of all the property in the country, does not affect me with surprise. The attempt is quite in unison with their favourite doctrine, that the right of private property is not stronger than the right by which they hold the emoluments of office. Thus to weaken the right of private property, by reducing it to the level of the precarious tenure upon which they enjoy their salaries, is to undermine the foundation of those pillars, of which they boast themselves to be the most zealous supporters. Is it a wonder, then, that they should commit this flagrant violation upon the property of the subject? Indeed, sir, they seem to tread fast in the steps of those French legislators, whose conduct they have so often and so loudly condemned and reprobated. The inviolability of public credit and private property is the great cement of civilized society. By their assignments and their requisitions, the French legislators violated both. Have not his majesty's ministers copied their criminal example, by depriving the bank of England notes of their convertibility into specie, and by the present forced contribution; a contribution more severe than any which Robespierre himself extorted from his unhappy country."

Mr. Percival, endeavouring to turn the tables on Mr. Hobhouse, said, that he considered himself as particularly the advocate for property,

perty, when he was supporting the measure that was to protect it.—It must be confessed that it was a sad alternative, that our property should either be at the absolute controul of the French, or our own executive government.

What follows is extracted from a speech by Mr. Fox, on this occasion, of unusual length, and of his usual vigour and animation: "We have now, indeed, a form of government, consisting of king, lords, and commons house of parliament; but not a government consisting of king, lords, and the commons, representatives of the people of Great Britain. It is a government, in which the power of the people is nothing: and so it is, indeed, the fashion now to admit, for we never hear now of an *actual*, all is a *virtual* representation of the people. Consequently, we find, daily, that members of this house speak and vote in direct opposition to the instructions of their constituents; of which we had a striking instance, the other day, in the conduct of a worthy alderman of the city of London, who thought fit to declare, that, in voting for the bill now before the house, he was confident he was voting according to the desire of his constituents. Who are his constituents? The livery of the city of London. What has been the conduct of that livery? In common-hall assembled, they voted an address to his majesty, to dismiss his present ministers from his councils. That worthy alderman has since continually supported these ministers, in this house. The court of common council unanimously resolve against the principle of this bill. The body of the livery, in common hall, declare the same sen-

timents; and all the inhabitants, of the different wards in the city, concur unanimously in these sentiments. They all instruct their representatives in parliament to oppose this bill. The worthy alderman supports it. This is called the virtual representation of the people! Such is the conduct, I perceive, of many of the members of this house, at the beginning of a parliament; quite otherwise it is, with most of them, at the end of one. What was this but saying to the constituents, that their member knew better than themselves what their opinions were? What was this, but following up the blow that had already been given to the right of petitioning? Not so the case, with regard to petitions, in the year 1784, when they came in aid of the power of the crown. Whether the petitions, that were then presented, were right or wrong, I am not now questioning; it is foreign to the subject; but it appears, by the different receptions of them, and those of the present time, that, in this house, petitions in favour of the power of the crown are to be considered as every thing; those in favour of the rights of the subject, nothing. While the majority of this house was against the proceedings of the king's ministers, it was nothing: and the petitions of the people, against it, was every thing. When the majority of this house is for the king's ministers, it is every thing; the petitions of the people, against them, nothing."

It has often been objected, we have seen, to Mr. Fox, that he would impede the necessary operations of government, until a radical (though, as yet, undefined) system of government should, in every

every department, be completely established; and that a mere reform of parliament was not the whole of what he seemed to aim at. Mr. Fox took the present occasion to declare, that what he contended for, in the mean time, was only a *pledge* for a general reform of abuses, in the removal of the present ministry, implying a disavowal of their system; and that, though he wished for a reform of parliament, he had no idea of obtaining it, but by the organ, and through the means of parliament. Yet, the chief point insisted on, in Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Fox, was, that, though the necessity of a great and unusual exertion, to defeat the attempts of the enemy, was admitted, "it was now maintained, for the first time (though the subject had been six weeks under discussion), that the bill should be suspended, till the house had ensured the dismissal of his majesty's ministers, and a *radical reform* of parliament, to an unexplained and indefinite amount."—The question was carried, for the treble assessment of taxes, by 202 against 127.

This measure, of an increased assessment of taxes, was discussed on the second reading of the bill, in the house of lords, on the day after, being the fifth of January.—The business was introduced by lord Grenville, who stated, "that, by the address of their lordships to his majesty, on the fifteenth of November, they had signified their determination to defend, with their lives and properties, the government and constitution of the country, with the honour and independence of the British empire; and that they were prepared to make the greatest exertions for that pur-

pose." Lord Grenville, after brief commendations, moved that the bill should be committed.

Lord Carrington declared, that the situation of the country required great sacrifices for its salvation, but contended, that one-twentieth part, assessed directly on real income, would produce a larger contribution than one-tenth, in the manner proposed by the bill.

Lord Holland, in his first speech in parliament, did not dispute, with the noble secretary of state, that, under the administration of which he formed a considerable part, for the last five years, the condition of this country had grown worse and worse. If it were enough for a member of parliament, to see that the exigency of his country was great, without examining the system that produced the calamity; were it no part of his duty to examine how money had been already applied, or what probability there was of its being duly applied in future; then, perhaps, he might agree in the truth of the preamble before the house; though, even in that case, he should think it his duty to oppose the enactments, because he did not think that they agreed with the preamble. He would hear, no doubt, that our calamitous situation had been brought about by extraordinary misfortunes. But to whom were these owing? Was it not the duty of ministers not to have plunged us into a war, without considering what these misfortunes were likely to be? In no one instance, had ministry answered the expectations of the public. He certainly did think, that this country ought not to grant any more money, without a pledge, not only that

that ministers are to be changed, but that the present system is to be changed also: and that change of system, he thought, comprehended a true representation of the people in parliament, an entire and radical reform of abuses. But ministers were never in such a situation as that of the present, and, therefore, great allowances were due to them. Would you stop the supplies, which could tend only to strengthen or encourage the enemy? "I know (said lord Holland) that a change of ministers, and also of system, at least a pledge for it from the highest authority, may be procured in a few hours. It need not detain your proceedings so long, as if you waited for a noble duke who should have happened to have missed his robes, and you could not go on with some ceremony of the house without him. Until you have that pledge, the more you vote, the more you add fuel to the flame which is consuming you, and burdens to the loads that are already bearing you down, I hear unanimity often recommended; but this can never be restored, until the rights of the people are restored to them; rights which have been greatly infringed on, by certain bills prohibiting public meetings, and, without a repeal of which, the people can neither express, nor indeed properly feel, the stake they have in the country." With regard to the novel measure for raising the supplies proposed, he confessed that he did not understand with what intention the bill was brought forward, if not to foment discord. He could not call it a tax. He did not hesitate to declare, that it was worse, in point of principle, than any of the

plans of Robespierre. It certainly (said his lordship) does not go to the same extent, but it is worse, I say, in principle; for, Robespierre only charged the people for what they had, but this bill makes a charge on us for what we have had, without any regard to what we have. He proceeded to shew, that it would, as well as other taxes, ultimately bear hard on the poor, and that many would be tempted to swear off, for taxing them above a tenth of their income.

The earl of Liverpool thought that the length to which the funded system had been carried, and the circumstances of the present moment, rendered it expedient to limit its application. The clamour, against the measure proposed, appeared to him to be confined chiefly to the metropolis. Having the honour of a seat in that house, as well as property to defend, he was willing to give a part of his property, as a premium of insurance for the safety of the remainder.

Lord Auckland observed, that the hopes of the enemy were placed in the destruction of the funded system, and it was wise, therefore, to shew them that we possessed other resources, which relieved us from the necessity of carrying that system too far, and enabled us to assist its credit, when it might be necessary to resort to it.

The duke of Bedford observed, that nothing could be more inadequate than the assessed taxes, as a criterion of income through expenditure. The effect of the measure would be, to occasion a general reduction of expenditure, and; consequently, a great devaluation of

of the public revenue. But it was said, that government received the money, and that it would be employed in supporting other branches of useful manufactures. In answer to this, his grace observed, that such a sudden demand would occasion a very great reduction of expenditure, in what formed the subjects of the old taxes. Their lordships were now about to give their sanction to a measure which abandoned the old system of finance, and established one entirely new. They were not able to judge of the consequences it would produce. Unpopular to a degree, it was admitted to be; that it would not be a permanent saving, he thought he had shewn. Such a measure might have intimidated the enemy, if it had not been passed by a parliament that had acquiesced in all the measures of the minister; but, when they saw it carried, against the voice of the people, by a pliant majority, what conclusion could they draw, but that the funding system was exhausted? This, he was convinced, was not the case. The difficulty attending great loans was, the difficulty of providing the interest. But how could ministers insist upon this, when they were ready to impose so large a sum upon the country, in one year? The measure would be as oppressive in its operation as it was unjust in its principle. To reject the measure, would not be to refuse supplies; it would only oblige the minister to resort to some mode of raising money, less objectionable in its nature, and less oppressive to the public.

Lord Thurlow could not deny that, in many instances, the bill might operate very unequally; but

it should not be forgotten (he said) that, in a large and comprehensive scheme of taxation, it was impossible to determine, with mathematical precision, what portion was to be paid by each individual. Yet he did not think that income was a fair measure of property; especially the income of professional men, and persons embarked in trade; because the income of such persons must always be exceedingly variable. If expenditure was to be viewed as the general criterion, then the expenditure of every year should be the criterion of its income. Why, if expenditure was to be the criterion of income, was it not to be applied to the expenditure of the future as well as the past?

Lord Grenville (in answer to this question) replied, that the criterion had been taken according to the expenditure of 1797, and not that of 1798, because, in 1797, every man laid his plan of expenditure without any view to taxation; and it was, therefore, the proper test of ability: whereas, in 1798, the expenditure would be regulated, not according to the ability of each person, but to his disposition to contribute to the exigencies of the state. With regard to what had been recommended by a young nobleman (who had just taken his seat in that house, and who had given a specimen of the most promising talents), to push ministers from their office, by stopping the supplies, until a pledge should be given, to the house and the country, of a radical reform; that is to say, of a reform of parliament, and of supposed abuses in this country; a dereliction of the system of coercion, and a grant of their

their just rights to the people of Ireland: if indeed the house withheld supplies till then, reform would come attended by the arms of the enemy. He wished to know what pledge the noble and youthful lord meant? Who was it that could take upon him to pledge the parliament of England to abandon their principles, and give up the constitution and country a prey to France? He hoped they would pass this bill, and grant the supplies, if for no other reason, at least as a means of stopping the progress of a radical reform.

Lord Holland, by the reply he made to lord Grenville, gave a convincing proof that his talents were not confined to the composition of an elaborate speech in the closet: and such as those with which it is customary for young speakers to preface or support a motion for an address to the throne. In the pledge, he said, which he was desirous of obtaining, he had used no ambiguous and no undefined terms. He had stated correctly what he wanted; namely, the dismissal of his majesty's present ministers, as a preliminary to the appointment of men in whom the nation could have just confidence for the restoration of their rights, and for a system of administration founded on parliamentary reform. The noble secretary had drawn forth a dreadful accusation against him, that he wanted to change the fundamental basis of the British constitution, as if he had reviled it, and said that it was not a good and happy constitution. He would never speak ill of the dead. The argument of the noble lord reminded him of the verses of Prior,

" Thus harlequin extoll'd his horse,
" Fit for the road, the race, the course :
" One fault he had—a fault indeed!
" And what was that?—the horse was
" dead."

So of the genuine constitution of England. It had every quality that could endear it to a rational and free people. But alas it was no longer in existence. What he wanted, was to revive that constitution in its purity, not by any innovation, but by restoring to the people a just representation in parliament. The bill having been read a second time, a motion was made for its commitment, which was carried in the affirmative, by 73, against 23. Against this vote, a protest was entered in the journals of the house, by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Besborough, the earl of Peterborough, the earl of Oxford, lord Holland, and lord King. This bill for increasing the assessed taxes, received the royal assent by commission, on the 12th of January, 1798.

On the subject of financial measures and projects it may just be mentioned, that on the 8th of December, Mr. Nicholls moved in the house of commons a resolution for applying certain parts of the emoluments of certain offices, for the public service during the war: and that Mr. D. P. Coke, on the 22d of December, made a motion for limiting the fees of the tellers of the exchequer, during the present distressed and calamitous state of the country. Mr. Nicholls's motion was supported by Mr. Tierney; but the extravagance, and the inequality or injustice of it, being demonstrated by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, to the apparent satisfaction

faction of the whole house besides, it was withdrawn. Mr. Coke disclaimed every idea of faction or personal hostility to his majesty's ministers, whom he wished to retain their places, as he was extremely averse to the doctrines held by the gentlemen who were likely to succeed them. But he wished to limit the enormous fees which the measure of the increased assessment, now under discussion, would throw into the hands of certain noble lords, and that at a moment when the people were groaning under an almost insupportable load of taxes, and when they were going to be still farther loaded with a burden which, he was convinced, it was utterly impossible they could bear. Mr. Coke took occasion to state, that in lieu of that additional burden, he had a plan to propose, which would fully answer the end in view; and that was to lay a shilling in the pound on all transfer of stock.

This idea of taxing the stocks had often been hinted in parliament, and seems to become every day more familiar. In proportion as the public mind points to any subject of taxation, it is likely, as ministers are not indocile on those points, one day or other, to be adopted.

On a division of the house, Mr. Coke's motion was negatived by 75 against 6.

Necessity, which gives birth to bold resolution, is also the parent of invention. Of the former of these effects of necessity, we have an instance in the triple assessment of taxes: of the latter, in a bill which was now brought into parliament for the redemption, or more properly speaking, the commutation of the land-tax.

On the second of April, Mr. Pitt, in pursuance of the notice he had given some days before, stated to the house of commons, the general nature of his plan, relative to the land-tax: a plan, he trusted, which required only to be stated in order to meet with general approbation. Its object was, to absorb a large quantity of stock, and in the process, to transfer a large portion of the national debt, into a landed security. The quantity of stock thus transferred was, in its amount, to equal, at least, the quantity of land-tax, which should, by this means, be extinguished, and should be applicable to the public service. It was unnecessary for him to state to the committee, that the amount of the land-tax was about two millions a year. This tax had now for near a century been annually granted, and according to the same rate for the different counties. The land-tax has existed for a long time at the rate at which it now stood, viz. at four shillings in the pound; this had existed for so long a time that there was no reason to suppose that any diminution in the rate would take place; at least, if no new regulations were made, it was not probable that any diminution would be made in this tax, until other taxes which were more felt were diminished. He proposed by this measure to reduce so much of the public debt as should leave an income of two millions four hundred thousand pounds applicable to the public service. The pecuniary advantages arising from this measure must be obvious from this statement, because the public would dispose of a revenue of 2,000,000*l.* for which they would clear off public debt to such an amount that the interest

interest would produce a sum of 2,400,000*l.* leaving, upon the whole, a clear gain to the public of 400,000*l.* Under these circumstances, the situation of the person who purchased the land-tax would be that of having a landed security for his property, and that at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. At all events, the public would be a considerable gainer; but what was of much more consequence, eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. As to the terms that ought to be given, they should be such as to induce every person who was able to purchase, to do so. It was proposed that the payment should be regulated by the price of stocks, and that the payment should never be made in money, but always in stock. If within a certain time, the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase, the bill provided that even in that case, his situation, or that of his heirs, should not be left entirely hopeless, but that a farther period should be allowed, for taking advantage of the purchase.

Mr. Pitt, having given the outline of his plan, and having stated circumstances, which, in his opinion, tended to recommend it to the approbation of parliament, proceeded to obviate some objections that had been made to it. In the whole of the statements and observations with which he had troubled the committee, he had in view three

objects. The first was, to shew that the scheme promised great national benefits: the second, that the objections which he anticipated as likely to be made to it, were not general, that they admitted of remedy, and that they were not sufficient to impede the execution of it: and the third, that while the benefits which the public were to derive from it would be very great, the individual advantage would be found to be equally great. It would carry us far beyond the limits of our design to go along with Mr. Pitt in all his anticipations of objections. One only may be mentioned, and what must readily occur to every one who makes his plan at all a subject of reflection. "By consenting to vote the land-tax a perpetual tax, instead of voting it annually, parliament would give up one of the great checks which it had in the privilege of voting or withholding the public money." But the committee, Mr. Pitt observed, would perceive that he should not only propose to place a sum of 2,000,000*l.* under their annual controul, but that he should propose, that the sum of 2,400,000*l.* should be placed in that situation: so that, in fact, instead of losing any of the constitutional checks, which parliament possessed before, it would have a greater check on the public revenue than it had at the present moment. The measure submitted to the house was now farther stated to the house in a long series of resolutions * which, Mr. Pitt said, he

* These resolutions, which run to the length of no less than half a printed sheet, could not be inserted here: nor is it necessary to do more than state the spirit and object of the bill, or those points on which the main arguments in its discussion turned. It is by no means the design of this sketch of the History of Europe, to give such a detailed and minute account of the transactions of legislatures, as might serve to direct individuals in the management of their private affairs. For this end they must have recourse to established laws: whether under the name of decrees, ordinances, or acts of parliament, &c.

should move to have printed early to-morrow, and that Wednesday be appointed for their discussion: thus the report on the subject might be brought up on Thursday, and gentlemen would have the Easter holidays in which to form, from communications and letters, a full opinion on this subject. The resolutions being read, Mr. Pitt said, that this was a short statement of the heads of the resolutions which he proposed to be discussed hereafter: but if any gentleman had any thing to offer now, he should be glad to hear him. The resolutions were warmly approved by J. Hawkins Browne, as tending to invigorate public credit; and by Sir B. Hemmet, who took the present opportunity of declaring that he paid 500*l.* a year, of land-tax, and that he was willing to double that sum, if an additional and equal land-tax should be thought expedient. But they were disapproved and opposed by lord Sheffield, Mr. Tierney, and Sir W. Pultney.

Mr. Tierney thought that this measure struck at the principles which were the foundation of our security in the possession of property, while, instead of raising it would have a tendency to depress the public funds. Some gentlemen might, perhaps, run away with an idea, that this measure was for a redemption of stock, like that of the plan for a reduction of the national debt; but he denied that there was the slightest similarity between them. When stock should be purchased under the provisions of the plan now proposed, the stock would not vanish; the substance of the public burden, would be still the same. It was only taking eighty millions nominally out of Change-Alley for a

while, and to enable monied men to enlarge their capitals. The right honourable gentleman, he said, would gain nothing by this measure but a little temporary popularity with the monied men. And here he must repeat, what he had often observed, that the connection between his majesty's ministers and monied men, of late years, had been too close, and led to measures highly injurious to the interests of the public.

Mr. Pitt said, from the speech he had just heard, he could not help thinking that the honourable gentleman neither understood him, nor himself. Was it really a truth that the house had no power to relieve from or alter any duty? Had the honourable gentleman himself never voted for the relief from or alteration of any duty? Was it not the fact, that tax-bills were repealed in almost every session? In truth Mr. Tierney seemed to be utterly ignorant of the tendency of the measure: for he had spoken of it as a violent encroachment on the rights of the public creditor, as secured by the consolidated fund. In point of fact it was intended, and would be found in its operation, to relieve the public funds to an immense amount, by taking an immense sum out of the market: and this, so far from depreciating the public funds, by making the supply for them annual, that they would improve them, by making them so far permanent. As to the alleged collusion between ministers and monied men, he observed that one part of Mr. Tierney's argument contradicted the other: for while he argued that the measure proposed would tend to hurt the public creditors or stockholders, he insisted that it was a proof of that dangerous connection between ministers and the

the monied interest, which ought so much to be depreciated, and which was, in fact, nothing less than a bonus to the monied men of the country.

Sir W. Pultney did not hesitate to declare his opinion, that the chancellor of the exchequer, by adopting the plan now proposed to the committee, was going to make a very bad bargain for the country, and which, far from promoting, would tend to defeat the very objects he had in view. The result of the plan, he was bold to say, was to sell a perpetual 5 per cent. very extraordinary terms for borrowing money for the public.

Mr. Pitt professed himself ready to improve his plan, by any hints that might hereafter be thrown out by the worthy baronet, or any other honourable member: but at present he could not help expressing some surprize at the measure being found objectionable on the ground, that it was borrowing money at a higher rate than was ever proposed to parliament. Surely this was an observation unworthy the acuteness and financial knowledge usually displayed by the worthy baronet: for this would be the case only while the stocks were at 50.

The chairman then reported progress, and the committee was ordered to sit again on Wednesday. On that day, the order for going into a committee on the land-tax-bill being read,

Mr. Buxton, one of that class who are called the landed gentlemen, without opposing the measure now before the house, declared his opinion, that it would be much more popular, if it contained a provision to the effect, that whenever

any additional burden should be laid upon the land, a tax to the same extent, should be laid upon every other species of property.

Mr. Pitt put the question, how the honourable gentleman could ascertain the value of every species of property in the country? He had no difficulty in stating, that no greater service could be rendered to the country, than to point out the mode by which taxes might be laid on, in the most equal manner, upon all kinds of property.

Mr. Jones thought that there was a wonderful inclination to favour the monied interest: "A set of people, according to the just description of them, by the immortal lord Chatham, ready to serve any set of men, provided they served them on their own terms." This favour, shewn to monied men, he could never contemplate without being reminded of the revolution in France; which was clearly to be traced to that preference and favour which had been shewn to the monied interest, the loan-jobbers, contractors, and the rest of the swindling fraternity.

Mr. Pitt was surprized to hear it objected to the measure proposed, that it tended to create a permanent burden on the landed, in favour of the monied interest of the country. It tended to create no new burden, but only to continue a burden already created. As to the French revolution, it was neither the landed nor monied men who were the agents in that conclusion, but persons without either kind of property, who desired to get possession of the land and money of others. He took occasion to shew the intimate connection between the landed and

monied interest, and that the prosperity of the one was the prosperity of the other.

Lord Sheffield could not agree with those who considered the land-tax already in effect as a fixed and perpetual tax. If the chancellor of the exchequer had proposed, that the tax, in future, should fall on the occupier of land, he would have had a much better opinion of his principles of finance: for, by such means, the tax would ultimately fall on the consumer, and would be paid by the land-owners, in common with the rest of the community. But this was such a favourite tax, that, he understood, as soon as it was sold, there was an intention of laying a new land-tax. Unfortunately for the country, those, whose odious task it was to propose taxes, did not always extend their knowledge beyond the bills of mortality. They were too much in the hands of monied men, who were so full of expedients, relative to the funds, that they could seldom think of the interior circumstances of the country. Lord Sheffield, after stating the immense and almost incredible weight of taxes, and other burdens, already borne by the land and landed proprietors, said, "yet, at the moment of such oppression on the landed interest, the most partial, the worst principled tax, and which solely respected them, was to be selected, voted perpetual, and then offered for sale, and that at a time when a great part of the landed-interest pays six times the other usual taxes. The country gentlemen who have no income, except from land; and who, from their situation, must incur a certain expence, or fly the country, were

crushed by the load of taxes. Parliament should take care not to drive gentlemen from the country. The disposition which the English gentlemen had to reside in it was infinitely advantageous. Their attention to the distressed and morals of individuals did more than the best laws ever did, and where no law could touch. Nobody acknowledged the necessity and difficulty of getting money, more than he did; but there was a choice, even in difficulties, and there were some good expedients left. He should mention one, the sale of the forests and crown lands. Instead of a loss, it would be a great national benefit, if, by any means, they should become private property.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote wished to know, whether, if a new land-tax was to be raised, it was intended to be fairly and equally assessed?

Mr. Pitt replied, that the house would see, that, among the resolutions which he last night had brought forward, there was a provision, that the lands, on which the tax should be redeemed, should be discharged from any tax, other than such as should be imposed thereon in proportion to the annual value of the same, in common with all other property of the same description.

Mr. Harrison wished that the house should not go into a committee, under the impression that the measure was not an additional charge on land: it was certainly so, to make that perpetual which before was only annual."

Sir W. Pulteney said, that if the landed interest could buy up the land-tax at twenty years purchase, as proposed, then they would act as monied men, and it would not affect

affect them as land-holders. This, however, they could not be supposed to do. They had not, in general, the means of coming forward to make such a purchase, and were, therefore, precluded from deriving any of the benefits from it which were said to be attached to the plan. The chancellor of the exchequer himself confessed that his plan held out a tempting bargain. But, who were they who could take advantage of this tempting bargain? Were they not the mortgaged men? And was it not, consequently, a decided preference given to them, over the landed interest? The only advantage that seemed, to sir William, to be derived from the plan, was, that, upon forty millions, the public got one *per cent*. But this advantage was fully counterbalanced, by the conversion of the present land-tax into a perpetual annuity: and, instead of taking out of the market a great portion of stock, this annuity of five *per cent*. being irredeemable, would replace what was taken out originally by the purchase of it; and a perpetual, irredeemable five *per cent*. stock would be thus established, to which the operation of the sinking fund could never be applicable. On the whole, sir W. P. said, that the plan very justly gave offence to the country gentlemen; that it would not be productive of either mediate or immediate good; that it was, moreover, a violation of the constitution, and that in a manner of which a bad minister might make a very bad use. He, therefore, hoped, that the landed gentlemen, and the house in general, would make a firm stand against it.

Mr. Bastard said, that this plan would decrease the value of land,

and that he should not be surprized if that decrease should be so considerable as to amount to four or five years purchase. It was a maxim of our jurisprudence, that no one part of our property should be sacrificed for the purpose of bettering another. By this measure, only one species of property was relieved, while another was burdened. He would say, that, before any private property was sold for the public service, the country ought to dispose of the public property. By this, he did not mean woods and forests merely, but a variety of other resources, which would produce a great deal more than this measure, besides taking off a certain proportion of the taxes. If this measure should be carried, the next measure would be another land-tax, then another again; first, two shillings in the pound, and then four shillings, and so on. Mr. B. was proceeding to object to several of the resolutions, and to shew that they were inconsistent with each other, when

Mr. Pitt observed, that it was irregular to take particular notice of the several resolutions; on the question, that the speaker do leave the chair.—This question being then carried, on a division, by 105 against 13, and the house having resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. Pitt said he was sorry, that, from the late time of the night to which the honourable gentleman, who opposed the measure, had contrived to put off their going into a committee, some farther delay might take place. He hoped, however, that the question might so far be considered as settled, as not to have the general principle again

contested when the discussion of it should be resumed to-morrow.

In this hope he was disappointed, for, no modifications whatever could render this measure palatable to different gentlemen, to whom it appeared radically and fundamentally erroneous. In the committee which sat again on this bill, on the fifth of April, and in the subsequent stages of its progress, it was vigorously and ably opposed by several members, particularly Mr. Harrison, Mr. Hobhouse, and sir William Pulteney, but defended, with equal alertness and more success, by the chancellor of the exchequer.

We are tempted to encroach on our limits, in order to make room for the following important observations by Mr. Hobhouse :

“ The constitutional objection to this measure does not seem to be, in the least degree, weakened by any thing I have yet heard. The land-tax has, for a considerable number of years past, been annually voted for the payment of the army and navy. The controul of parliament, over this branch of the public expence, serves to prevent a standing army from being made an engine of despotism in the hands of the executive government, and secures frequent meetings of parliament. Now, sir, I entirely concur with the chancellor of the exchequer, that if sum, to the same amount, and scrupulously devoted to the same purpose, he really subjected to the annual disposal of parliament, the same beneficial end will be produced, the same check will be continued. But the consolidated fund ought not to be resorted to in this instance ; it ought to be regarded as sacred, and pre-

served inviolate. It is appropriated to the payment of the national creditor, and you ought not to weaken his security. Besides, the constitutional power of this house will be merely nominal, not real. What member could, at any time, refuse his assent to the voting a sum already pledged by parliament, for the discharge of the interest arising from the public debt ? Such a flagrant breach of faith, none of us, I am sure, could approve. The consolidated fund, therefore, can furnish no actual substitute for the salutary check, which we now possess, upon the conduct of a profligate minister.”

On the sixteenth of April, the resolutions, for the framing of a bill for the sale of the land-tax, were read a second time and agreed to. The bill, after much debate, was read, for the second time, on the twenty-third of April. Mr. Jolliff made a motion, for the delay of a fortnight ; but it was negatived by 153 against 58. On the thirtieth of May, the question for the third reading gave occasion to farther debate. The following laconic, but impressive speech, was made by

Mr. Jones. — “ The land-tax is an annual fund, for the payment of a standing army. To perpetuate this tax, is to perpetuate a standing army.”

Mr. Biddulph did not hesitate to pronounce the bill unconstitutional, and, if persevered in, a most atrocious fraud.

Mr. Denison observed, that, after March, 1799, those who had not been able to redeem their land, would be exposed to the public eye, which would be a great hardship. He foresaw that a fresh land-tax

tax was intended to be the result of this measure: better to have imposed one shilling in the pound, in addition to the existing land-tax. None, besides those who were monied men, would be able to redeem their land-tax. It would also cause a large capital of the country to be locked up.

Sir Francis Burdett, after recapitulating the manifold and heavy burdens to which landed gentlemen were peculiarly subject, said, there were many other means by which money could be raised for the public, besides this. The sale of the crown lands would produce a much larger sum. "Another object of supply, which, in a war peculiarly styled a war of religion, appears to me a very proper one, is the revenue of the church. This is a source which I think might very well afford something for the relief of the country. I shall mention another method of procuring money for the exigencies of the state, which readily presents itself; that is, the abolition, during the war, at least, of all sinecure places and pensions, and imposing a tax on all emoluments. If any of these were resorted to, it would prove more efficient than the present measure, and would make no addition to the distress of the country. The burdens on the landholder are already too great. He is unable to keep his place in society: while new men, who grow in wealth, as the country declines, are every day rising around him: while public rewards are not given for any good done to the country, and while the only means he has left, of repairing a decayed fortune, are, to disgrace himself by a constant servility to the crown, and an

abject desertion of the people.— With regard to the constitutional point which is involved in the present question, I shall make only one observation. I would ask the house, if there be no difference between the controul which it has over a casual tax, and that which it has over one which is permanent, like the land-tax? Is there no difference between the land-holder, retaining in his own hands a direct and certain check, and his having the semblance of one which must be uncertain as to its extent and application? And here I do not speak only of that constitutional check which the parliament has upon the crown, but that which the land-holder ought to have over both the crown and parliament."

Lord Hawkesbury said, that there never was a measure which had been *allowed* a more ample or a more full discussion: whence he was warranted, he said, in inferring, that it was a measure which had met with the sanction and approbation of the country at large.

On a division of the house, the question for the reading of the bill a third time was carried by 135 against 33.

The bill, being carried up to the house of peers, was there read a second time, on the eighth of June, discussed in a committee of the whole house on the eleventh, on the twelfth read a third time and passed. In its progress through the upper house, it was combated on much the same grounds, though neither so warmly nor at so great length, as in the house of commons. And a protest was entered against it, on the journals of the house, chiefly on constitutional ground, by the dukes of Leeds and Leinster,

Leinster, and by the earls of Caernarvon, Suffolk, and Berkshire.

This year, as in the last, the chancellor of the exchequer was under the necessity of laying before the house of commons a second estimate of supplies for the year 1798, with ways and means, differing, by an excess of more than three millions, from that which had been brought forward in November.— On the twenty-fifth of April, he reminded the house, being then in a committee of supply, that, in that first estimate, he had stated the public expenditure, for the year now current, at nearly twenty-five millions and a half. But an excess of expence, beyond that sum, had unavoidably arisen, from the unforeseen and additional preparations on the part of this country, occasioned by the threats, and produced by the formidable exertions of the enemy, against us. He then proceeded, in the usual way, to state the expenditure for which provision must be made, under each distinct head, but without entering into details concerning the former estimates, which had already been considered. The result of this new statement was, that the public service, for 1798, required a supply of 28,490,391*l*. There were a few articles, to no great amount, which he omitted in his statement, but, on

the whole, he said, there appeared to be an excess of 3,674,000*l*. beyond the sum stated in November. As to the ways and means, in the articles that constituted these, there was no material variation. The principal variation was in the article of the assessed taxes, which the minister had estimated, in November, at seven millions; but which, from the various modifications that had been made, in what was called the treble assessment bill, he stated, in April, at only four millions and a half. The deficiency in this tax was made up, in the new estimate, by a duty upon exports and imports, which, Mr. Pitt supposed, would be saved to the merchant by the diminution of insurance which would take place, in consequence of regulations to be made respecting the sailing of convoys, and by a part of the voluntary contribution, which amounted to a million and a half, as in the subjoined summary of Mr. Pitt's second estimate of ways and means for 1798.* As the sum of eight millions of the loan was to be provided for by the gradual payment of the assessed taxes, the permanent addition to the national debt was only seven millions. He had, therefore, seven millions to find taxes for; and, adding to this 200,000*l*. to be applied to the sinking fund, and taking the

SUMMARY OF THE WAYS AND MEANS, FOR 1798.

| | £. |
|---|------------|
| • Annual produce of the land and malt | 2,750,000 |
| Voluntary contribution | 1,500,000 |
| The assessed taxes | 4,500,000 |
| A duty upon imports and exports | 1,500,000 |
| Bank advance on exchequer-bills | 3,000,000 |
| The loan, exclusive of two millions for Ireland | 15,000,000 |
| Lottery | 200,000 |
| Total | 28,450,000 |
| | interest |

interest of the whole sum of 7,200,000*l.* at 8*l.* 5*s.* *per cent.* he had 577,000*l.* to provide for annually. He had thought of funding two or three millions of the navy-debt, but had since concluded that it would be better to leave it in its actual situation, until peace. In the year 1792, it amounted to 2,743,000*l.* but at the present time it exceeded 6,000,000*l.* so that the interest to be provided for would be 186,000*l.* which, added to the above-mentioned sum of 577,000*l.* amounted to 763,000*l.* for the interest of all the charges of the present year, which was to be provided for by new taxes. The first tax for this purpose, which he proposed, was an additional duty of five shillings per bushel upon salt, the produce of which he estimated at 502,000*l.* annually. He supposed that the salt consumed upon an average, annually, in every family, composed of the labouring class of people, amounted to no more than half a bushel. He proposed, therefore, to lay only two shillings and six-pence on each family of this description. He then proposed a duty of five pounds *per cent.* upon tea which sold for more than half-a-crown a pound; which tax, he said, would not touch that species of tea in general use among the poorer classes of the people.— This tax he estimated to produce the sum of 111,500*l.* for it was undeniable that the tea, valued at above half-a-crown per pound, had considerably increased in the quantity of its consumption. The next subject to which he alluded, as proper for taxation, did not affect the necessities of life, and the persons paying would have a choice, either

to make use of the article or not, which was a principle he wished to encourage. He wished to impose a duty upon every person using armorial bearings. He observed, that it might be said, that he was a convert to the system of levelling, but he certainly proceeded upon very opposite grounds, and was convinced that the country, instead of entertaining such sentiments, would be found ready to set a value upon that which was one of the most important links in society. Fashion and reason would therefore concur in giving effect to this measure. He therefore proposed, that a tax of two guineas be imposed upon all persons using carriages decorated with armorial bearings; one guinea on those who were house-keepers, and made use of plate decorated in the same manner; and half a guinea on all other persons who were not house-keepers, using their armorial bearings in other ways. The number of persons, using armorial bearings, he took at 9453, and the whole tax he estimated at 150,000*l.* The total amount of these new taxes would be 763,500*l.* We must take notice of another measure of finance, adopted this session of parliament, in the month of March, namely, the repeal of the tax on clocks and watches, and the substitution, in its stead, of a small increase of the assessed taxes. The produce of the tax on houses and windows, as it now stood, was 1,259,000*l.* To this an addition was made of 180,000*l.* Some small additional duties on servants, dogs, horses, and carriages, raised the additional produce of the assessed taxes to 205,000*l.* This sum would make

up for the deficiency of the tax on clocks and watches, which had been estimated at about 200,000*l*. The various duties on houses and windows were consolidated into one table, graduated according to a regular scale, and diminished in some instances, where the rise was disproportioned to the value of the house, and where too great a temptation was held out to the stoppage of windows.

C H A P. XIV.

Division of Parliamentary Proceedings into three Classes.—Supplemental Militia allowed to enlist into the regular military Service.—Bill for the better Defence and Security of the Realm.—Revival of the Alien-Bill.—Suspension of Habeas Corpus.—Bill for preventing the Transmission of Money, even in Payment of Debts, to Switzerland.—Conversations and Debates on the Affairs of Ireland.—Messages from his Majesty, relating to these.—Motions for Addresses to his Majesty, for a Change of System respecting Ireland, and also of Ministers.—Motions for Resolutions to the same Effect.—Bill for enabling his Majesty to accept the Services of English Militia Regiments, in subduing the Rebellion in Ireland.—Bill for the more effectual manning of the Navy.—Petition from the Town of Liverpool to arm itself, for the Defence of the Port, at its own Expence.—Bill for regulating Newspapers.—Elsen's Divorce-Bill.—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade.—Motion, by the Duke of Bedford, for the Dismissal of his Majesty's Ministers.—Speech from the Throne, and Prorogation of Parliament.

THE British parliament, from the business of finance (the grand hinge on which, in the present age of military art and political corruption, all the great movements of governments turn), proceeded to the discussion of other national affairs: which may be divided into measures of external defence, measures of internal quiet, and measures of political economy, including morality.

On the thirtieth of December, 1797, Mr. secretary Dundas acquainted the house of commons, that a great number of men had been raised under the supplemental militia act, passed in the last session of parliament, and had been employed for the public service. It had happened, that many of the men, composing this militia, hav-

ing enlisted into his majesty's regular service, were re-claimed as militia-men, and, as the law now stood, were obliged to be restored, to the manifest prejudice of his majesty's service. The object of a bill which he now intended to move for, was to remedy that defect, by enabling any man, if desirous of enlisting, so to do, without being afterwards re-claimed as a militia-man: nor should the parish be obliged to replace him. This plan would add to the general and regular force of his majesty's arms, without any additional expence to the public. Mr. Dundas's motion, for leave to bring in a bill to this effect, was agreed to.

In a committee of the whole house on this bill, on the third of January, 1798, general Fitzpatrick expressed

expressed a wish, which he had before suggested, to see the bill extended, if it were possible,* to the whole military. By the provisions, which were to receive the sanction of the committee, a limited time was fixed for the engagement of the militia soldier, who should enlist in the regulars, while, in all the regular troops, the engagement of the soldier ended only with life: an inequality which would have a tendency to create confusion, and excite discontent.

Mr. Dundas said, that whatever opinion he might entertain now, or hereafter form, respecting the suggestion of the honourable general, there was nothing in it that could lie as an objection to the present bill, which only enabled militia-men voluntarily to extend the limits of their service, without extending its duration: without interfering at all with their present engagements. The clauses into which the bill was divided were read, one by one, and agreed to. The duration of the bill, by one of these, was limited to six months after the conclusion of a general peace: and the number of men to pass over from the supplementary militia to the regulars, confined to 10,000, or at the utmost to one-fifth of the number of that body. This bill, having been carried through the usual stages, was read a third time, and passed in the house of commons, on the 15th of February; and in the house of lords on the twentieth of April.

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1798, Mr. secretary Dundas moved the house of commons for leave to

bring in a bill, to enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the security and defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures as should be thought necessary. The house, he said, would go along with him in the opinion, that the zeal and spirit, which, so much to the honour of this country, did exist, should be reduced to a system, that, when the people were called forth to exertions, in the cause of the country, they might act with regularity; that, in place of that confusion which must naturally be the consequence of any alarm of an approaching or invading enemy, every man, desirous of coming forward to repel that enemy, might distinctly know the part he was called on to act. "The object of the bill, said Mr. Dundas, is, to have the power of knowing, in case of emergency, who are ready to appear in arms, in order to co-operate with the existing power of the country, and to enable those who are so inclined, to be put into that situation which may be most answerable to giving effect to their inclinations. It is farther intended to give government legal power to investigate what force is in the country, competent to act in the shape of pioneers, drivers of waggons, or to perform the various other services which are connected with the operations of an army. One great provision of the bill will be to make compensation to those who shall suffer by the attempts of the enemy, and the measures taken to resist them: and in order that no person

* We cannot help expressing our opinion, that the plan suggested by general Fitzpatrick, is equally humane and just; and also politically expedient, though not perhaps, in the present circumstances. It will, we hope, be adopted at a future period.

may be induced to withdraw his stock from the general service of the country, or may suffer from any part of his stock being destroyed by the enemy, or appropriated by the country for this purpose, the provisions of the bill go to render indemnification certain, either where property is applied to the service of our own country, or is destroyed in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. It must occur to every one, that, in the prospect of an invasion, it will become necessary, in particular districts, though it is impossible to point where at present, to erect covers for batteries, and to raise works in critical situations, where the operations of the enemy are most likely to be directed: for this purpose it may be found necessary, that pieces of ground should be appropriated for such erections; but if it is expedient to check the attempts of the enemy, by such means, it is no less so that it should be fully understood that complete indemnification will be made, and that no man will suffer by any aid which he may contribute to the public service. There are other circumstances proper to be adverted to by the provisions of the bill. It may be exceedingly necessary to remove the property of the inhabitants of villages, who may be employed in arms for the defence of their country, or as pioneers, and to carry off their stock, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. It may occur that much cruelty and much inhumanity would be exercised, if, at the time that able-bodied men were employed in the field, some provision was not made for the infants and aged, who would be left unprotected: to those cases the bill will apply. The ge-

neral object of it will be, to give the lords-lieutenants of counties every necessary aid, for enabling them to embody those who may be prompted to come forward, as they now have, with regard to embodying the general militia of the country. By this means, sir, I trust, that not only the whole spirit of the country will be animated and invigorated, and be fully equal to any exertions which the enemy may be able to make, but will prove, that while other countries are falling to wreck, we stand a proud and powerful nation, in the middle of the ocean, and will also proclaim that there still exists one spot in the world, determined to repel the attacks of those who would enslave it."

General Tarleton did not oppose the specific measure before the house, but offered some observations, of which the following is the most important. Formerly the enemy had sent an army to Ireland: but now that island was put into a proper state of defence, and proper measures taken for preventing a repetition of attacks in that quarter; where, then, was this country most open to danger? On the eastern coast, which was not far distant from the capital. If the French should march thither, their march would be as rapid as possible. They knew there were no fortified towns to be left behind them: they would not encumber themselves with heavy baggage and provisions, which, by retarding their movements, would afford time to render their efforts ineffectual. Did Buonaparte do so, when he was marching to Vienna? No, no. He would therefore advise, that so many troops should not be left in the southern, the western, and the northern

northern extremities of the kingdom, but that the best of our troops, both infantry and cavalry, should be drawn to the neighbourhood of London, where our force should be concentrated; detachments being left to protect the principal commercial towns, such as Newcastle, Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol. Of Buonaparte, with whom he hoped to have the pleasure one day of talking over battles, he spoke much as a great and distinguished general.

General Delancey acknowledged that Buonaparte had done wonders. But, while praises were bestowed on that general, it was remarkable that not a word had been said of a distinguished personage who held the chief military command in this country. Whenever an occasion should arrive, he was convinced, that personage would manage the British forces in such a manner as would shew that there were officers in other countries besides France. If Buonaparte did land on the British shores, general Delancey had no doubt but all the glory he had obtained, would be speedily tarnished.

Sir W. Pultney declared his hearty approbation of the measure proposed, and thought that the right honourable secretary had great merit in bringing it forward. The being armed would excite in the nation a high military spirit. The first idea of an unarmed man was to run from danger: but his feelings were very different when he was armed. He hoped that measures would be taken to embody a much greater number of men than could be brought against them. If the enemy were to succeed in landing, and he never doubted but that a landing might be effected, notwith-

standing our great superiority at sea, it was of the greatest moment that we should have the superiority of numbers.

Mr. Nicholls did not oppose the motion; but declared his conviction, that all the measures that had been taken, or might hereafter be taken, for the safety of the country, would be of little avail, while his majesty's ministers pursued a system of coercion in Ireland.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Nicholls, asked whether by offering terms of conciliation to Ireland, he meant, that we should make every concession and every sacrifice to traitors and rebels, to men who were industriously propagating the most dangerous principles, wantonly seducing and deluding the ignorant multitude, encouraging the most criminal correspondence with the enemy, exciting the commission of treason in Ireland, under the specious pretence of parliamentary reform, and forming, in conjunction and co-operation with the professed enemy of all liberty, morality, and social happiness, plans for separating that country from Great Britain, and for converting Ireland into a jacobinical republic, under the wing and protection of republican France? Were we to withhold from the peaceable and loyal inhabitants of Ireland that protection, without which there was no security for their lives and property? No. The only measure of safety we could adopt, was, a vigorous system of opposition to those who would completely destroy the country: while, on the other hand, we were irresistibly called on to give a manly and firm support to those who would preserve, for themselves and their posterity, those great and inestimable

ble blessings, which they now enjoyed.

Leave being given to bring in a bill, it was read a first and second time, committed, and after a third reading, passed in the house of commons, on the second of April, and in the house of lords on the twentieth. Another measure of preventive policy, for the defence of this kingdom, adopted in the course of this session of parliament, was the revival of the alien-bill. It was introduced into the house of commons on the twenty-ninth of March, and having undergone some amendments, passed on the twenty-seventh of April. The new clauses added to the alien-bill were for obliging the letters of lodgings to send regular accounts to government of the foreigners living in their houses; for enabling his majesty to detain foreigners; and to prevent aliens from landing in Great Britain, until the master of the vessel had authority to let them come on shore.

The bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus was also revived. On the twentieth of April a message was brought to the house of commons from his majesty, stating the advices he had received of great preparations for invading his majesty's dominions, and that, in this design, the enemy was encouraged by the correspondence and communication of traitorous and disaffected persons and societies of these kingdoms.

An address of thanks to his majesty, by Mr. Dundas, was seconded by Mr. Pitt, and carried nem. con. On this occasion, Mr. Sheridan took the opportunity to arraign a supineness and insensibility, which seemed almost universally to prevail, to the imminence and magnitude of the threatened danger, and to re-

commend the union and agreement of all parties, at least on one point, and for a time, in order to save the country. On Mr. Sheridan's speech Mr. Pitt bestowed, with great apparent, and, no doubt, real satisfaction, the character of eloquent, dignified, and impressive. The address to his majesty, in answer to his gracious message, being agreed to; a message was received from the lords, stating, "That they had agreed to a bill for suspending, for a limited time, the operation of the habeas corpus act." A motion being made by Mr. Pitt, that it be read a first time, Mr. Sheridan desired to have evidence, before the house, of the existence of treason and traitorous conspiracies. In reply to this, Mr. Pitt said, that no better proof could be adduced than that of the manly and spontaneous effort given by that honourable gentleman himself to the principle of the message, desiring the general aid against the common enemy; from which principle he was sorry to find him to swerve. In the proclamations, edicts, and official publications, of the directory, respecting the menaced invasion of these kingdoms, one sentiment breathed through them all, namely, "The reception the French would meet from their friends, as they should accomplish a landing." We do not desire legal and technical evidence, said Mr. Pitt, but we have what is more convincing: we have moral and demonstrative documents of it in various shapes; evidence sufficient to bear out the preamble of the bill, which simply states the threats of a foreign foe, and the secret encouragement held out to him by a considerable number of domestic enemies. The bill

bill was also opposed by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Nichols. The question for the first reading of the bill was carried, on a division, by 183 against 5. The bill being read a second time and committed, Mr. Pitt proposed to fill the blank for the period of suspending the habeas corpus, by fixing it at the first of February, 1799. Mr. Tierney and Mr. Sheridan, with the other gentlemen on their side of the house, insisted on the first of November, 1798, or the first ten days after the commencement of the next session of parliament; but the blank was filled up according to the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer. The report brought up, the bill read a third time, and having passed through the usual stages in the house of peers, received the royal assent. A bill for preventing the transmission of money, or the payment of debts, or exercising the government there, or holding any offices under it, was brought, on the same day, into the house of commons, by the solicitor-general, and passed into a law without opposition. A similar law had been enacted, on the commencement of the present war, with respect to the usurped government, and persons residing in France. These laws, while they withheld a supply to the enemy, did not invade, but, on the contrary, secure the property of individuals, when at liberty to claim and dispose of it.

But the principal object of solicitude with the British government and legislature, at this time, was the distracted state of Ireland, rapidly advancing through the usual stages of combinations, meetings, a correspondence with enemies abroad, and disaffected, not to say in every instance,

traitorous persons at home, and open insurrections in divers places, and many acts of violence and outrage, into a general rebellion; which, if it should not be speedily suppressed, in Ireland, must quickly desolate the whole country. Though the uniform spirit of the present reign over Ireland had been gracious and indulgent, yet the mass of the Irish nation groaned under the tyranny of their own countrymen; only few of whom were in possession of the powers of legislation, and who were more disposed to enter into compromises with the British ministry, for the sake of enjoying the public offices and other favours, and to maintain their own with the general interests of aristocracy, whether under the name of lords or squires, than to remove the causes of those various evils that afflicted the lower classes of the people. Numerous absentees drew a great part of the money out of the country; oppressive taxes were continued and executed; the land was let and sublet to bankers, stewards of estates, tacksmen, and others, through a long gradation of tenants; until, at last, the same ground that was held by the first contractor, at one guinea or half a guinea per acre, was often rented by the actual cultivators of the soil; and poor tradesmen who were under a necessity of having, at any rate, a hut and land for keeping a cow and raising potatoes, at four, or even five and six pounds, per acre: or if these last, by excessive labour, added to their usual occupation, they reduced any portion of bogs or moors to a state of cultivation, they were driven back from the land which, by the sweat of their brow, they had rendered arable to other waste land, where,

where, if they pleased, they might renew their labours to improve the rugged soil for the benefit of their unfeeling land-masters. In such circumstances, foreign ambition, domestic faction, and to say the truth, perhaps, in some cases, real, though mistaken patriotism, found ready means for executing, throughout Ireland, a spirit of resentment, defiance, revolt, and an armed resistance to the established order of things, and the government by which this was supported. Nothing, therefore, could be less incredible than the continued reports that a rebellion in Ireland was not only threatened but actually commenced. Yet, strange as it must appear, there were men, distinguished by eminent talents and many virtues, in both the British and Irish parliaments, who were scarcely to be convinced of the existence of this either by the testimony of others, or even that of their own senses; or, if they were forced to acknowledge the existence of hostile preparations and attempts, they ascribed them to the irritation of the measures adopted by the British government, for quelling and preventing them. Still they recommended, not coercion, but the means of mild persuasion, concession, and conciliation. There is a time, indeed, when good treatment and paternal remonstrance will operate their just effects on any people, and on none more readily than the Irish nation. But popular excitement and passion are not to be allayed by the same means

through which they may be prevented. When concessions are made to men, who have assumed an attitude of defence, they are naturally ascribed to fear, not to favour. The discussion that took place in this session of parliament, on the affairs of Ireland, led chiefly to the questions, whether a real conspiracy, to any formidable extent, existed in Ireland; whether the minds of the insurgents, and others, were not to be soothed by lenient measures, and particularly whether it might not be politically expedient to grant their ostensible claims of a complete emancipation, as it was called, of the catholics; and a reform of parliament? The first of these questions was resolved by events;* the interest and importance of the latter have been, in a great measure, happily superseded by the union of Ireland with Great Britain. It is not necessary, therefore, it would be even irksome to the intelligent reader, and certainly very bad economy in the history of 1798, which comprehends such an extraordinary number of striking events, to give other than a very abridged account of the debates in parliament, respecting the affairs of Ireland.

On the 22d of November, 1798, the attention of the British house of peers to the state of Ireland was called by the earl of Moira, with an intent to renew the motion which he had made on that subject last session. Having stated the poverty and hardships endured by the Irish nation, and many cruelties com-

* For which reason it has been judged proper to give an account of the rise, progress, and termination, of the revolt in Ireland, previously to any statement of the debates on that subject. It would, doubtless, have been trifling and absurd to enter into a detail of a controversy, so much of which appeared so soon to have turned on misrepresentation and mistake.

mitted by the military, at the instigation of government, on the people,* his lordship concluded his speech, with entreating the house to take into serious consideration their present measures, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the number of the discontented. The moment of conciliation, he said, was not yet passed. But, if the system were not changed, he was convinced that Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer.

Lord Grenville made a variety of observations on the state of Ireland, in which a project had been developed for separating Great Britain and Ireland: a project suggested by France. With regard to the discussion moved by lord Moira, their lordships could not enter into it, consistently with the independence, which they had sanctioned, of the Irish parliament. What excited his astonishment in the speech of that noble lord, was, the cruelties said to have been committed by the British military. If, notwithstanding the usual disposition of the English to clemency and good nature, any such excesses had been committed, were there no courts of justice, no laws, no magistrates, no tribunals open

to the complaints of the oppressed? An adjournment of the house put an end, for the present, to the conversation on this subject; which, however, was often touched on, as our readers have, no doubt, perceived in the course of discussions on other subjects. In the course of one of these, a conversation took place between the earl of Moira and the marquis of Downshire, in which the latter positively asserted, that the charge of severities, exercised by the military, on the people of Ireland, were by no means supported by sufficient evidence.

On the 26th of March, a day fixed for the farther consideration of the state of Ireland, when the conversation between these noble lords was resumed; the earl of Moira stated proofs on his side of the question; and the marquis of Downshire stated also proofs on that of his. But the house were unanimously of opinion, that any investigation of the proofs offered on either side, in agitation of so delicate and dangerous a subject, at this time, would be highly improper. The earl of Moira acquiesced in this opinion, and the house adjourned.

On the 15th of June, the embers of rebellion, in Ireland, having burst forth into a general flame, the

* Though excesses were certainly, in some instances, committed by the soldiery, as well as many outrages by the defenders, in revenge of those which they themselves had suffered from the Catholics; yet, on the whole, those excesses were greatly exaggerated by report: whereas the proofs of a general and determined spirit of resistance and revolt from the British government became every day more and more apparent. For a proof of these positions, completely satisfactory, the reader is referred to the speech of the earl of Clare, lord chancellor of Ireland, in the Irish house of lords, on a motion made by the earl of Moira, Feb. 19, 1798, "That an humble address be presented to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, to state, that, as parliament had confided to his excellency extraordinary powers, in order to support the laws, and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty (as those powers have not produced the desired effect) to recommend the adoption of such conciliatory measures as may allay apprehensions and discontents. This speech, printed at Dublin, is reprinted for Stockdale, London.

duke of Leinster, the peer of the first rank in that country, and also a lord of the British parliament, after describing the state and alluding to the late occurrences in Ireland, moved an address to his majesty, humbly requesting, "that his majesty would deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this house a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances, which had led to the disastrous affairs of Ireland, and of the measures which had hitherto been pursued, for the purpose of averting such momentous evils. That, however alarming the discontents now prevailing in the sister kingdom were, we would not despair but that the result of such discussion would enable us to assist his majesty, according to our constitutional duty, with some well-adapted remedy; such as might restore, in that distracted part of the British empire, confidence in the laws, by due administration of them; obedience to his majesty's government, by a temperate use of its powers; and union amongst all descriptions of subjects in that kingdom."—A long and animated debate ensued, in which the motion was supported by the dukes of Leinster, Norfolk, Devonshire, Bedford, and Leeds; the earls of Fitzwilliam, Besborough, Moira, and Suffolk; and lord Holland: and opposed by the marquis Townshend, earl Spencer, the earl of Carlisle, the lord chancellor, lord Loughborough, and lord Grenville.

At the end of the debate, the following amendment was moved by the duke of Norfolk; and, after some conversation, incorporated with the main question: "And we farther feel it our duty to state to his majesty, that, understanding the

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system of coercion has been enforced with a rigour which, if retailed in detail, would too severely wound his paternal feelings; that confessions have been extorted by torture and scourges, a practice held in abhorrence in every other state of Europe; to implore his majesty that he will be graciously pleased, as the most probable means to put a stop to the calamities which pervade a part of that unhappy country, to direct an immediate change of system, as far as depended on the executive government; and to remove from their stations those persons under whose authorities those atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the afflicted people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of hatred and revenge." On a division of the house, there appeared against the amendment, and for the original motion, 51; against it, 19.—Against this rejection of the amendment, a protest was taken by the lords who had supported the motion, and also by lord Dorchester, and the earls of Shaftesbury and Scarborough.

An address to his majesty, for inquiring into the state, and changing the system of Ireland, was moved for in the house of lords, on the twenty-seventh of June, but rejected by 51 against 21.

A resolution of the same import, but also reprobating certain inhuman practices, moved, on the same day, by the duke of Bedford, was, after a long debate, rejected by 63, against 20.

Resolutions, to the same effect with that of the duke of Leinster, were, on the same day, moved in the house of commons, by lord John Cavendish and Mr. Fox. The resolutions were negatived by 212 against 66.

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Lord

Lord Grenville, on the twelfth of June, presented to the house of lords, a message, desiring that that house "would enable him to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigencies of affairs might require." The particular object to which this message pointed, was, on the eighteenth, explained by another message from his majesty, acquainting the house, "That the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of different regiments of militia of this kingdom had made to his majesty a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion now unhappily existing in that country." His majesty had received, with the utmost sensibility, this striking and seasonable mark of zeal and attachment to his person and government. Addresses, in answer to these messages, were voted unanimously: and a bill produced by lord Grenville for "enabling his majesty to accept the offers of such militia regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland," brought in on the nineteenth, read a first and second time, passed through a committee, and on the twentieth read a third time, and passed. A message from his majesty, of the same purport with that to the house of peers, was, on the same day, also sent to the house of commons; and farther, recommending to his "faithful commons to consider of such provision as might be necessary for empowering his majesty, for a time and to an extent to be limited, to accept the services of such part of his militia forces, in this kingdom, as might voluntarily offer

themselves to be employed in Ireland, at this important juncture." An address was moved by lord Grenville, thanking his majesty for his most gracious message, and containing assurances, that the commons would immediately enter into the consideration of such provisions as might be necessary for enabling his majesty to accept the services of militia regiments. This address, though not without a warm debate, was carried by 118, against 47. In the course of this debate, an observation was made by M. A. Taylor, which was certainly of great importance both in a constitutional point of view, and as it respected the situation of many thousands of individuals. If one militia regiment offered, and government accepted its services, it was compulsory on all the rest: for the fear of the imputation of cowardice was alone sufficient to induce them to offer their services. The same idea of implied compulsion was placed in a new light by lord William Russell, who said; that there would be the same kind of compulsion with regard to the services of militia-men, that there was in the case of the voluntary contributions, when a box was carried about, and every man stigmatized as a traitor, who refused to subscribe. The same idea was seized, and made a subject of pleasantry, by the facetious Mr. Sheridan. Sir Lawrence Palk had observed, that he himself was rather in an awkward predicament: for he had heard that the militia regiment to which he belonged, the South Devonshire, had made a tender of its services to go to Ireland. Though therefore, as a member of parliament, he should oppose the motion; yet, if
be

the services of his regiment should be accepted, he would certainly make a common cause with it, and accompany it.

Mr. Sheridan, on the case of the worthy baronet, observed, that he was in the singular situation of being a volunteer, without knowing it. It reminded him of the story of the people who were dragging a man along, and, being asked the reason, gave for answer, that it was a volunteer they were carrying along with them.

As care was taken to strengthen our land force, so provision was also made for the more effectual manning of the navy. A resolution having passed the house of commons, for an augmentation to our naval force of 10,000 men, Mr. Pitt, on the twenty-fifth of May, followed up that resolution by a motion, of the same nature with one passed on a similar occasion, in 1797, for suspending the protections granted by the allowed prerogative of the crown, to certain persons, as watermen, masters who had apprentices on board their vessels, &c. The protections were to be suspended for one month in the coal-trade, and for five months in the other trades.

After some conversation, and slight opposition, leave being given, the bill was prepared, and brought into the house, where it passed through the usual stages in the course of that evening, and was afterwards, being carried through the house of lords, passed into a law.

The reader may probably have perceived something like an extraordinary keenness and warmth in the disputes between the chancellor

of the exchequer and Mr. Tierney, his uniform, constant, and zealous opponent on all occasions. That spirit was carried, in the course of this night's business, to a height which terminated in a very common, though barbarous and absurd, mode of settling disputes. Mr. Tierney objected to the hurry with which it was proposed to pass the bill. All he demanded was time. If persisted in, in the manner proposed, it should have his decided negative. After what had already passed he should hold himself bound to watch the motions of the minister with peculiar jealousy. Mr. Pitt said, if the honourable gentleman imagined that every measure taken against France, was hostile to the liberties of this country, his ideas of liberty were certainly different from his own: nor could he conceive that on any principle but that of obstructing the defence of the country, could he oppose the measure now proposed. Mr. Tierney here called to order, and applied to the chair for protection. The speaker said, that certainly it was for Mr. Pitt to explain his meaning, and for the house to consider whether the words that had given offence to Mr. Tierney, conveyed any imputation on that honourable gentleman. Mr. Pitt said, he was afraid the house must wait a long while, before they heard such an explanation as was demanded of him; for he must adhere to his former declaration; which he again repeated. The consequence of all this was, a duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney, the challenger, but without any bloodshed.*

On

* The following article appeared in the public prints, on Monday, May 28.

"We are authorized to state, that, in consequence of what passed on Friday last, Mr.

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On the subject of the defence, and particularly naval defence, it must not be omitted to mention a petition to the house of commons, from the corporation and inhabitants of Liverpool, for leave to arm themselves for the defence of that port, at their own expence. It stated the danger which menaced the docks and shipping of the port of Liverpool, in case of the enemy directing his attempts to that quarter. It was, therefore, the wish of the petitioners to erect batteries, fit out gun-boats, and to prepare any other means of defence that might be deemed necessary, at their own expence: one half to be paid by the corporation, and the other moiety to be raised by a rate on the inhabitants. Mr. Pitt said, that this was a measure which did the highest honour to those with whom it originated. He could scarcely bring himself to consider that as a private petition, which offered a most useful suggestion, and might be made the ground-work of a most excellent general defence.—It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the prayer of this petition was granted.

The attorney-general, in the course of this session of parliament, brought in a bill, intended, at once, to prevent the machinations of foreign enemies, to preserve our internal tranquillity, and secure the peace and happiness of individuals.

This was a bill for regulating the proprietors and publishers of newspapers. On the third reading, on the thirteenth of June, it was opposed by Mr. Jekyl, from a motive of constitutional jealousy of every thing that appeared to be an attack on the liberty of the press. The censorial power of our press was the great guardian of British liberty. This bill would make men of property and responsibility retire from newspapers altogether; and they would then fall into the hands of men of desperate fortune and low character. The consequence would be, an increase instead of a diminution of the liberty of the press. Handbills on crown paper would be substituted, every day, for a useful well-regulated paper. This bill would render innocent persons liable to prosecution, merely because they were proprietors, although they had no share in the management of the publication.

The attorney-general said, that his object was not to infringe on the liberty of the press but to restore it. The liberty of the press was, that every man might publish what he pleased, but he should be responsible to the public for what he published. The bill only secured to the public what it had a right to demand; the appearance of a responsible party in a court of justice, so as to be amenable to law. So far from singling the newspapers

Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by Sir George Walpole, met at three o'clock, yesterday afternoon, on Putney-Heath.

“After some ineffectual attempts, on the part of the seconds, to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired, at the same moment, without effect; a second case was also fired in the same manner, Mr. Pitt firing his pistol in the air: the seconds then jointly interceded, and insisted that the matter should go no farther, it being their decided opinion that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business was ended with perfect honour to both parties.”

into

into the hands of the dregs of the people, it would take it out of such hands, and exclude all persons who were not liable to those whom they calumniated from being able to shelter themselves in obscurity.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that a good and free government had nothing to apprehend, and every thing to hope, from the liberty of the press; but despotism courted shade and obscurity; it dreaded the scrutinizing eye of liberty; and if an arbitrarily-disposed prince, supported by an unprincipled minister, and backed by a corrupt parliament, were to cast about for means to secure such a triple tyranny, no better means could be devised than the bill on the table. The great man, with whom the minister seemed condemned to form a striking and everlasting contrast (his father), when pressed by the sycophants of his time to allow a measure of this kind to be brought into parliament, under his administration, when urged to it, in order to suppress the calumnies against his own reputation, replied, with that dignity of soul which stamped his character, "No! the press, like the air, is a chartered libertine." Ministerial corruption, he was afraid, would end, as that great statesman had foretold, in the subversion of our old free constitution and the establishment of a military government.

Mr. Ryder challenged any one to prove that this bill had the smallest tendency to make that criminal which was not, by the law of the land, criminal before. It was calculated only to prevent the evasions of the proprietors of newspapers from being answerable for any thing that appeared in their papers. Answerable by law they always were:

this was to compel them to come forward, and abide a fair trial in a court of justice. The question being put for the postponing of the bill was negatived by 44 against 9. The bill afterwards passed both houses, and, by the royal assent, was passed into a law.

The French revolution illustrated the connection between good morals and the order and peace of society more than all the eloquence of the pulpit and the disquisitions of moral philosophers had done for many centuries. The upper ranks in society, the generality of men of rank and fortune, not always the most inquisitive and penetrating on other subjects, were among the very first to take the alarm at those irreligious and profligate doctrines by which the French democracy sought to shelter the profligacy of its conduct. In this country, royal proclamations were issued for paying a decent and due regard to Sundays. The established clergy were roused to a strenuous recommendation of the Christian doctrines, particularly a due observance of the external order, institutions, and usages, of the church of England. The churches were well attended, and sometimes even crowded. It was a wonder to the lower orders, throughout all parts of England, to see the avenues to the churches filled with carriages. This novel appearance prompted the simple country-people to inquire what was the matter?

The levity and licentiousness of French manners had certainly made an alarming progress in the higher, and, what were called, the fashionable circles, from whence they must pass on to the other orders. The grand spring and cement of society is, the divine principle of love,

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branching

branching forth from conjugal into parental, fraternal, and filial affection, an attachment to kindred neighbours, countrymen, and all, in some degree, who partake with us in the same common nature. To violate a respect and reverence for marriage, is to degrade human nature into the rank of the brute creation, and to poison the sweetest emotions (the *charities*, as Milton calls them) of life. It was high time for the British legislature to take the alarm, when divorce-bills, according to the observation of the chancellor Loughborough, had become so common, that they were considered as little more than matters of course.

On a motion, the second of March, for the second reading of a bill for granting a divorce between one Mr. Ellen and his wife, lord Auckland professed himself anxious for calling the attention of their lordships to the circumstances under which the present application was made; as these carried with them strong suspicions of a collusion between the parties. The plaintiff was married in 1784. Some years after, he fled from the country, in order to elude the pursuit of creditors, leaving his wife, under a dubious kind of protection, at the Dublin theatre, and under articles of separation between them. They continued thus; nor was there any thing heard of his complaint. At Hilary term, 1797, when the plaintiff alleged, that she had been living six years in a state of adultery. There was, therefore, every reason to believe the existence of a collusion between the parties, to which the justice of the house would surely lend no countenance. In this question, the cause of morality was very deeply

involved: and it highly favoured of those principles which the French moralists were so industrious to propagate: to him, the introduction of such principles was a subject of much more anxious alarm than all the dangers that hung over us, from their threatened invasion: and, in his mind, it was of the most serious importance, that the house should resist them, whatever shape they might assume.

The sentiments expressed by lord Auckland were assented to, as appeared by the looks and gestures of the whole house; but, by the duke of Athol and bishop of Durham, warmly commended and urged.

The bishop took the present occasion to observe, that the French rulers, while they despaired of making any impression on us, by the force of arms, attempted a more subtle and alarming warfare, by endeavouring to enforce the influence of their example, in order to taint and undermine the morals of our youth. They sent amongst us a number of female dancers, who, by the allurements of the most indecent attitudes, and most wanton theatrical exhibitions, succeeded but too effectually in loosening and corrupting the morals of the people. And, indeed, if common report might be relied on, the indecency of those appearances far out-shamed any thing of a similar nature that had ever been exhibited—he would not say on any Christian theatre, but even on the more licentious theatres of Athens and Rome. If the progress of such scandalous immorality were not arrested, the malignant influence of such contaminating example must finally corrupt both sexes, and their lordships time and sittings would henceforth

henceforth be wholly engrossed by cases of divorce. Such, therefore, was his conviction of the necessity of applying some remedy to this evil, that, should no noble or learned lord, higher in ability, authority, and consideration, than himself, he would, assuredly, take the first opportunity of moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to prohibit the exhibition of those indecent spectacles, and to order those who performed in them to be sent out of the country.

Counsel having been heard for Mr. Esten, and the house resumed, the lord-chancellor observed, that the articles of separation formed an insuperable barrier to any divorce, and that the circumstances of the case rendered it the duty of the house to reject Mr. Esten's application.—On the motion for the second reading of the bill, it was accordingly thrown out.

The lord-chancellor then expressed his hope, that what had been said by the reverend prelate would have its weight. Something certainly was necessary to be done by their lordships, as guardians of the public manners, to check the number of cases in which they were called upon to give their sanction to divorces.

The attention of their lordships was called again, by the chancellor, to the same subject, on the twenty-eighth of March, when certain resolutions were agreed to, for the regulation of their proceedings respecting divorces, which, without affecting any alteration in the legal code, by removing from the public mind the idea of the facility of ob-

taining a divorce, might contribute at least to a more general regard to good example and public decency. Thus, said the chancellor, it was to be hoped, that, by turning a current of fashion against open profligacy, a more effectual reformation would ultimately be effected.

The evil propensities of mankind are very properly divided, by a sacred writer, into lusts of the flesh, and lusts of the spirit. At the same time that the attention of the British legislature was called to the former, by lord Auckland, and that noble, reverend, and truly respectable and dignified prelate, the bishop of Durham, to the former, in the house of lords, it was called also to the latter, in the house of commons, by

Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the third of April, made his annual motion for the abolition of the slave-trade; the usual debates on which derived, now, a degree of novelty and additional interest from certain discoveries and events that had passed since the time when they were last noticed in this work. Mr. W. found greater and greater cause for his motion, the more he contemplated the subject in various relations; with new emotions of grief and shame, indignant pity, and disappointed hope. Though he had often laid before the house the dreadful catalogue of crimes to which the slave-trade gave rise, he again recited some of the leading enormities. Having expatiated on the injustice, the cruelty, and immoral tendency of the slave-trade, and on a certain *esprit de corps* among the West-India planters, which defeated and disappointed

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all

all hopes from any effectual interference, in behalf of the slaves, from the colonial assemblies, to whose care, in consequence of an address to his majesty, they had been recommended, by a circular letter from the duke of Portland, he moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade, at a time to be specified."

This motion was seconded by the chancellor of the exchequer.

It was opposed by Mr. B. Edwards, who was clearly of opinion, that the measures recommended to the colonial assemblies, if adopted, would certainly effect, though gradually and progressively, the extinction of the slave-trade. This opinion he supported, by a review of the conduct of those bodies. With regard to the mode in which the slave-trade is conducted in Africa, he had for a long time concurred with Mr. W. in opinion, that the African nations were involved in perpetual wars, by the instigation of this traffic. But the veil, which had long concealed the interior of Africa from our view, was now removed. A missionary, sent by the African association, three years ago, by the way of Gambia, was just returned from thence, after having penetrated fifteen hundred miles towards the east, unknown, even by name, to the geographers of Europe. This missionary, Mr. Park, found the whole body of the people, in all parts of Africa, in the condition of absolute slavery, and the country itself every where divided into petty states, which are perpetually engaged in wars with each other. That many of these wars arise from causes to which the slave-trade can no way contri-

bute, Mr. Park asserts of his own knowledge. In proof of this, he relates an instance, which came under his own observation. Soon after he had passed through a kingdom, called Kasson, the king of that country died; and, the succession being disputed by his two sons, the youngest prevailed, and drove his elder brother from the country. He fled to a territory called Kaarta, where Mr. Park then was, and, being pursued thither, the Kaartans took up arms. In this contest, several towns were destroyed, and a vast number of prisoners taken on both sides. "And now, sir, said he, we shall discover what effect the slave-trade produced. The king of Kaarta made it a constant practice to put all his male captives to death. He caused them to be brought before him, and had their throats cut in his presence. On the other hand, the king of Kasson, having received information of the French traders, on the Senegal river, spared the lives of the captives, made on his part, and sent them thither for sale. On this occasion, at least, the slave-trade promoted the cause of humanity; for, it can hardly be doubted that the king of Kasson's prisoners would have shared the same fate as the others, if avarice had not prevailed over revenge in the mind of their savage king. I may be told, perhaps, by gentlemen who make no distinction between civilized and savage life, first, that the king of Kasson had no right, by the laws of nature, to sell his prisoners; and, secondly, that the purchasers had no right to reduce them to slavery, for having redeemed them from death. Sir, I am not now disputing about abstract propositions, I am stating an instance of practical

practical and positive good, resulting from the slave-trade. The prisoners, of which I am speaking, were in the condition of absolute slavery, in their own country, before they were led to war; and if the question had afterwards been put to them, whether they would consent to go to the West Indies, in a milder servitude than that to which they had been accustomed, or have their throats cut in their own country, I believe they would not have hesitated in giving an answer.—It had, on former occasions, been repeatedly urged, by a right honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Pitt), that the negroes already in our plantations were, in number, abundantly sufficient to keep up the present cultivation, and that if the planters were satisfied, as they ought to be, with their actual possessions, no farther importations from Africa would be wanted. Mr. Edwards denied the truth of this position, and, at the same time observed, that the doctrine of relinquishing the ambition of settling new estates, came very awkwardly from the minister, at the very moment when he was exhausting the lives and treasures of the nation in the acquisition of new territories, in the same part of the world. But supposing, not granting, Mr. Pitt's position, what was to be done with the uncultivated territory in St. Vincent and Jamaica? Was it to be left in its present state, in order to shelter and nurse up new hordes of savage enemies? new armies of Maroons?

Mr. Canning, with regard to the alternative of going into slavery, or having one's throat cut in his own country, declared, that he

would prefer the latter option. From the question, of the comparative cruelty of leaving the Africans at home, or sending them to the West Indies, Mr. Canning proceeded to consider the necessity of an importation of slaves, as long as there remained, in our West-India islands, uncultivated lands: he had learned, from the most undoubted authority, that a third part of the islands still remains uncultivated; and, he urged the house seriously to consider, if it has taken such a length of time to cultivate the portion of land which is now brought to a state of cultivation, how much time must still remain to elapse, before the remainder be duly cultivated!

Mr. Thornton, paying all due respect to the testimony of Mr. Park, read some passages from governor Macauley's journal, respecting the manner of procuring slaves in the Mandingo country (into a part of which Mr. Park had travelled, and where Mr. Edwards seemed to assume that no enormities were committed, originating in the slave-trade), from which passages it appeared that kidnapping is very frequent, both among the Salees and Mandingoes. Nor was it strangers alone that were kidnapped: it often happened that children were kidnapped, by people of a neighbouring, or even the same village. Mr. Thornton proceeded to describe the four sources which supplied the slave-market: wars, crimes, debts, and kidnapping: and shewed, that the common sources of the slave-trade were all of them such as shrunk from inquiry. Mr. Thornton then spoke of the powerful obstacles which the slave-trade, contrarily to the usual tendency of trade

trade in general, in various ways, presented to civilization. The whole inland country of the Sierra-Leone was much more civilized than the coast. The people were employed in several manufactures. The children were regularly taught to read and write. One town, visited by the Sierra-Leone company's agents, contained about five thousand, and another about seven thousand inhabitants: whereas, not a town remained, on the Sierra-Leone coast, of even five hundred. Mr. T. on the plain grounds of morality and justice, and on the principle of promoting the civilization of Africa, concluded by giving his hearty assent to the motion.

Mr. Sewell opposed the motion, as likely to unsettle the legal tenures by which the proprietors of West-India estates held their possessions. Was the house prepared to adopt the measure recommended, without offering to those proprietors adequate compensations for their losses?

Colonel Gascoigne proceeded to state the risk, incurred by the motion, of irritating the colonies by such proceedings, and of throwing the West-India trade into the hands of our enemies.

Mr. Hobhouse, after replying to several objections to the abolition of the slave-trade, came to the consideration, commonly deemed of very great weight, namely, that if the British government should pronounce the discontinuance of this traffic in slaves, the islands would soon be in a general state of insurrection. — “The strongest evidence to the contrary, said Mr. Hobhouse, is afforded by experience. An act of the British legislature, against fresh importations

of slaves, weakens not a single regulation or legal restraint on the conduct of those already in the colonies. The court of Denmark passed a law, that this trade should cease, from the year 1800. Had we heard of any rebellion among the blacks in her colonies, in the West Indies? Our present situation is such, as to call loudly for the immediate abolition of so scandalous a traffic. France, by manumitting her slaves, and making them citizens, has constituted a formidable body of free men, terrible to her foes. These emancipated negroes have exhibited a most grateful acknowledgement for the liberty conferred upon them, in the performance of surprising feats of valour. To be a match for France, in the West Indies, we must meet her with her own weapons; we must adopt, towards our negroes, the same line of conduct she has observed towards hers: we must follow her example. Abolish the trade instantly; and, if you regard the safety of your colonies, unite dispatch with prudence, in bestowing the blessings of freedom upon the slaves who are now employed in your islands.”

Mr. Pitt declared his opinion, that on the adoption of the present motion depended the safety of our West-India islands. He maintained, that the colonial regulations could never be effectual, to produce internal arrangements, or facilitate preparations for the gradual abolition of the slave-trade, while fresh importations of slaves continued to be made from Africa. — It appeared, from a statement which he held in his hand, that the quantity of uncultivated land, in the island of Jamaica, was about two-thirds

thirds more than that already in cultivation. It appeared, that, for this last part, 250,000 negroes were required. To suffice for the cultivation of the other parts, the complete number of 600,000 at the same time would be necessary. To procure this supply, it would be necessary, not merely to import this number, but to continue importing, with all the frightful waste of mortality with which such importation is attended, till the full number should be completed. If valuable considerations had been given, with a view to cultivation, reimbursement to that extent should certainly be made by the public to that extent: and to such a measure he, for one, would have no objection.

Sir W. Young wished the house to reflect that calamities might happen, such as war, conflagration, disease, &c. to destroy the population of negroes belonging to an estate, without any remedy, if fresh importations were prohibited? and thus a fatal blow might be given to the property of the West-India planters: whilst that gradual system of meliorating their condition, which had been adopted, and was going on in the islands, would have quite different effects. His opinion and advice was, that the British legislature should wait a few years, in order to see whether that system produced the desired effect.

Mr. W. Smith contended that the shocking accounts given of those parts of Africa, where the slave-trade prevailed, were strictly true, and in no wise controverted by Mr. Park. The slave-trade extended to many parts of the coasts of Africa, even to the shores of the Red-sea, and on some of the islands near the

south-eastern coast, as had been proved from the accounts given by the late Mr. Jones, of his voyage to India. He hoped that those in power, or those who took the lead in reforming the manners of the times, would not content themselves with meliorations, comparatively trivial and partial, but acquit themselves and their country of the crime of countenancing a system too execrable for the powers of human language to describe, and not to offer such an insult to the Almighty Being as to imagine that such sacrifices, as he alluded to, could propitiate him, while they connived at the continuance of this destructive and detestable traffic in the persons of their fellow-creatures.

Mr. Fox, with his usual shrewdness, made a variety of striking remarks on the sentiments which, in the course of the debate, had been made by those who opposed the motion. From his speech, the following are extracts: "We know that such is the nature of man, that power leads to abuse, that the idea of possessing an unlimited authority, so far from inspiring tenderness, produces contempt of the object as worthless. Cruelty begets cruelty, and oppression breeds oppression, till the mind becomes hardened. Of this, all history, ancient and modern, affords proof. But, in mentioning the causes of the war, does the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards) say that Mr. Park informed him that the sale of slaves was not the cause? Was not the sale of slaves the reward of victors? Other causes of war may, no doubt, exist among the savages. I believe no man in these times will say, that slavery is the only cause of war. Do not we know that ambition,

bition, revenge, hatred, and other bad passions of mankind, have been the causes of war? That not only in barbarous, but in more cultivated times, they have been the origin of bloody wars? Indeed, if the absence of these causes of war be the accusation, it must be confessed that hitherto we have not made very great progress. What, then, because hatred, ambition, revenge, are causes of war, is it nothing to add another powerful motive to war, that of avarice? Does no guilt attach to those who furnish this new principle of evil? May not this present be an additional cause? Africa has ever been one of the most uncultivated parts of the globe. In Africa, this traffic has, in some degree, prevailed at every period. The sale of human beings has been made an article of gain: and is this no impediment to the advancement of knowledge and the progress of civilization? It is asked, did not Mrs. Brownrigg and her daughter most cruelly destroy an apprentice? And it is from thence argued that, as we cannot control the passions of mankind, we should make the same allowance for them as in other cases. To this I answer, it is because I know that man is capable of being a cruel, odious, and abominable, creature; that I know how capable he is of acting frequently against his reason, and even against his most immediate and most obvious interest; that I do not wish to see him possessed of that power and authority, which can decide, without control, on the fate of his fellow-creature. If men were not cruel, slavery would never have been complained of in this world. Indeed, if men were not cruel, slavery would not exist." Mr. Fox, in the course of his speech, was led to the to-

pic that had been briefly, but forcibly touched on by Mr. Smith, of holding forth an uncommon austerity of manners in trifling and insignificant circumstances, and at the same time neglecting humanity and benevolence, the true vital spirit of Christianity. Was there a man in that house who could seriously and gravely think that he could serve his country by voting for a continuance of the slave-trade, and that he could shew his piety to the world, by taking care not to be at the opera after 12 o'clock on Saturday night, or to be seen travelling on Sundays? Mr. Fox, in the course of his speech, reminded the house again and again, that the minister had declared that the safety of the islands depended on the motion. He did not question his sincerity; yet he could not help asking why his commanding eloquence and high authority, invariably successful in other matters, were always defeated in this cause.

Mr. Windham thought it best to leave the subject of the motion to the legislature of the islands; to whom, by the last address of the house thereon, it seemed to him to have been entrusted. The question was, whether, by a sudden abolition of the slave-trade, a greater evil would not be created than that which it was proposed to remedy. In considering this as he ought to consider every question, he asked himself how he might do the greatest practical good. And, in that view, he was inclined to trust to the colonial assemblies for a while, by way of experiment.

Mr. Barham observed, that one advantage of the plan recommended to and adopted by the colonial assemblies, for the gradual abolition of slavery, over that which they themselves pursued, was pretty evident.

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It would operate, at least, immediately. Instead of giving an annual spur to the trade, as the honourable gentleman's annual motions did, the trade would be immediately checked and confined. While various restrictions were adopted here to narrow the supply, every regulation might be introduced in the colonies to lessen the demand. On a division of the house, Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by the small majority of only four: the ayes being 83, the noes 87.

This small majority was a proof of the usual effects of perseverance in a good cause: for, without pretending to sit in judgement on parliament, and deciding concerning the political or indeed moral expediency of a speedy and total emancipation of the slaves, and abolition of the slave-trade, (a question which is indeed doubtful) we may be permitted to assume, that to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate Africans, by all safe and practicable means, was a cause generous and noble. But the impression made by the efforts of Mr. Wilberforce, and many co-adjutors both in and out of parliament, was more happily displayed, by a measure adopted for circumscribing the slave-trade, and another for relieving, in some degree, the intolerable miseries of the slaves, in what is called the Middle Passage. Mr. Henry Thornton, on the fourth of May, moved the house to resolve itself into a committee, in which he should move for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the carrying on the slave-trade on the northern coast of Africa. The district in which he meant to prohibit the trade, extended about 1,200 miles, from whence about 7,200 were annually brought. The numbers of slaves

brought from Africa annually were about 70,000; of these England took about 38,000, and France used to take about 20,000; but now France did not take any; therefore, if even the prohibition was extended to the 7,200, still there would be more slaves for the market. If they were really anxious to gradually abolish this trade, they should take some steps at home, and not leave it all to the West-India islands. There were two measures that might be adopted, that would tend to the gradual abolition; the first was to make a selection in the slaves that were taken; and the other was, only to take slaves from a certain part of the coast. The Sierra Leona company would certainly assist as much as it could to effect this gradual abolition. This colony had now existed five years; there was originally a sum of 240,000*l.* subscribed for this undertaking; of this sum, he was sorry to say, not above 60,000*l.* remained. The colony has sustained very serious calamities, both from fire and from the enemy; but the great thing against the colony-trade, was the slave-trade. Even the persons which they had sent out as their factors, engaged in the slave-trade. Having shortly expatiated upon these subjects, he concluded with moving the house to resolve itself into a committee, and in order that he might then move for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, within certain limits. The house resolved itself into a committee, after a few words in opposition to the motion, by the members for Liverpool, and being resumed, leave was given to bring in the bill moved for. The house having again resolved itself into
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a committee, several blanks were filled up.

On the tenth of May, the house being in a committee on the slave-trade carrying bill, Mr. W. Smith moved a clause, of which he had given notice in the last session, enacting that the space in the slave-trade ships should be five feet between decks. This motion, on a division of the house, was carried by 34 against 6.

Mr. W. Smith then produced a clause for allowing to each slave a superficies of eight feet. This, multiplied by five feet, the height which had been moved for, would give the space of forty cubic feet: a space which, he was assured by the inspector of transports, was absolutely necessary for the comfort, and even the existence of the individual. This motion, on a division of the house, was also carried, by 34 against 5. The bill was afterwards, through the usual stages, passed into a law.

Having gone through the capital business of finance, we arranged the other parliamentary proceedings, that the minds of our readers might be somewhat relieved from the distraction and inipidity of an order merely chronological, into measures of national defence, measures for the preservation of internal order and peace, and measures of political economy, including good morals. It appeared dubious, under which of all these heads it might be most proper to class a motion made on the twenty-second of March, by the duke of Bedford, to address the king for the removal of his present ministers. It will no doubt be thought, by those who supported or favoured the motion, that it had a pretty close reference to them all. It was as

follows: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to represent, that, from the commencement of the war to the present moment, his majesty's ministers have had all the advantages which could be derived from the entire confidence and support of parliament; that this confidence and support have given them the unlimited command and disposal of the power and revenue of these kingdoms; that, with means profusely furnished to obtain success, the councils which have had the direction of this power, and the application of these resources, have been attended with no effect but to exalt France to her present formidable greatness, and in the same proportion to impair the relative situation of Great Britain, to expose her, with reduced strength and diminished resources, to all those dangers which it was alleged could be averted only by an early and successful combination to resist the principles, as well as the power, of the French government; and after an unavailing expence of blood and treasure, to compel his majesty's ministers to open a negotiation for peace, by a total dereliction of all the principles on which the war was said to be unavoidable, and by submitting to abandon those safeguards and defences, which, in the early period of hostilities, were insisted on as absolutely indispensable to the security of these kingdoms.

"That, without looking back to the causes of the war, or inquiring whether it might, or might not, have been avoided, and reserving for another moment all consideration of the charges which may hereafter be brought against those persons, who originally advised his majesty not

not to acknowledge the republic of France, nor to listen to any terms of accommodation, we think it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty the situation in which we are now placed.

“ We are awed by the result of the war itself, and astonished at the conclusion drawn from it by his majesty’s ministers, who, with all the means of vigorous attack, have reduced us to a state of precarious defence, yet still have the confidence to assert, that in the same councils, which have proved so incompetent in prosperity to direct with advantage the affairs of the nation, the best means are to be found of relief and security in our present difficulty and distress, and that we are still to look to them alone for the attainment of a safe and honourable peace.

“ That this house, and every member of it, is ready to provide for a vigorous defence of the country, and will not shrink from any personal difficulty or danger that may attend the performance of this duty; that whatever differences may exist, with regard to the principles and policy of our internal government, we are determined and unanimous in our resolution to resist all foreign interference. But, instructed as we are by a long series of events, and corrected by experience, we are bound by our duty, and compelled by necessity, to submit to his majesty our humble opinion, that the situation of the country is too critical, and the dangers that surround it are too serious, to admit of any farther trial of the same councils which have constantly failed, or of the same persons for whose continuance in office, notwithstanding the heavy and unanswerable charges which have been brought against

them, even themselves have nothing to plead but a feeble unavailing rectitude of intention constantly overpowered by the superior policy and vigour of the enemy, or a pretended apprehension, equally false and malignant, of the designs and principles of those whom his majesty might appoint to succeed them in the administration of public affairs—as if in the present cabinet were to be found the only efficient persons whose loyalty and attachment to the constitution were free from all suspicion and doubt.

“ That, lamenting as we do, the failure of the late negotiations for peace, we beseech his majesty seriously to reflect, whether, when conducted by his present ministers, there could be any reasonable hope of their success. We have not forgotten their haughty and supercilious rejection of all offers of accommodation previous to the commencement of hostilities; and we too well remember the terms of inveterate and irreconcilable enmity on which the contest was placed at the outset, and on which it has ever since been conducted, to hope for any conciliatory disposition between the enemy and the original advisers of the war—we cannot be surprised that any overture which may now be made by his majesty’s ministers, after having willfully neglected or insolently refused every favourable opportunity of negotiation, should be received as an acknowledgment of weakness and distress, rather than as a proof of a sincere disposition to peace.

“ Farther, to represent to his majesty, that the situation of the country is in all respects pregnant with dangers unknown at any former period: our domestic distress is great,
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and is hourly increasing; the principles of our free constitution have been violated, and some of the most essential securities of our liberties destroyed; the connection with our sister kingdom is threatened with dissolution, and all the foundations of our importance and power in Europe are rendered precarious and uncertain. To extricate us from such difficulties requires much fortitude and wisdom; for these qualities we cannot look to his majesty's present advisers; under them we cannot hope for a successful prosecution of the war, still less for the conclusion of a secure and equitable peace.

"We therefore submit this our humble representation to his majesty, trusting that his majesty will see, as we do, the urgent and indispensable necessity of employing

other persons, and of adopting other councils."

This copious motion was followed by a proportionably long debate, in which, the points contained in it having been so often discussed, there was a greater display of genius and eloquence on both sides of the house, than of new argument. On a division of the house, which took place at a very late hour, the duke's motion was rejected by 88 lords against 25. Against this rejection a protest was entered on the journals of the house, by the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, the earls of Derby and Thanet, and the lords Holland and Ponsonby (the earl of Bessborough).

His majesty, on the twenty-ninth of June, after a gracious speech from the throne, to both houses, prorogued the parliament.

C H A P. XV.

The Influence of European Politics and Wars on the United States of North America.—Violent Decrees of the French Republic respecting the Americans.—Controversy on the Subject of these between the Parties concerned.—The American Minister at Paris refused a Public Audience, and dismissed.—Ministers Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary sent from the United States of America, for negotiating a Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce, with France.—Attempts towards Negotiation.—Curious Proofs of the Corruption and Venality of the French Government.—Patriotism and manly Firmness and good Sense of the American Missionaries.—Result of the American Embassy.—Its Effects on the Councils of the United States.—Who make vigorous Preparations for defensive War, by Sea and Land.—Indifference of the French Nation to the Accusations or Reports of the Conduct of the Directory, particularly of the Minister of Foreign Relations in France.—General Corruption and Venality of the French Nation.—St. Domingo.—The Evacuation of that Island, by both the French and English.—Reduction, by the English, of the Island of Minorca—And that of Goza.—Character and Conduct of the Negro Chief, Toussaint Louverture.—Hint to the European Settlers in the West-India Islands.

WHILE so many states and kingdoms, on the continent of Europe, lay crouching at the feet of the French republic, the United States of North America separated from this, like Great Britain, by the Ocean, which seemed, in the present extended contest, the only friend and guardian of the human race, despising equally its intrigues, menaces, and aggressions, firmly maintained the independency of their nation. It was a pleasing and consolatory spectacle to the world, to contemplate America, from which the revolution rebounded on France, checking the return of its over-bearing tide, standing up for the defence of property, and asserting the rights of men and of nations.

VOL. XL.

The French, through whose aid the Americans had effected their political separation from England, affected to regard them as their children, (an expression often in their mouths) connected with them, not so much by the formal treaty of 1778, as by ties of gratitude, and mutual endearments as well as interests. North-America, accordingly, appeared to the rulers of France, a theatre singularly adapted for the exercise of their influence and intrigues. It appeared, evidently, to the sound and sagacious part of the United States, that their new self-denominated parents designed to take them entirely under their own management and direction. But their intrigues, and the

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the insolence of their agents, seemed only to arouse the jealousy and indignation of the states, and to heighten and confirm a returning disposition towards a close connection with Britain; with which, as we have seen in 1796, they formed a commercial treaty, on principles mutually advantageous to both, and in some respects more particularly so to the latter party. At this treaty, the French were highly offended, and loudly complained of an infraction on the part of the Americans, of the treaty of 1778, and their returning and growing confidence and intimacy with England. While they violated equally conventional law, and that of moral obligation, they had broken through, they said, those ties, and dissolved those connections that would have secured their honour and independence as a nation.

On the third of July, 1796, the French government passed a decree, directing her privateers, and ships of war, to treat the vessels of neutral nations in the same manner in which those nations suffered themselves to be treated by the English. This decree was notified to the Americans, by the French minister at Philadelphia, on the twenty-seventh of October, in the same year. In consequence of this decree, numerous captures of American vessels were made by the cruizers of the French republic, and of some by those of Spain. A farther decree, on the subject of maritime affairs, was issued in January, 1798, "That all ships, having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any

English merchandize, should be held lawful prizes, whoever might be the proprietor of that merchandize; which should be held contraband from the single circumstance of its coming from England, or any of its foreign settlements." It was also enacted, that the harbours of France should be shut against all ships, except in cases of distress, that had so much as touched at any English port: and, to complete the climax of barbarity that neutral sailors, found on board English vessels, should be put to death. The execution of this last decree was prevented by a declaration on the part of Britain, threatening retaliation, as had also been threatened on the issuing of the order to grant no quarter to English or Hanoverians.* These laws were an attack on the independency and rights of all nations, but particularly those of America, connected so closely, by commercial intercourse, both with Britain and her colonies. A dispute arose on this subject, which was agitated in conferences, written statements, and publications of the press. The principal complaint of the French, against the Americans, was, that while they had made no advances towards a commercial treaty with France, and even treated the advances of France on that subject, at best, with great coolness, they had formed a treaty with England, whereby, in violation of the treaty of 1778, they had agreed to supply the French West-India islands with provisions and other articles, they had departed from the modern rule of contraband, made free by modern treaties; and

* In justice to the French army, it has already been observed, that even before the declaration of the duke of York, in consequence of that inhuman order, it had been abominated, both by officers and soldiers.

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also made an arrangement, by which, though it professes not to have sacrificed the right, it has actually and avowedly sanctioned the doctrine and practice of England, in seizing provisions at pleasure, as contraband of war; and have likewise yielded the principle so important to America, that free ships shall make free goods. To this, the Americans replied, that if America had made important cessions to England, still France had no right to complain: as, by the treaty of 1778, it is expressly stipulated, "That neither of the parties shall grant any particular favours to other nations, in respect to commerce or navigation, which shall not immediately become common to the other party, who shall enjoy the same favour freely, if the concession is freely made, or on allowing the same compensation, if the concession was conditional." The French decree of 1796, they said, proceeded on the principle equally unjust and absurd, that if neutral states receive an injury from one party, which they are unable to repel, the other acquires a right to do it likewise. As the treaty respected the United States, it went much farther, and avowed another principle no less repugnant to every idea of justice and good faith. Britain possessed, by the law of nations, a right to take the goods of her enemies bound on board American ships. This right, it was farther urged, France relinquished expressly by her treaty with the United States: but because Britain continued to exercise it, notwithstanding the endeavours of the States to obtain her relinquishment of it, France declared by this decree, that she would exercise it also, in express violation of the treaty. The

reason assigned for this conduct by her minister was, "That, since Britain continued to exercise this right, France could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of her treaty with the Americans, whereby she had resigned it:" thus expressly avowing the principle, that France had a right to refuse the performance of a solemn engagement, whenever she might think its operations disadvantageous to herself.

The American government, sincerely desirous of peace and commerce with all the world, sent an envoy to Paris, in the room of Mr. Munro, who, leaning more, as was thought, to the principles and views of the French than to the true interests of the American republic, was recalled, for the purpose of an amicable accommodation of all differences. That envoy, Mr. Pinckney, was neither able to obtain an audience, nor suffered to remain in Paris. Notwithstanding this repulse, the president of the American congress, Mr. J. Adams, anxious still to settle matters with France, by amicable negotiation, sent envoys extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary to Paris, whither they arrived in the beginning of October, and communicated, by a letter to Talleyrand, now minister for foreign affairs, the object of their mission; which was, "To restore that harmony and good understanding, and that commercial and friendly intercourse, which, from the common cement of their political connection, until lately, had so happily subsisted." They received cards of hospitality, and were permitted to remain in Paris, but could not obtain an audience from the directory. They obtained, however, a secret audience from Talleyrand and his

agents, and clandestine communications ensued of as important and a more curious nature than any public and official negotiation. It quickly appeared, that the object, which the directory had in view, in refusing to receive Mr. Pinckney in a public, and permitting the late envoys to remain in a private capacity, was no other, than to lay the United States under a contribution, not only of a large sum, to the French republic, under the name of a loan, but also of a sum, as the agents of Talleyrand termed it, for the pocket of the directory. The public loan required would amount to one million three hundred and thirty-three pounds sterling six shillings and eight pence; for which the French government would give sixteen millions of Dutch rescriptions at par, which the Dutch, after the peace, would certainly repay, with an interest of 5 per cent. The sum demanded for the pocket of the directory was 50,000*l.* sterling. This proposal did not come directly from Talleyrand. His emissaries, one of whom was a lady, gave the envoys to understand, that these were the terms on which, and on which alone, they might obtain both an audience, and the object of it. But they let them know, at the same time, that the first proposition of them must come from the missionaries themselves. It would be necessary to use great delicacy and management to soothe the minds of the directory, irritated by certain expressions, in a speech of the president's of the American congress, reflecting on the conduct of the directory, and not to offend their republican pride: Talleyrand himself, in one of the various interviews that were held between him and the

American envoys, acknowledged the accuracy of what had been stated to them by his confidential friend, and that whatever he said might always be relied on; but that he would reduce his propositions to writing; which he accordingly did, and after shewing them to Mr. Gerry, one of the commissioners, and supposed to be more favourably inclined than the other two, general Pinckney and Mr. Marshall, to a connection with France, burnt the paper: the substance of which was as follows:

That the envoys should come forward, and generally say, "France has been serviceable to the United States, and now they wish to be serviceable to France. Understanding that the French republic has sixteen millions of Dutch rescriptions to sell, the United States will purchase them at par, and will give her farther assistance when in their power. The first arrangement being made, the French government will take measures for reimbursing the equitable demands of America, arising from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ships in future." The reasonableness and utility of these terms were urged, in various conversations, both by the clandestine agents, and by Talleyrand himself, with much eagerness and importunity. One of the emissaries said plainly, "Gentlemen, I will not disguise from you, that the essential part of the treaty (proposed to be renewed between France and America) is money: *Il faut de l'argent: il faut beaucoup de l'argent.*" "You must pay money: you must pay a great deal of money." In another conversation, another of Talleyrand's agents said, "Gentlemen,
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you do not speak to the point—It is money, it is expected that you will offer money." The envoys said, they had spoken to that point very explicitly: they had given an answer. No, said he, you have not. What is your answer? It is no! no! not a fixpence. He again called their attention to the dangers which threatened their country, and asked if it would not be prudent, though they might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in their favour. They ought to consider what men they had to treat with. They disregarded the justice of the American claims, and all the reasoning by which they might be supported. They disregarded their own colonies, and considered themselves, with regard to the United States, as perfectly invulnerable. An interest among them was to be acquired only by money. He proceeded to press this matter with vast perseverance. He told them, that they had paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines, and the Indians. He stated that **Hamburgh**, and other states of Europe, were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for their interest to do so. He asked, if the American government did not know that nothing was to be obtained at **Paris** without money. The missionaries replied, that their government had not even suspected such a state of things. He appeared surprized, and said, there was not an American in **Paris**, who could not have given that information. There was infinite danger in a breach with France, whose power nothing could resist. The envoys, with great dignity replied, "That it would be in vain for them to deny the power, or the solicitude they felt to avoid a contest

with the republic. One object only was dearer to them than the friendship of France, namely, their national independence. America, they observed, had taken a neutral station. To lend a sum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in every thing requisite for war but money, would be to relinquish their neutrality, and take part in the war. To lend that money, under the lash and coercion of France, would be to relinquish the government of themselves, and to submit to a foreign government imposed by force. That they would make, at least, one manly struggle before they thus surrendered their national independence. That their case was different from that of some of the minor nations of Europe. These were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do so. America was a great, and, so far as concerned self-defence, a powerful nation. She was able to maintain her independence, and must deserve to lose it, if she permitted it to be wrested from her." The public and private advance of money continued to be pressed by the clandestine agents of Talleyrand, and repressed in various forms. The commissioners frankly stated, that as to a loan, they had no powers whatever to make one. One of the emissaries stated, that if they would pay, *by way of fees, just as they would to any lawyer or advocate who should plead their cause*, the sum of money demanded, for private use, they would be permitted to remain in **Paris**, as they now were, where they should be received by Mr. Talleyrand, until one of their number could go to America, and consult their government on the subject of the loan. Talleyrand himself, in a

conversation with the envoys, on the object of their mission, said, "If indeed a loan was positively forbidden, the envoys might consider themselves as incapable of making one: but if, as he supposed to be the case, their instructions were only silent, it must be referred to them to act in a case not provided for, according to the best of their judgement, for the public good. That, in almost all the treaties made during the revolution, the negotiators had exceeded their powers, although the government appointing them, was at no great distance." But, for a detailed account of this curious clandestine negotiation, or rather attempt at negotiation, the reader is referred to the American papers, in the Appendix. The envoys continued firmly of opinion, that they would not, under any form, make a loan that could be used during the war: they could not say what their government would do, if on the spot: but were perfectly clear, that without additional orders, they could not do what France requested. The result was, that two of the commissioners, general Pinckney and Mr. Marshall, received their *congé*, and set out on their return to America, in order to receive the instructions of their government. Mr. Gerry, meanwhile, was permitted to remain at Paris; and his correspondence with citizen Talleyrand and his confidential friends continued.

The report made by the returned missionaries, to the American government, excited the utmost indignation. The most solemn protests were taken, and declarations made, in favour and support of the right of property, and the rights and inde-

pendency of the American and other neutral nations.

The continued aggressions of the French had already, for some time, roused and determined the United States to put themselves into a condition for defending themselves against attacks, and repelling insults. But, at the same time, great moderation had hitherto been shown by congress: who, notwithstanding the depredations committed on their trade, by the French, authorized their ships, for the present, to seize and bring in for condemnation armed vessels only. But, after the return of the commissioners, liberty was granted by congress to fit out privateers for the purpose of making reprisals, prompt and vigorous measures were taken, not only for equipping as many vessels of war as possible for the present, but for the gradual formation and establishment of such a marine as might command universal respect to the American flag in future, and no very distant times. The military establishment was also increased, and the command of the army offered to, and accepted by, general Washington.

The publication of the correspondence between citizen the late bishop Talleyrand, and the American ministers of peace, made a lively and deep impression on all the nations of Europe. Not all their actual depredations in Germany, the Netherlands, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy: no, not their plunder of the papal territories, afforded to the minds of men so convincing a proof, that the French republic was governed not more by a thirst of universal dominion, than by a rage for plunder, as even

an attempt to subject the Americans to tribute, so well authenticated.

Had the French nation possessed the purity and simplicity of genuine republican manners, there is no nation on the face of the earth, where the publication of the clandestine and artful manœuvres of citizen Talleyrand would have occasioned so much surprize and indignation as in France. The general indifference with which so public and heavy an accusation, against the minister for foreign relations, was regarded by the French, proved that the universal corruption, which prevailed under the last stages of the monarchy, in which *nothing was indeed done without money*, was not lessened by the revolution of government. The partizans of the new rulers of France, both in that and other countries, affected to suspend their judgement of the matter, until farther accusations, which were soon to take place, should bring forth the defence of the *ci-devant* bishop, against the Americans, with other charges. His defence, at last, made its appearance. And what was it? No other than a general assertion, attempted to be maintained by pitiful quirks and subterfuges, that the American charges, or rather reports, was "a deplorable monument of credulity and contradictions." He asserted that there was no intimacy between the female emissary, mentioned above, and who will be found to make an important figure in the transactions in question, and himself: but that, on the other hand, an intimacy subsisted between her and general Pinckney. But the grand stroke on which he rested his vindication, and which, perhaps, was not altogether with-

out its influence among some of the most hot-brained among his countrymen, was an address to the passion, which was predominant among the greater part of the French nation, namely, a jealousy of crowned heads, and an unalterable design on their parts to restore the monarchy. The credulity of the English, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. in listening to every idle rumour of a popish plot, proves how easily men believe what they fear as well as what they hope. It was to this principle that Talleyrand appealed when he boldly affirmed, that the statements of the American envoys, was "a provocation evidently suggested by the English government."

It was no wonder, that the Americans were jealous of the introduction of French principles and influence into the territories of the United States. From the commencement of the revolt in St. Domingo, emigrations had taken place from all parts of that island. Many had fled from scenes of horror, and from utter ruin to the neighbouring islands, particularly to Jamaica: and about ten thousand, it was supposed, had taken refuge in America.

In our last volume we deduced the affairs of the West-India islands, particularly of St. Domingo, the chief, and what was to the other islands a kind of continent, to June, 1797. Similar scenes to those of which some account has already been given, and for a full, animated, and interesting narrative of which the reader is referred to Mr. Edwards's History of St. Domingo, were continued for a year beyond that period. Alternate defeats and triumphs terminated, on the whole, to the advantage of the natives; who,

who, besides the immense and almost incalculable superiority of their numbers, were aided by the powerful alliance of climate; the possession, and a thorough knowledge of the country; and by gradual experience in arms. A handful of British soldiers were unable to do more than to exhibit many and brilliant examples of discipline and bravery. For, in these, too, the mulattoes and negroes made a rapid progress, and soon learned to baffle European tactics, and to defy all the wealth and other resources of civilized nations.

The final result, in 1798, was, the complete evacuation of the island by the British troops, and such of the French colonists as chose to follow the fortune of his majesty's arms. The evacuation took place in the month of May, on terms agreed on between the honourable brigadier-general Maitland, and general Toussaint Louverture, commanding the French army, the principle of which was, that all the works, in possession of the English, should be left in a state of perfect order, on condition that general Toussaint would engage, in the most solemn and positive manner, to guarantee the lives and properties of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain. To this, Toussaint agreed: and, it is said, he has kept the convention with strict fidelity.

About the same time, a black regiment, the Guadaloupe rangers, sailed from St. Lucia, for the relief of St. Domingo; but, being informed of the event, at sea, it bore way for Jamaica.

About the same time, too, general Knox and suite arrived at Martinique, bound, likewise, for the

relief of St. Domingo. If these events had taken place before the evacuation, it is likely some measures would have been concerted for concentrating our force and retaining some places which could have commanded the navigation to and from the island of Jamaica, and not have left it open to such depredations. Perhaps, too, advantage might have been taken of a rupture which had by this time taken place between Toussaint and Rigaud. General Knox's suite were well acquainted with the nature of the war, as well as with the character of the natives of St. Domingo. It may be mentioned here, that, as St. Domingo was evacuated by the English, without any farther efforts to retain their conquests there, so the island of Minorca was given up to a British force, under the command of the hon. general Charles Stuart, in November, without the loss on his part of a single man. The island of Goza also, near Malta, in the same month, surrendered, by capitulation, to a detachment of the British Squadron, under the command of rear-admiral Nelson. Towards the end of the year, the island was also evacuated by the French troops, under the command of Hedouville and Raymond, who, on the approach of Toussaint Louverture, at the head of an immense army, to cape Francois, took the advantage of three French frigates, that lay in the harbour, to return to Europe.

It was at first apprehended, by the inhabitants, that Toussaint intended to give up the Cape-town to pillage, and the other calamities incident to all places in such an unfortunate situation; but the account

count given by that chief, of his post, and the principles which were to direct his future conduct, soon dissipated their groundless fears.—To courage and skill in war he was found to unite virtues not less important even for the purposes of dominion: clemency, and a regard to the right of property and all manner of justice.

When Sainthoinax returned to France, and gave an account of his administration in St. Domingo, before the council of five hundred, he delivered an elaborate oration, in favour of the liberty of the blacks, and the great blessings flowing to the island from that event. He pronounced a pompous panegyric on the national convention, whose vast conceptions had prepared the triumphs of public freedom, and the general emancipation of the universe. After recounting some events in his own administration, "Such (said he), in a few words, are the happy effects of my mission. The English are repulsed, and kept in check, in the places which treason delivered to them. Their commerce is intercepted, or destroyed. The internal troubles and rebellion of the colony are suppressed. Culture is encouraged, commerce flourishes; towns, that were burned, are rebuilt; and the minds of all the citizens burn with a love of industry, order, and good government." Sainthoinax was acquitted, because his judges were of his own party, and had sent him on the mission to St. Domingo, to execute their own orders.

Toussaint Louverture is a black man, a native of St. Domingo. He was born a slave. His master, a rich planter, carried him to France, when young, where he remained

for some time. As he discovered early a good understanding, more attention was paid to his education than usual. He returned to St. Domingo, where he still continued a slave, till the troubles commenced. Amidst the events of the revolution, Toussaint discovered his talents, on many occasions. At last he was chosen, by his brethren, commander of a black army, consisting of 100,000 men, accustomed to the climate, and, by this time, not a little inured to war. To the talents of a general and politician, Toussaint joins more valuable qualities, moderation, gratitude, and humanity; of which, the following anecdotes are proofs.

Although he was really absolute monarch of St. Domingo, yet he concluded the treaty with general Maitland, not as an independent chief, but in the name of the French republic: and, although he was under no controul, or superior authority, he desired to be considered a citizen of France, and only wished to be recognized [appointed] by the directory, to the command which he had already obtained.

During the disturbances, his master retired to the continent of America; and Toussaint remitted to him, as often as possible, the produce of his estates. As these did not arrive regularly, his master returned to St. Domingo, and, at the evacuation, was about to accompany general Maitland to Jamaica, when Toussaint sent for him, and gave him all his property and negroes, and shewed him the affection of a child, as he had formerly received from him the care and attention of a real father.

When some of the colonists, who had joined the English, returned, availing

availing themselves of the late stipulations in their favour, Toussaint ordered them to be thrown into prison. After some days, he desired they should be conducted into a church, where a considerable body of his black brethren were assembled on the occasion. He mounted the pulpit, and began to address them in a very pathetic and persuasive manner. He represented, to his brethren, the noble disposition of forgiveness, to those who repent. "We ourselves, said he to them, once were Spaniards, and fought against the republic: but we were deceived. We were born Frenchmen, and now we are Frenchmen again. All these men have, likewise, been deceived. They were born Frenchmen: during a moment, they were English: but they have returned among us, and are Frenchmen again: let us embrace them." Here Toussaint embraced them, and reconciled them with his brethren. He restored their goods, and even gave them negroes to serve them.

Toussaint, in the present state of

affairs, has too much understanding and liberality to hate or persecute the whites; for, he knows too well that the island cannot flourish without them; that they are necessary for its culture, its commerce, its prosperity, and good government. For these reasons, his great object is to recal the colonists, and revive agriculture and commerce.

The revolution, accomplished by Toussaint Louverture, could not have been effected by a white man, with equal and even greater talents and virtues. From the lowliness of his extraction, he derived an advantage equal to any that had ever accompanied or flowed from the noblest birth; uniting under his standard both the negroes and people of colour. From this fact, European settlers in the West-India islands might draw, if not yet too late, an important lesson. The mulattoes, equally related to whites and blacks, would, from pride, cling to the former, did they not spurn them equally from the rights of citizens, and the endearments of natural affection.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. **T**HE court martial on captain Williamson, of the Agincourt, for his conduct in the engagement off the coast of Holland, the 11th of October, which commenced the 4th of December last, closed this day, when the judge-advocate read the minutes of the sentence, nearly as follows: "At a court martial, holden on board his majesty's ship Circe, in the river Medway, and continued sitting, by adjournment, from the 4th of December, 1797, to the 1st day of January, 1798, inclusive, in pursuance of an order, signed by the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, and directed to the members who composed the court, to try captain John Williamson, late of his majesty's ship Agincourt, upon certain charges exhibited against him: The court, after hearing the evidence adduced on the part of the prosecutor, and the defence, together with all the evidence the prisoner chose to bring forward; and, after having weighed the whole maturely and deliberately, are of opinion, that the charges of cowardice and disaffection have not been proved against the said captain Williamson; that the other charges have been proved in part. Therefore the

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court pronounces the following sentence: That the said captain John Williamson be put at the bottom of the list of post captains, and be rendered incapable of ever serving on board any of his majesty's ships."

2d. The election of an alderman for the ward of Farringdon Without, finally terminated yesterday in favour of Mr. Price, who, having a majority of 207 votes over Mr Waddington, was, of course, declared duly elected.

3d. A daring robbery was effected, about eight o'clock, by three villains, who, under pretence of delivering a letter at the house of Mrs. Taylor, in Norton-street, Portland-road, rushed in, bound her and the maid-servant back to back in the kitchen, rifled their pockets, took away the plate-chest, and several valuable articles of bed-furniture, window-curtains, &c. all together of the value of 300*l*. with which they got off undiscovered.

4th. This day, passports were sent off, by the commissioners for French prisoners, for a French agent to come to this country, to superintend and have charge of the provisioning the French prisoners. It is now agreed upon between the two countries, that the prisoners of each shall be maintained at the cost of their respective countries, the markets of both being open to the agent
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residing therein. The prisoners in both are likewise to be kept in two or three places of general rendezvous, in place of being scattered over the country, as heretofore. This country will save near half a million a year by this arrangement.

Count Rumford has made a donation to the royal society of 1000*l.* in the 3 per cents. for the purpose of instituting a biennial prize-medal, to be disposed of by the decision of the president and council of that society.

6th. Yesterday a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the election of chamberlain, in the room of John Wilkes, esq. lately deceased, for the remainder of the year. The lord-mayor, being confined to his room with the gout, appointed alderman Le Melurier his *locum tenens*, who represented his lordship on the occasion. Sir Watkin Lewes and Mr. alderman Clarke were the candidates for that lucrative and important office. After the gentlemen proposed had addressed the livery, a shew of hands took place, which appearing decidedly in favour of alderman Clarke, a poll was demanded by sir Watkin Lewes, which began at half past two o'clock, and ended at four, when the numbers were, for Mr. alderman Clarke, 558; sir Watkin Lewes, 50. Sir Watkin, on the state of the poll being made known, declined any farther contest; upon which alderman Clarke was declared duly elected.

10th. Robert Reeves, a stockbroker, was this day tried and convicted for forgery, at the Old Bailey sessions.

15th. *Plymouth*. On the morning of the 11th, the Cerberus, of 32 guns, captain Drew, arrived in

Cawsand-Bay, from Cork, having under her convoy the Reynard, of 20 guns, and Epervoir, of 16 guns, French privateers, which had been captured by her in November last: during the night of the 10th, and morning of the 11th, the wind blew from the southward with great violence, attended by a very heavy sea, and for the most part hard rain; this state of the weather continued until about half past one o'clock, P. M. when the wind abated considerably, and veered a little to the westward of the south. All the morning, till that time, the Reynard was in great danger of driving on the rocks in Firestone-Bay; but she fortunately escaped, and is now safe in Hamoaze. As soon as the gale abated a little, captain Drew, of the Cerberus, Mr. James Drew, acting lieutenant of the same ship, and nephew to captain Drew; captain Pulling, late of the Penguin, of 18 guns, now on the Cork station; Mr. Poore, and Mr. Daily, midshipmen, captain Drew's coxswain, and a black servant, belonging to captain Pulling, together with a boat's crew of six sailors, left Cawsand-Bay in the Cerberus's barge, and steered for Hamoaze, captain Drew having letters from admiral Kingsmill, at Cork, for the port admiral here: they made their passage very safely, though the sea ran very hollow, until they came abreast of Redding Point, and at the opening of Hamoaze; but about two o'clock, P. M. as they were passing the bridge, a very narrow channel, situate between Mount Edgcumbe and St. Nicholas's Island, they found, notwithstanding the wind had much abated, that the swell of the sea was there very heavy, occasioned by the then strong ebb tide from

from the harbour running counter to the southerly wind and sea, the ground beneath being very rocky, and the water shoal. Although we may fairly presume that the utmost care was taken by captain Drew to guard against accidents, he could not prevent the melancholy fate which awaited him and his companions: when they got abreast nearly off St. Nicholas's Island, a heavy sea broke into the boat, which rendered her situation very dangerous: Captain Drew now became alarmed, and instantly pulled off his coat to be prepared for the worst, at the same time advising all hands in the boat to consider of the best means of saving their lives, in case any still more imminent danger should arise; his fears were soon realized, for the sea, which first struck the boat, was instantly followed by two others, by which she foundered, and, dreadful to relate, every person on board her, except two of the sailors, perished. Not being able to swim, each of them secured an oar, and on these they were driven to the rocks at Mount Edgcumbe, by which means their lives were providentially preserved. Captain Drew was observed by these men, for some time, combating the waves, and endeavouring to reach the shore, but his strength being exhausted, he sunk in their fight: his coat has been since picked up, and the letters for the port-admiral found in the pockets of it. Captain Pulling had been lately promoted to the rank of post-captain, and took passage from Cork, in the *Cerberus*, to join his majesty's ship *Hindostan*, of 54 guns, now sitting in this harbour for a store-ship, to the command of which he was just appointed, by the lords of the admiralty. A short time

since, he married a daughter of admiral Kingsmill. Captain Drew was unmarried, but has many very near relations at Saltash, about four miles from the spot where the accident happened.

In the council-chamber of the hall, in the market-place, in Norwich, is erected the following device, a memorial of the glorious action of the 14th of February, 1797: an anchor, to the ring of which is suspended a yard and sail, supposed to be torn in action, on which is inscribed, "The sword of the Spanish admiral, Don Xavier Winthuyfen, who died of the wounds he received in an engagement with the British fleet, under the command of admiral earl St. Vincent, 14th of February, 1797, which ended in the most brilliant victory ever obtained by this country over the enemy at sea; wherein the heroic valour and cool determined courage of rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. had ample scope for their display: he being a native of Norfolk, honoured the city, by presenting this sword, surrendered to him in that action." From the flukes of the anchor the sword is suspended. Underneath is the coat of arms of sir Horatio Nelson, which was given to him by the king. The crest is the stern of a man of war, and the supporters a sailor bearing a British lion trampling on the Spanish colours. The motto, "Faith and works." The whole is neatly executed by Mr. Windham, of that city.

15th. John Perryn, esq. of Broad-street, merchant, was elected alderman of Broad-street ward, in the room of Richard Clarke, esq. resigned.

21st. The following distressing circumstance occurred at Bilston, in

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Stafford.

Staffordshire: a butcher had been employed to kill a pig, at a house at that place; and, after having hung it up, he imprudently left his knife behind him, when a boy, about four years old, who had seen the pig killed, took the knife, and (shocking to relate) stabbed an infant, under the ear, as it lay asleep in a cradle; alarmed at the blood which flowed from the wound, he immediately ran into the yard, to his mother, who was drawing water at a well; the sight of the bloody knife, and the boy's cries, so terrified the poor woman, that the windlass slipped from her hands, and struck the boy with such force on the head, that it killed him on the spot! The distress of the mother, after losing two children in this dreadful and sudden manner, may be better conceived than described.

A young woman, of the name of Carver, house-maid to captain sir Richard Pearson, of Greenwich-hospital, proves to be the daughter of the late captain Carver, of great transatlantic celebrity, who acquired a vast tract of country in the back settlements of America: this the Indians have faithfully guaranteed, and preserved for his legal representative, who is, at length, indisputably found in the fortunate young woman above-mentioned. The territory, in times of peace, is estimated at the value of 100,000*l.* sterling.

The following particulars of the mutiny, on board the British frigate *Hermione*, are taken from the American papers:

When about three days out, from Cape Nicola Mole, on a cruize, part of the crew were engaged hauling the mizen top-sail; the captain speaking sharp to them, two of the men fell from the yards;

when the others came down, they were reprimanded, in harsh terms, by the captain, and several of them threatened with punishment: this occasioned much discontent, which continued until the next evening, when the mutiny broke out, by throwing double headed shot, &c. about the ship, and other disorderly behaviour. The first lieutenant went down to inquire what they wanted, and was soon wounded in the arm with a tomahawk; he retired for some time, and, when he returned, was knocked down with a tomahawk, his throat cut, and thrown over-board. After which, the sailors proceeded to the cabin, in search of the captain, who had locked himself in, but was soon dragged out, after having wounded two or three, in defending himself, with his sword, and experienced the fate of his unfortunate lieutenant; they afterwards seized upon and murdered every officer in the ship, except a master's mate and two midshipmen.

They then directed their course to La Guira, where they arrived, under Spanish colours, and delivered the ship up to the Spanish government, giving out that they had turned their officers adrift in their jolly boat.

The mutiny was headed by William Farmer, master's mate. The captain, nine officers, and a lieutenant of marines, were murdered and thrown over-board. The following is a list of them: captain Pigot, lieutenants Spriggs, Douglas, and Fanshaw; Mr. Percey, purser; Dr. Sansom; Manning, captain's clerk; Mr. Smith, midshipman; Mr. Martin, boatswain; and a lieutenant of marines. On the ship's arrival at La Guira, the governor gave each man twenty-five dollars.

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She was afterwards fitted out, and is now cruizing, and William Farmer is second captain, with a number of her old crew, the greatest part of which were Frenchmen; and they assign as cause for the mutiny, the great severity of captain Pigot, who was constantly flogging the men. The lieutenant of marines, though sick in his cabin, was taken out and thrown over-board; the other officers were cut to pieces.

22d. At the last quarter-sessions, for the county of Surry, came on a prosecution against Isaac Rawlinson, a driver of one of the Greenwich stage-coaches, who, in driving a race with one of his brethren of the whip, drove with such violence against one of the servants of her royal highness the princess of Wales, in the month of August last, whilst he preceded her royal highness's carriage, as to throw him and his horse down into a ditch, whereby he narrowly escaped with his life. Ingram, another coachman, submitted himself, soon after the offence was committed, and some very respectable inhabitants, in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, having petitioned her royal highness in his behalf, his apology and submission were accepted. No such apology having been made by Rawlinson, a bill of indictment was preferred and found against him, at the last Michaelmas sessions at Kingston, upon which he was this day arraigned, when he moved, by his counsel, to plead guilty to the charge, and to submit to a small fine, upon the ground of his having also made a satisfactory apology and submission to their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Wales. The court being fully satisfied that such an apology had been made, and particularly that

her royal highness the princess of Wales had been graciously pleased to forgive the prisoner for the offence he had committed; lord Grantley, the chairman, after commenting upon the enormity of the offence, and the amiable example of moderation and forgiveness he had met with, pronounced the sentence of the court, which was, that he should pay a fine of six shillings and eight pence, and give sureties for his good behaviour for two years. His lordship, at the same time, assured the prisoner, that if it had not been for the gracious interferences of their royal highnesses, he would have been sent to the house of correction, and kept to hard labour for that time.

24th. The following is the detail of the proceedings, at the Crown and Anchor, on the anniversary of Mr. Fox's birth-day: there were at least two thousand persons present. The duke of Norfolk was in the chair; the duke of Bedford, earls Lauderdale and Oxford, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Horne Tooke, were present; and all those who have heretofore thought that Mr. Fox had not sufficiently explained his sentiments on the great subject of parliamentary reform. Captain Morris produced three new songs on the occasion. Mr. Hovell, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Dignum, and several other gentlemen, in the different rooms, sung songs applicable to the *fête*. In the great room, after the dinner was removed, the duke of Norfolk addressed the company in nearly the following words:

"We are met, in a moment of most serious difficulty, to celebrate the birth of a man dear to the friends of freedom. I shall only re-

cal to your memory, that, not twenty years ago, the illustrious George Washington had not more than two thousand men to rally round him when his country was attacked. America is now free. This day full two thousand men are assembled in this place. I leave you to make the application. I propose to you the health of Charles Fox." The toast was drank with great fervour and enthusiasm. The noble duke then gave;

The rights of the people.

Constitutional redress of the wrongs of the people.

A speedy and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament.

The genuine principles of the British constitution.

The people of Ireland; and may they be speedily restored to the blessings of law and liberty.

The chairman's health being drank with three times three, and unbounded applause, the noble duke returned thanks with great frankness, and then added, "gentlemen, give me leave to drink your health, and, before I sit down, give me leave also to call on you to drink our sovereign's health:

The majesty of the people."

This was followed with rapturous applause. Mr. Tooke said, he approved of the conduct of Mr. Fox, ever since that respectable character had declared himself the advocate for parliamentary reform. There all their differences were at an end.

The seditious and daring tendency of these toasts have not passed unnoticed. In consequence of them, the duke of Norfolk has been dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of the west riding of Yorkshire, and his regiment in the militia,

30th. A most tremendous and destructive fire broke out, this evening, in the extensive cotton-manufactory, belonging to Messrs. Wood and Brumell, situate on the west side of English-street, Carlisle; which, in the space of three hours, consumed the whole of the buildings and stock; a few bales of cotton, and some broken pieces of machinery, being the only articles which escaped its ravages. Amongst other things to be deplored, in this great calamity, is, the circumstance of more than two hundred people being thereby thrown out of employment.

FEBRUARY.

1st. *Bath*. A melancholy accident happened here a few days since. An elderly gentlewoman, returning from lady Huntingdon's chapel, being, as it is supposed, absorbed in her reflections, walked over the precipice, which is at some distance in front of that building, and fell into a mud-pool below. Being discovered by some chairmen, she was taken first to a surgeon's, and afterwards, her person being unknown, to the Casualty-hospital. The cranium was so violently injured, that she died next morning. It was, after some time, discovered, that this unfortunate sufferer was no other than Miss Mackworth, sister of the late sir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

8d. *Berlin*. The king has lately issued the following order respecting the military;

"I learn, with much displeasure, that officers of the army, particularly young gentlemen, affect to value themselves on their privileges, which

which they imagine elevate them above civil life. I shall endeavour to maintain due respect for a soldier, in every thing that may relate to his essential advantage; that is to say, in every thing connected with the business of war, during which, it is his duty to defend his fellow-citizens, at the risk of his life. But no soldier whatever, be his rank what it may, shall be permitted to ill-treat the people. It is they, and not I, who support the army. The military are paid by them. The troops are merely entrusted to my command. Imprisonment, cashiering, and death, are the punishments which await those who shall be guilty of so criminal an excess.

Frederick William."

9th. The merchants, bankers, and traders, of the city of London, met in the square at the Royal Exchange, where a hustings was erected for their accommodation, for the purpose of promoting the voluntary subscription for the defence of the country. The meeting was very numerous. Mr. Bosanquet, alderman Curtis, and some other gentlemen, addressed the meeting upon the subject of the present state of the country, urging the necessity of opposing vigorous exertions to the inveterate hostility of an implacable foe, and of patriotically coming forward, with our aid, in support of every thing dear to us as Britons and as freemen. The speeches were received with universal applause; and, on the meeting being dissolved, four books were opened, in which a great number of names were immediately subscribed. Mr. Boyd annexed 3,000*l.* to his name, and the other contributions were pro-

portionably liberal. Previous to meeting, the committee, who were appointed to conduct the business of the day, met at the Mansion-house, where upwards of 20,000*l.* were subscribed.

10th. The court being opened, the prisoners who had been convicted at the Old Bailey this session, were brought to the bar to receive sentence, when the recorder passed that of death on William Graves, Charles Frewin, G. Bowers, and Thomas Hunter, for burglary; Hezekiah Swaine, for horse stealing; and Peter Declerk, for uttering a bank-note, knowing it to be forged.

Thomas Radford, Thomas Williams, James Ayres, William Sibey, Francis Chevalier, Henry Griffith, Robert Young, William Watson, James Lever, and Sarah Turner, were sentenced to be transported for seven years; and James Archer, to be transported for fourteen years.

14th. This day came on, in the Court of Common Pleas, before chief-justice sir J. Eyre, the cause of *Simpson v. Taylor esq.*—This was an action against Mr. Taylor, the proprietor of the Opera-house, for refusing to admit into the pit of that theatre, Mrs. Maria Johnson, of Jermyn-street, under the authority of a silver ticket, which had become the property of the plaintiff, and which he took upon him to let or lend to Mrs. Johnson. The action was defended, not upon the score of any objection to the ticket, or that the plaintiff had not a right to transfer it, but upon the ground that the person who presented it for admission was obviously and notoriously an exceptionable character, and improper to be admitted into the pit of that theatre. Mrs. Johnson underwent a strict cross-examination,

nation, by Mr. serjeant Adair, on the part of the defendant. She admitted that she had kept a large house in Jermyn-street for twenty years, and was in the habit of letting out the same to ladies, who were generally esteemed *handsome*, and sometimes to single gentlemen also; but she declined entering into any farther explanation, which might tend to criminate or disgrace herself; and, upon an appeal to his lordship, he held her not bound to answer any questions tending to self crimination. Mr. serjeant Adair then, in a very able speech, applied to his lordship and the jury, whether the defendant was not perfectly justified, and even praiseworthy, in refusing the admission of Mrs. Johnson, and highly deserving the thanks of the public for his conduct, in thus endeavouring to exclude improper company from the pit of the Opera, where persons of the highest rank and fashion usually assembled. The chief-justice, in an eloquent address, in which he paid some handsome compliments on the conduct of the defendant, declared it to be his opinion, that the action was not maintainable in point of law. His lordship said, that although, from the beginning, he had felt the highest indignation at the action, he had waited patiently, during the whole of the evidence, in order to discover whether any thing would come out, upon which, in point of law, the plaintiff could have the smallest claim to a verdict: had that been the case, he should have felt it his duty to have directed the jury accordingly, however indecorous the action itself might have been; but he was happy to find no legal grounds whatever to maintain so unwarrantable a case. The evi-

dence had only proved a refusal of admission, upon the ground of personal objection to the bearer of the ticket, without the least resistance to the plaintiff's right or property. His lordship farther added, that, in all cases of this sort, a condition was necessarily annexed to the ticket; that the privilege which resulted from it should not be abused, by letting out, or delivering it over to persons, who either, from their appearance in point of dress, or immoral notoriety, were improper to be admitted amongst that part of the audience for whom the pit of this king's theatre was very properly reserved. The jury immediately found a verdict for the defendant, with costs of suit.

20th, *Petersburgh*. The unfortunate Louis XVIII. is soon expected here, to take up his residence in a palace at some distance from hence, where he is to have an establishment suitable to his rank, at the expence of the emperor. The Prince de Condé lives here in a style that does great honour to his benefactor; he found, on his arrival, a palace in the neighbourhood of the city, superbly fitted up for his reception; pages in his uniform, and footmen in his livery; a stud of horses, with six beautiful white Arabians for his own carriage; the whole of his establishment, in every respect, being as nearly as possible similar to what his own was at Chantilly. He was received with royal honours; a state dinner and ball were given at court on the occasion, and he has had a town residence fitted up for him on a much grander and more magnificent scale than Carlton-House, with "Hotel de Condé," inscribed over the gallery to the court-yard, in the French style. His whole army have entered into the
Russian

Russian service. Soon after his arrival, the public were entertained with the grand spectacle of the prince receiving, from the hands of the emperor, the Russian colours in exchange for the French, on the parade before the palace. He is likewise created grand master of the order of Malta, established in this country.

32d. In consequence of the dismissal of the duke of Norfolk from the command of the 1st regiment of the West York militia, the major and officers agreed upon the following address to the Prince of Wales, by a delegation from the regiment, composed of captain the earl of Scarborough, captain Wombwell, and captain Howard.

To his royal highness GEORGE PRINCE of WALES, &c. &c. &c.

" May it please your royal highness, We, your royal highness's most dutiful servants, the officers of his majesty's 1st regiment of West Yorkshire militia, impelled by circumstances we all feel and lament, have presumed to approach your royal highness.

" Full of zeal for his majesty's person, and the constitution of these realms; from sentiments of personal gratitude, and attachment to your royal highness, and confiding in the great and amiable qualities of your royal highness, we most humbly implore you, sir, to use such measures as your royal highness may judge proper, to obtain the command of the corps, in which we have the honour to serve, and which, we trust, in loyalty and discipline, is surpassed by no other in his majesty's service.

" Led on by a prince of distinguished ability, and undoubted courage, our lives and fortunes will be

willing sacrifices to the safety and protection of our king and country.

(Signed) February 12, 1798.

Gamal. Milner, major.

Scarborough, captain.

J. Wombwell, captain.

Henry Howard, captain.

Edward Cartwright, capt.

John Ibbetson, captain-lieut.

William Greaves, lieut. and adjutant, &c.

This very handsome and unexpected address was immediately submitted to the duke of Portland, for his majesty's pleasure; but the prince of Wales leaving town to join his regiment, at Dorchester, and being immediately afterwards occupied in repairing to the place off which the enemy was supposed to have appeared, had not an opportunity of receiving the delegates, and expressing his acknowledgements for this very flattering testimonial of personal attachment towards him: but his royal highness signified, in the politest and most gracious manner, that he should, upon his return to London, request the favour of seeing those gentlemen, and returning them his thanks in person; at the same time, his royal highness, from a number of insuperable objections, (of which, indeed, he was rather aware on the first view of the case, from considering it as somewhat an unprecedented and delicate one) was obliged to decline the proposition made to him by the 1st regiment of the West York militia, and which his royal highness was thoroughly sensible had been actuated by a well meant zeal and sense of duty and loyalty to his majesty and the constitution, and a very kind partiality for the prince of Wales.

Lord Fitzwilliam, who was appointed lord-lieutenant of the West-Riding of Yorkshire, in the room of the

the duke of Norfolk, went down to Hortham-Barracks last week, to visit the 1st regiment of York militia, lately commanded by the duke of Norfolk. He there found no field-officer with the corps, the colonel being displaced, the lieutenant-colonel, sir Thomas Gascoigne, having resigned, and major Milner being absent on a court-martial. The captains waited upon his lordship, and informed him, that they had presented a memorial to the prince of Wales, requesting he would honour them by accepting the command of the regiment: that his royal highness's intentions on this subject had not yet been signified to them; but, should he decline to comply with their wishes, they were desirous to know, whether his lordship felt disposed to appoint himself to the colonelcy of the regiment? Lord Fitzwilliam stated, in reply, "that never having been accustomed to any line of military duty, he certainly must wave the idea of appointing himself." They then informed his lordship, through their spokesman, "that having been a corps, which had long lived in the most perfect amity, and never suffered any political disputes or discussions to interrupt its harmony or the public service, they trusted he would allow them to feel a particular interest in the gentleman who might be appointed to command them; they therefore took the liberty to recommend their late lieutenant-colonel, sir Thomas Gascoigne; but should any objection arise on account of his late resignation, they hoped they might be allowed to point out major Milner as an exemplary and meritorious officer, under whom they should be happy to serve." Lord Fitzwilliam said, he

should soon decide on the gentleman proper, in his opinion, to command the regiment; and taking his leave, set off immediately for Milton-Abbey.

25th, Copy of a letter from Antigua. "Lieutenant Peterson, of his majesty's ship, *Perdrix*, has been lately shot, by lord Camelford. The circumstances of this new catastrophe in our annals of naval transactions are as follow: Lord Camelford has the rank of master and commander, and has the command of his majesty's sloop of war the *Favourite*. The *Favourite* and *Perdrix* were lying in English Harbour on Saturday, the 13th of January, at which time captain Fahie, of the *Perdrix*, was absent in St. Kitts. Mr. Peterson was first lieutenant of the *Perdrix*. Lord Camelford, as being commanding officer at that time in English Harbour, ordered lieutenant Peterson to row guard in the harbour for that night. This order lieutenant Peterson refused to obey, captain Fahie being lord Camelford's senior officer, and his lordship having therefore, in his opinion, no right to give the order. Both ships were hauled alongside the Dock-yard, repairing, and the companies of each ship collected round the party in the Dock-yard, where the altercation begun. Many words passed between the lieutenant and his lordship, but still Mr. Peterson refused to obey. About twelve of the crew of the *Perdrix* came to the spot armed, in a few minutes afterwards; and lord Camelford brought six of his marines to the place, armed also. Mr. Peterson now drew up his men in a line, and he stood at their head with his sword by his side; lord Camelford also drew

drew up his six men in a line fronting the Perdrix's people, and distant about four yards. His lordship then quitted the place for about two minutes, and returned with a pistol in his hand, which he had borrowed of an officer of the yard. Mr. Peterfon was standing at the head of his men, as before, with his sword drawn, the point of it resting on the ground; in this position lord Camelford went up to him with his pistol in his hand, and said, "Do you still persist in refusing to obey my orders?" To which the lieutenant answered; "Yes, I do refuse." On which lord Camelford immediately clapped the pistol to his right breast, and fired. Mr. Peterfon fell on his back immediately, and never spoke a word more, or moved, as the ball went entirely through his body. His corpse was then carried into the capstan-house, where lord Camelford attended, and examined the body. The armed part of the crews of the two ships quietly went aboard their own ships; and lord Camelford gave himself up as a prisoner to captain Matfon, of the Beaver sloop of war, in which ship he was carried up to the admiral in Fort Royal Bay, and there tried and acquitted. His lordship gave in a very admirably written defence, containing eighteen pages, very closely written. He is now returned to this place, and is again in command of his ship. Lieutenant Peterfon was a native of Nevis, of a very respectable family there, and quite a youth. Two of his brothers are now here, collecting evidence, for the purpose of seeing what can be done against lord Camelford in a civil court of justice. The coroner's inquest on Mr. Peterfon brought in their verdict—Lost

his life in a mutiny. When the people of St. John's first heard of this transaction, there was a party preparing themselves to come to English Harbour, to kill lord Camelford, as this fatal affair had filled the minds of the lower sort of people full of revenge against him; but, on being informed of the true state of the case, they desisted from their hostile visit. Lord Camelford appears to be a new character in his class. His person is not altogether unlike the late lord George Gordon, when he was of the same age; their whimsy is somewhat similar. Lord Camelford provides a table of plenty of good fresh meat every day for the men who are sick in his ship. He is very severe in carrying on duty: seldom ties up a man but he gets six or seven dozen lashes, which is a more severe punishment, in this country, than what is produced by giving the same number in a northern climate. Although his lordship is a master and commander, he does not set an expensive example, by wearing extravagant clothes. He makes use of no swabs (gold shoulder knots), but still appears in a lieutenant's uniform. His dress is, indeed, extremely remarkable: all the hair is shaved off his head, on which he wears a monstrous large gold laced cocked hat, which, by its appearance, one would think, had been service with sir Walter Raleigh. He is dressed in a lieutenant's plain coat, the buttons of which are as green with verdegrease as the ship's bottom; and with this all the rest of his dress corresponds."

The following is the sentence of a court-martial, assembled and held on board his majesty's ship, Invincible, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, the 20th of January, 1798, and held by

by adjournment every day afterwards (Sunday excepted) until the 25th. Present, William Cayley, esq. captain of his majesty's ship, *Invincible*, and senior captain of his majesty's ships and vessels in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, president. Captains Jemmet Mainwaring, Richard Brown, Charles Ekins, and Alexander S. Borrowes. The court (being duly sworn, according to act of parliament), in pursuance of an order from Henry Hervey, esq. rear-admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels, employed and to be employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, and in the seas adjacent, proceeded to try the right honourable lord Camelford, acting commander of his majesty's sloop, *Favourite*, for the death of lieutenant Charles Peterson, of his majesty's ship, *Perdrix*, on the evening of the 13th inst. in the Naval Yard, at Antigua; and having heard the whole of the evidence adduced on the occasion, and what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, and maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the same, and being fully sensible of the necessity of prompt measures, in cases of mutiny, are unanimously of opinion, that the very extraordinary and manifest disobedience of lieutenant Peterson, both before and at the instant of his death, to the lawful orders of lord Camelford, the senior officer at English Harbour at that time, and the violent measures taken by lieutenant Peterson, to resist the same, by arming the *Perdrix's* ship company, were acts of mutiny highly injurious to the discipline of his majesty's service; the court do therefore unanimously adjudge, that the right honourable lord Camelford be honourably ac-

quitted, and he is hereby unanimously and honourably acquitted accordingly.

Wm. Cayley,
Jem. Mainwaring,
C. Ekins,
Rich. Brown,
A. S. Borrowes.
J. H. Briggs, judge-advocate on the occasion.

27th, A very dangerous mutiny lately broke out on board the fleet at the Cape, but was quelled by the spirited exertions of General Dundas, the admiral, and lord Macartney, assisted by the military. All the batteries were manned, and upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon were loaded and pointed at the admiral's ship: the furnaces were heated, and red hot balls were ready to pour into and sink the *Tremendous*, which was at anchor before the Amsterdam batteries, in case the mutineers should refuse to deliver up the delegates, with the ringleaders, and return to obedience. A proclamation was issued at seven A. M. and only two hours allowed for the mutineers to consider whether they would return to their duty or not. When they found that it was positively determined to sink the ship, in case of a refusal, the signal of submission was hoisted ten minutes before nine by the *Tremendous*, as well as all the other ships, and the delegates were given up. Several of them have since made their exit at the yard-arm, and every thing was quiet.

DIED, 12th, at St. Petersburg, Russia, of apoplexy, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, late king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania. He had for several days complained of a head-ach; but, in consequence of the use of medicine, on the 11th, he

he found himself much better, and went to the window to observe the degree of cold indicated by the thermometer, when he felt himself suddenly seized with a violent pain in the head, and great feebleness and illness. His attending physician, privy-counsellor Bockler, and his chaplain Jurewicz, hastened to his assistance. He was conveyed to bed, and bleeding and blisters had recourse to, but in vain. He requested his chaplain to give him absolution, and wished to repeat with him the penitential prayers; but his speech soon failed him. His majesty then received the general absolution and extreme unction. About midnight he appeared much better; but, as the morning approached, grew continually weaker, till about eight in the morning, he breathed his last. He was born, Jan. 17, 1732; elected king of Poland, Sept. 7, 1764. He was the son of count P. colonel of the Swedish guards of Stanislaus king of Poland, a nobleman of uncommon merit, invincible courage, and perfect calmness and presence of mind, which enabled him to carry off Charles XII. when desperately wounded, from the battle of Pultaway, and to save him, a second time, at the battle of Rugen. His son inherited all his virtues, was about 5 feet 7 inches high, of a majestic aspect, a piercing eye, great courage, strong natural parts, improved by education, a retentive memory, master of several languages, and a lover of the arts and sciences. He was in England three months, in 1745; and, on his election to the crown of Poland, received a handsome letter from the king of Prussia. In 1766, he resisted with great firmness the representations of Russia and Prussia, enforced with

arms, in favour of the protestants in Poland, but the dispute was settled, 1768. The Russians took part against the dissidents that year. The situation of the king was truly critical, being exposed alternately to the jealousy of the contending parties. Inclined to govern with justice and moderation, while he endeavoured to hold the balance between the contending parties, he lost his consequence. November 2, 1771, his majesty was carried off, by a party of the confederates, under Koczowski, from Cracow to Willanow, but escaped by their divisions, and was preserved by their leader, encouraged by the hope of pardon and a reward. The king interceded for the regicides; but several were executed. The diet met, 1773. The Austrians invaded Poland in 1773; Polish Prussia was ceded to the king of Prussia; and the partition of Poland was resolved on. In 1785, a general confederacy was formed against the king, who entertained thoughts of abdicating the throne. In 1787, he had an interview with the empress of Russia, relative to an exchange of Polish Ukraine for part of Russian Poland. The Poles were exhorted, next year, to assert their independence. The diet met, October 6, and 8, that year; and the king proposed a confederation, which was acceded to, and the army reinforced to one hundred thousand men. Disputes running high in the subsequent diet, and the evacuation of Poland being insisted on, the king recommended conciliatory measures; but a civil war threatened the country. The king of Prussia appeared disposed to take them under his protection, in hopes of gaining by it; and the French ambassador

ambassador presented a note to the diet. In May, 1791, a most important revolution took place, when the king planned a new constitution, founded on that of England, as improved in America, which the diet adopted; but it met with great opposition in the kingdom. The diet of 1793 made great cessions to Prussia, at the instigation of Russia. A diet of 1794 annulled the proceedings of that of 1788, and the Poles and Russians came to blows; and, at last, subverted the new constitution, instituted and sanctioned by the king and diet, the king himself fighting in its defence. The Russian arms finally prevailed; and the king formally laid down his crown, at Grodno, November 25. The act of renunciation was laid before him by prince Repnin, and the king signed it. The empress gave him leave to go where he pleased, and promised to do all in her power to make him a proper establishment, but said, she must consult her allies before she came to a determination. If we believe M. Rulhiere, he was father of the present emperor of Russia. "Stanislaus," says Mr. Cox (*Travels in Poland*, vol. I, p. 17. 4to.), "seemed calculated, by his virtues and abilities, to raise Poland from its deplorable state, if the defects of the constitution had not fettered his exertions for the public good. The fairest hopes were conceived of his future reign; but these flattering prejudices, at first realized, were soon disappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the intrigues of the neighbouring powers. Thus the reign of the most amiable among the Polish sovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that excessive

liberty which is almost inconsistent with the existence of government. The first acts of his majesty's reign were highly adapted to introduce order and regularity into the interior administration, and to rescue his country from her dependence upon foreign powers. The tendency of these executive regulations, to increase the power and consequence of Poland, gave umbrage to the adjacent states, and were likewise vigorously opposed by a strong party within the kingdom. At this crisis too, religious disputes, blending themselves with public cabals, the flame of civil discord burst forth, with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland." The dissidents were supported by Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Great Britain; whose courts presented memorials in their favour; and, when matters came to extremities, the former joined the confederacy, and even carried off and imprisoned the opposition bishops five years. Confederacies were formed in defence of the catholic religion, fomented by Austria, Constantinople, and France. The conspiracy against the king's life was contrived by the confederates, who ever considered him as unlawfully elected, and imputed to his fatal election and direction, or approbation, all the various ills under which the kingdom groaned, from the Russian oppression. The partition of Poland was projected by the king of Prussia, after having previously seized on Polish Prussia; and had not Poland, formerly more powerful than any of the surrounding states, from the defects of its constitution, declined in the midst of general improvements, it would not, after giving law to the North, have become so easy

easily a prey to every invader. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against the usurpations; but remonstrances without assistance could be of no effect. Poland submitted to the dismemberment not without the most violent struggles, and now, for the first time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and discord. The partitioning powers did less injury to the republic, by dismembering its fairest provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confusion, and establishing, on a permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty which is the parent of faction, and has proved the decline of the republic. Under pretence of amending the constitution, they have confirmed all its defects, and taken effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its present deplorable state." See Coxe, *ib.* 22—52. Mr. C. who had the honour of several familiar conversations with him, his majesty being particularly attached to the English, as well as acquainted with their constitution and laws, and even with Shakspeare; describes him as handsome in his person, with an expressive countenance, a dark complexion, aquiline nose, and penetrating eye, uncommonly pleasing in his address and manners, and possessing great sweetness of condescension, tempered with dignity. His portrait is there engraved. Mr. Burke, speaking of the revolution effected through his endeavours, describes its advantages thus: "Not one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation; all, from the king to the day-labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and or-

der, but in that place and order every thing was bettered; and, to add to this happy wonder, not one drop of blood was spilled!" "This revolution was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity, and secrecy, such as have never before been known on any occasion; but, such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy, in favour of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people! if they know how to proceed as they have begun! Happy prince! worthy to begin with splendor, or to close with glory, a race of patriots and of kings, and to leave

' A name, which every wind to heav'n
would bear,
Which men to tell, and angels joy to
hear!'

See the history of this monarch very particularly detailed in a "History of Poland, from its Origin as a Nation, to the Commencement of the Year 1795." Having died a deposed monarch, no court-mourning has taken place for Stanislaus Poniatowski. Esteem for his memory, however, will long be cherished by every feeling and virtuous bosom. His manly and dignified conduct, upon every public occasion, ranks him as a good and able prince, and his private virtues have ever been universally acknowledged and admired.

MARCH.

1st. This being St. David's day, the honourable society of Antient Britons, attended by their president, lord Gwidir, went to St. James's church, preceded by the children of the Welch charity, where a sermon

mon was preached by the bishop of Bristol, from the first Epistle General of Peter, c. ii. v. 27. The prayers were read in the ancient British language, by the Rev. T. Alban, chaplain to the society. In the course of the service, Te Deum Jubilate, and an anthem, were sung by a society of gentlemen belonging to Portland-chapel. The prince of Wales's annual donation of one hundred guineas was given, and the stewards made a liberal subscription at the church.

2d. Yesterday Arthur O'Connor, esq. proprietor of a newspaper, called *The Press*, printed in Dublin; John Binns, a celebrated member of the corresponding society; W. Alley; J. Favey, alias colonel Morris, alias captain Jones, &c. and Patrick Leary, were brought to town, from Margate, in four post-chaises, and a post-coach, by Fugion and Revett, two of the Bow-street officers, escorted by a party of light dragoons. In the evening they underwent a private examination before Mr. King, the under secretary of state, and Mr. Ford; from which it appeared, that they had been taken into custody, on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the French government, and of having an intention to obtain a passage from Margate to the nearest port in France, for which purpose they offered a fisherman, at Margate, one hundred and fifty guineas, and to leave three hundred guineas more, as a security, in case the boat should be taken by the French.—It was stated, that they went from London on Sunday last, by a Whitstable hoy, but finding themselves suspected at that place, they hired a cart to carry their baggage, and accompanying it themselves on foot,

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walked across the country to Margate, where they arrived on Tuesday evening, and put up at a little public-house, called the King's Head, on the Sands, where Favey passed as colonel Morris, and the others as his servants; but their conduct being here also suspected, and the fisherman being fearful to embark with them for France that night, they were detained; and early the next morning the above-mentioned officers, who had heard of their route at Gravesend, came to the house, and, having four of the Light Dragoons to assist them, in case of need, took them into custody, and secured all their baggage, which completely filled a post-chaise. It consisted of a number of small trunks, boxes, and parcels, packed up extremely close, and very heavy, supposed to be ready for the purpose of sinking, in case of necessity. About sixty guineas were found in the possession of the prisoners, together with some fire-arms, cutlasses, and a quantity of baggage; and from Favey, alias colonel Morris, the officers took a very sharp dirk, or dagger; on Binns was found a pair of loaded pistols, and in the pocket of a coat, supposed to belong to Favey, a paper was found, purporting to be an Address from a Secret Committee in Ireland to the Executive Directory of France, and which contained many treasonable expressions; this, however, the prisoners disclaimed any knowledge of, nor would they own any part of the baggage, except such articles as they were sure would not criminate them. The parcels were not opened last night, but several of them are supposed to contain great quantities of papers. The prisoners, all except Favey, declined saying any thing

thing in reply to the charge; and he merely said, that he went to Margate for his health, from whence he intended to go, by a trading vessel, to Ireland. They were all committed, for farther examination, to separate prisons.

The British factory at St. Petersburg has transmitted a donation of 100*l.* for the use of the Royal Humane Society in London; and a similar institution has been lately established there, for the preservation of the lives of the inhabitants.

3d. Notwithstanding the powerful interest which has been made for Mr. Viotti, the celebrated performer on the violin, an order was on Saturday sent from the secretary of state's office, for him to quit the kingdom. He accordingly set off yesterday evening, for Yarmouth, under the care of a messenger, from whence he will embark, with Rode, his pupil, for the continent; before he left town, he advertised the following declaration:

"I have received an order, from government, to quit a country which is dear to me, and which I consider as my own. I obey; but in declaring to the whole world, to all those who are acquainted with my name, that I go without having to reproach myself with any thought, word, or deed; that I have never interfered in any political affair whatever; that, during the six years I have passed in England, I have never written a syllable that either directly, or indirectly, related to its political concerns, or to those of any other country; that I have never held any conversation to which the smallest degree of blame could attach; and, in short, that I have never frequented any coffee-house,

any tavern, any club, or any suspected society.

"I have testified the above assertion on oath, and I call the Supreme Being to witness the truth of my declarations. I hope the many respectable persons to whom I am well known, will answer, at any time, for the purity of my conduct; and my peaceful conscience assures me, that I shall, in the end, be fully justified.

"J. B. Viotti."

7th. Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Binns, Mr. Favey, alias colonel Morris, and Mr. Allen, the four persons accused of treason, were, between eight and nine o'clock, conveyed, under the care of his majesty's messengers, Sylvester, Mason, Scott, and Fabiani, and several of the police-officers, to the Tower, where they were received by the four wardens, and a serjeant's guard, and placed in separate apartments. Mr. O'Connor appeared much dejected, and scarcely spoke to any of the persons who were conveying him to the state prison. His companions were in good spirits.

8th. *Dublin.* In consequence of information received, that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the sworn proprietor and publisher of *The Press*, had been seized at Margate, in the actual attempt of taking his passage for France, with Quigley, the priest of Dundalk, alderman Alexander, on Tuesday, having received proper information, upon oath, proceeded to seize the materials and papers of *The Press*; it became a matter of immediate and indispensable necessity to prevent a fugitive from Ireland, accused of treasonable libels here, and endeavouring to fly from England to France, from exciting, any longer, the people to insurrection,

rection, whilst it was incumbent on government to procure every proper evidence for corroborating, and substantiating the proofs of his guilt. The superintendent magistrate, in searching the place where the above-mentioned paper was printed (the house, No. 62, Abbey-street) seized a quantity of seditious papers in manuscript, with some ball cartridges, which a woman was endeavouring to convey out of the house while this magistrate was doing his duty. Some of the workmen of the above newspaper were taken into custody, but afterwards discharged. Among the persons in the house, where *The Press* was printed, were found Lord Edward Fitzgerald, counsellor Sampson, and Mr. Swift, sen. whose punishment of imprisonment, in the New Gaol, for a libel against certain of the fellows of Trinity-College, some time ago, had been humanely remitted by government, and whom it was supposed then acted as director of that paper. None of these leaders were detained that night, having pledged themselves to be forthcoming, in the morning, to answer any charge that might be alleged against them.

Sunday night a dreadful affray took place in Holborn between a large party of Irishmen, who were attending a funeral, in which several of them were so desperately wounded, that three of them died yesterday morning, and a fourth is not expected to survive the bruises he received. The weapons, with which they fought, were sticks, and the contest, we understand, arose from a dispute relative to the corpse, which was that of a female; the contending parties each insisting on having the superintendence of its interment.

No parliamentary regulation is, for the present, to be had recourse to for the better observance of the Sabbath; but the following declaration has been drawn up by several eminent and pious gentlemen, to which all descriptions of people are to be invited to subscribe their names.

Form of the Declaration :

" We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being deeply sensible of the great importance of the religious observance of the Lord's Day, to the interests of Christianity and civil society, do declare, that we hold it highly improper, on that day, to give, or accept, invitations to entertainments, or assemblies, or (except in cases of urgency, or for purposes of charity,) to travel, or to exercise our worldly occupations, or to employ our domestics, or dependants, in any thing interfering with their public or private religious duties. And, as example, and a public declaration of the principles of our own conduct, more peculiarly at this time, may tend to influence the conduct of others, we do hereby declare our resolution to adhere, as far as may be practicable, to the due observance of the Lord's Day, according to the preceding declaration."

10th. A warrant having been issued, for the apprehension of Mr. Barrett, a wholesale dealer, in the Manchester line, in Cheap-side, on a charge of having forged several bills on the house of Mr. Stanfield, in Watling-street, who is also in the Manchester line, he was examined at the Mansion-house, and some important discoveries were made, respecting some forgeries on the bank, in which Messrs. Adamson, Wilkinson, and Kavanna, are involved.

Mr. Stanfield

Mr. Stanfield attended his examination, and the bill was produced on which the prosecution was brought, the amount of which was 54*l.* 1*s.* and which bore the indorsement of Mr. Barrett, from whom Mr. Stanfield swore he received it. The bill purported to be drawn at Bristol, in America, by Andrew Moxam, on Richard Griffin, No. 24, Old 'Change, in favour of Samuel Ross and son; proper inquiry had been made, but no such person could be found. Mr. Stanfield farther deposed, that he was the holder of two other bills which had been shewn to Mr. Barrett, who informed him they would not be honoured, as they were all fictitious names. He also gave information of a circumstance which was acknowledged by the son of Mr. Barrett, that he drew several bills which were not filled up by any names. The prisoner was ordered to be again brought up on Tuesday. Two officers each took hold of an arm, till they arrived at the gate of the Compter, when the turnkey went forward to open it, and left the prisoner with his partner. Mr. Barrett availed himself of the moment, made a sudden spring from under his arm, and effected his escape. The cry of stop thief resounded from every quarter, but the prisoners voice was among the loudest. He directed his course down Walbrook, but such a confusion ensued, and no one laying hold of the right person, (though many were stopped) he got clear off. He is between fifty and sixty years of age, and has always borne a respectable character in the neighbourhood. On searching his house, several letters were found, which had been received from houses in different parts of the country, threatening him

with immediate apprehension, if their bills were not taken up, as they had some suspicions they were forgeries. This appeared from a bill-book which was also produced, and had the desired effect, as it proved they had been paid. From the following circumstances, there is some reason to suppose that Mr. Barrett, was taken into custody after his escape from the officer in the Poultry, but soon liberated, on account of the officers being ignorant of that affair. Between seven and eight o'clock, on Tuesday evening, an elderly man, of very genteel appearance, ran into a public-house near the end of Gray's-inn lane, apparently much agitated, and endeavoured to conceal himself, from his pursuers, by hiding behind the parlour-door; but one of the Bow-street officers being in the house, and understanding from a man, who seemed most active in the pursuit, that a thief had taken refuge there, took him into custody, and inquired what the charge was against him, this, however, no one could tell; the man who first accused him only saying that he heard the cry of stop thief, in Holborn, and, seeing the prisoner run, pursued him. The Bow-street officer, thinking the real accuser might come forward, took him to the Police-Office, Hatton Garden, as being the nearest place of justice, where it being said that a robbery had been committed in Gray's-inn, the prisoner was detained till inquiry was made, which proving untrue, he was dismissed, after being interrogated by the magistrate, as to his name, which he said was Barrett, and that he was a man of respectability, though he did not account, in a satisfactory way, for the extraordinary situation in which he

was found. He had eight or nine guineas in his pocket, and a letter directed to France.—It is supposed that the alarm, occasioned by his escape from the constable in the city, had, by some means, followed him to Holborn, though none could tell for what, and he, being the guilty party, of course endeavoured to escape.

13th. A hair-dresser, named Emanuel Guzman, of Newport, Monmouthshire, eat and drank to such excess, as to occasion his death. A coroner's jury, after a long investigation, found a verdict *felo de se*, and the remains of the glutton were, on Saturday, to have been buried in the public road, near to the place where he died.

The receipts arising from the performances at the King's Theatre, on Thursday evening, in aid of the contributions for the defence of the country, amounted to between seven and eight hundred pounds.

Letters received from Bencoolen, Taponooly, and Padang, of the 5th and 7th of March, 1797, by the schooner, Providence, captain Weatherall, arrived at Calcutta, some days previous to the late fleet from thence, give the following relation of an earthquake that happened, on the west coast of Sumatra, on the 20th of February. The vibratory shocks of this earthquake are stated, on competent authority, to have continued for three minutes, and to have recurred, at intervals, during a space of three hours, from its beginning, till the shocks had completely ceased. At Padang, the houses of the inhabitants are almost totally destroyed, and the public works much damaged. The snow Padang, lying at anchor in the river, was thrown, by the sudden rise of

the sea, upwards of three miles in shore, where she still remains. The number of lives lost, at Padang, on this melancholy occasion, exceeded three hundred. Of these, some were crushed under the ruins of falling houses, some were literally entombed alive, by the earth closing upon them, and others were drowned, by the sudden irruption of the waters of the ocean. At Natal, the residence of a subordinate of Bencoolen, very considerable damage was sustained, and several houses thrown down, but no lives were lost. It is, however, much to be feared, that, when the particulars are collected from the different quarters on the west coast, where the earthquake was felt, the sum, both of lives and property destroyed, will be much greater than yet apprehended.

Dublin. A horrid murder was committed, on Sunday night: a party of those barbarous insurgents, who have been deluded, by wicked incendiaries, to think murder is no crime, assassinated a farming man in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, in the county of Dublin. They mangled him in a most dreadful manner, it is said, and cut up his body in four quarters, which they laid before his weeping children; a horrid spectacle of blood-thirsty atrocity and revenge. This unfortunate man, we hear, was to have been evidence against some insurgents at Naas assizes, to prevent which he was butchered by those murderers.

Last week, Miss Ellin Mitchell, daughter of H. Mitchell, esq. of Mitchelsfort, county of Cork, (who was confined to her bed by sickness, at the time of the outrage) was forcibly dragged, and feloniously

ly carried away, from her farther's house, by a party of armed men, headed by Henry Spread, gentleman, and aided by his servant, Laurence Hegarty, who struck and abused Miss Mitchell, on her resisting, and also struck and abused her mother, on her throwing herself into her arms for protection. The father of the young lady has offered a reward of 500*l.* for the apprehension of Henry Spread.

25th. Came on the annual election of president of the board of agriculture, when an opposition was started, against sir John Sinclair, by the nomination of lord Somerville, one of the sixteen Scotch peers. A ballot succeeded, and, at the close, the numbers stood,

For lord Somerville - - 13

— sir John Sinclair - 12

Majority in favour of } —1
lord Somerville

whereupon his lordship was declared, by Arthur Young, esq. the secretary, to be duly elected.

The total amount of the St. Jago, Spanish prize, was 555,000*l.* out of which admiral Gell and the other flag-officers shared 52,000*l.* each, the several captains 26,000*l.* and the subaltern officers in proportion: the law expences amounted to 28,000*l.* and 148,000*l.* were left, after all, in the agents hand, to defray any other contingent demands.

26th. About one o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in an empty barn, belonging to Mr. Williams, opposite the four mile-stone on the Croydon-road, which raged with great violence, and, communicating to a stable and other out-buildings adjoining, set fire to a large granary, filled with corn, and an oat-rick; all of which were intirely consumed.

There has been a considerable disturbance at Manchester, among the cotton-spinners. Some misunderstanding between them and their masters having taken place, respecting wages, the latter employed others, who agreed to work at a less price; when the men assembled, in a very riotous manner, and broke the windows of the manufactory. No farther serious consequences, however, had occurred when the last accounts came away.

A newspaper, intituled, The Eagle, printed at Hanover, in New Hampshire, America, states, that an extraordinary distemper had afflicted the geese of that vicinity, and had occasioned considerable mortality. Some were seized with a delirium, during which they would fly at people, cattle, &c. and retain their hold until they were killed. Others would die with stupor. Some years previous, a similar disease was productive of like effects.

28th. Early in the morning, the watchman, going his rounds, near Whitfield's Tabernacle, Tottenham-court-road, perceived a hackney-coach waiting near the gate of the burying-ground, and, concluding that some of the resurrection-men were at work, gave notice to one of the patrole, who, going to the spot, saw three men in conversation with the coachman, who, at his approach, made off; he, however, secured the coachman, and, searching the coach, discovered the body of a male child, wrapped up in a cloath; he then went to examine the burying-ground, and, finding several graves open, knocked at the door of the sexton's house, which adjoins the ground, but was a considerable time before he obtained any answer, which was, at last, given

C 3

by

by a woman, who informed him that the sexton was gone to sleep in Westminster. At day-light, a farther search took place, when eight more bodies (four women, three children, and one man) were found, tied up in ficks, in a ditch, not far from the Tabernacle, and which had been interred the preceding evening. Yesterday, the coachman, whose name is John Peake, was brought before N. Bond, esq. at the public-office, Bow-street, when all the parties attended; and after those claiming the dead had identified the respective bodies, the magistrate proceeded to examine the prisoner, who said, in his defence, that, about three o'clock yesterday morning, he was called off the stand, near the end of Hatton-street, Holborn, by three men, who ordered him to drive to Pitt-street, Tottenham-court-road, and, there getting out, desired him to wait for them near the Tabernacle; that one of them continued by the coach the whole time; but denied seeing any thing put into his coach, or even that the doors were opened after the men first got out. The sexton was also interrogated, but nothing could be collected from him, he having slept from home on Thursday night.—The coachman was committed for farther examination.—One man claimed two bodies, his wife and child, who had been deposited in the same grave the preceding evening: the child was the same that had been found in the coach.

30th. Between six and seven in the evening, as the boy was bringing the mail from Selby to York, he was stopped about half-way, between Selby and Riccall, by a stout-made man on foot, who took the bridle

off the horse's head, and robbed the boy of the mail.

George Jay was executed on Monday, for piracy, at Execution-dock, pursuant to his sentence at the last Admiralty-sessions held at the Old Bailey. This unfortunate man was upwards of sixty years of age.

Dublin. Tuesday se'nnight, about eight o'clock, a gang of villains got into Mr. Doolan's house, of Raveen, between Birr and Roscrea, in the King's county, just as he was at tea, his family were about him, and an infant child on his knee: the barbarous rustians ordered him to lay down the child; which he having done, they blew out his brains. No discovery has yet been made of this inhuman deed, but it is supposed his servants were privy to it. He was a gentleman possessed of 1000*l.* a year.

The celebrated Didot, the French printer, with a German, named Herman, have announced a new discovery in printing, which they term *stereotype*.—The process seems more nearly allied to engraving, as they speak of its being done on solid plates (*des planches solides*). The inventors dwell on its elegance, and it certainly has the merit of cheapness. The works of Virgil, making four hundred pages, and illustrated with a map and vignettes, is to be sold in sheets for fifteen sous, or seven-pence halfpenny.

Saturday se'nnight the largest vessel ever built at Southwick, near Sunderland, was launched in the presence, it is supposed, of fifteen thousand spectators. This beautiful ship is named the Lord Duncan. She was built in Mr. Have-lock's yard, measures nine hundred and thirty tons, and is completely adapted for the East-India trade.

Henry

Henry Redhead Yorke, esq. was liberated from Dorchester-castle, after an imprisonment of four years. When the sheriff brought the intelligence, he exclaimed, in the language of Virgil,

*Libertas, quæ, sera tamen, respexit in-
tem,
Respexit tamen, et longo post tempore
venit.*

He has paid a fine of 200*l.* and entered into sureties for 2,000*l.*

Nine French prisoners escaped from the castle of Edinburgh, by letting themselves down from the wall with a rope. Seven of them have since been taken, and again lodged in the castle.

This day Thomas Cadell, esq. was unanimously elected alderman of Walbrook-ward in the room of W. Gill, Esq.

31st. Thomas Raikes, esq. and Samuel Thornton, esq. were chosen governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England for the year ensuing.

At the assizes for the county of Surrey, Daniel Smith, Simon Plunket, Abrah. Clark, and John Smith, were left for execution.

At the Chelmsford assizes thirteen convicts received sentence of death, nine of whom were left for execution; among these are two soldiers, Andrew McCabe and Robert Rutledge, for a rape.

At Maidstone assizes, before judges Buller and Hotham, eighty-nine persons were tried, fifty of whom were acquitted and discharged. W. Jones, G. How, T. Faulkner, M. Stacey, B. Egan, and J. Savage, were capitally convicted, and ordered for execution. E. Pollet, likewise condemned, was reprieved; Thomas Pigeon, boatwain, belonging to Greenwich-hospital,

aged sixty-five, was tried for an attempt to commit a rape on Mary Welsh, nine years old, and was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment.

At the assizes at Hertford, John Nicholls, for cattle stealing; Richard Miller, for sheep stealing; and Richard Seare and Thomas Wood, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of John Baker, a hosier at Berkhamstead, received sentence of death: and Thomas Trout and William Torrell were ordered to be transported for seven years.—Six other prisoners were discharged.

At the assizes for Berkshire, John Williams, alias Timms; and John Davis, alias William Emmerly; for robbing the honourable capt. Lindsay, and capt. Spotteswood, on the highway, near Hungerford, were capitally convicted, and left for execution. Benjamin Joley, and William Dell, for a highway robbery, and Ann Chaddick, for house-breaking, were also capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At the Northampton assizes, the following prisoners were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death, viz. Joseph Worrall, for horse-stealing; and Samuel Panter, for sheep-stealing. They were both reprieved before the judge left the town.

At the Salisbury assizes, Barnabas Brown, for highway robbery; John Palmer, for stealing a snare; George Quinton, and Abraham Wenman, for stealing goods in a house at Downton; received sentence of death.

At the same assizes, a man of the name of John Casell, a brewer's servant, was tried and convicted, for aiding and assisting some prisoners of war to escape out of Portchester-

chester-castle. It was proved that he had conveyed two French captains, inclosed in two casks, out of the prison on his dray, by which means they effected their escape out of the country. He was ordered to be imprisoned six months in the common gaol.

At Bury assizes, last week, one Haycroft, a noted publican, of Sudbury, obtained three verdicts, of 40*l.* each, for assaults against as many officers of the 44th regiment of foot, for tumultuously breaking open his house door to get into their quarters after ten o'clock at night; and also another verdict, to nearly the same amount, against his worship the mayor of that borough, for aiding, and abetting, them therein.

At Dorchester assizes, George Smith, and John Norris, for burglary, received sentence of death. John Shave, Jesse Oram, and Edward Moore, for thefts, to be transported for seven years.

At the Worcester assizes, five persons received sentence of death, for various burglaries and robberies.

At the Gloucester assizes, five persons received sentence of death, and at those of Norfolk four, for various robberies.

At the York assizes, which concluded last week, came on the trial of Peter Buck, a tanner, of respectable connections, at Ripley, indicted for robbing Richard Terry, of Rippon, on the thirtieth of August last, of 1,500*l.* in notes, and one hundred and sixty guineas, as the said Terry was returning from Knaresborough-market to Rippon, where he is a banker. The defence of the prisoner was briefly; "I am very sorry, appearances may be against me, but I am not the person." Nine

very respectable witnesses, from the town and neighbourhood of Ripley, were called to the character of the prisoner; all had known him many years, some of them nearly twenty; they concurred in stating him to be a liberal, humane, and sober man, of good connections, and hitherto of unimpeached respectability.—Guilty; but recommended to the clemency of the court, both by the jury and prosecutor.

At Devon assizes, Jonathan Hotwell, for stealing a mare; Mary Roberts, for stealing six tippets; and William Dennir, for sheep stealing; were capitally convicted.—Hugh Carpenter, for stealing geese, to be transported.

Andrew Berns, aged twenty-one, and John Hill, only nineteen, suffered death, at Stafford, for a highway robbery. Their sufferings were unhappily protracted by the falling of the scaffolding at the place of execution; both of the unhappy culprits were much hurt; one of them fainted; and it was a considerable time before he was sufficiently recovered to undergo the sentence of the law.

APRIL.

3d. The following circumstances attended the loss of his majesty's ship the Pallas, of thirty-two guns, commanded by the honourable captain Curzon. This ship arrived in Plymouth-Sound on Tuesday morning, from a cruize off the coast of France. Soon after she had anchored, a heavy gale of wind came on from the S. by W. attended with a most tremendous sea, which continued, with increasing violence, until about seven o'clock on Wednesday

nesday morning, when she parted from one of her anchors, and drove much nearer to the shore before her other anchors could bring her up. The yards and top-masts were then struck; and she rode with an apparent degree of safety until half past eight, when she again began to drive. The crew now cut away all her masts, to prevent her holding so much wind; but, notwithstanding all their exertions, she did not bring up, though with three anchors a head, until the afterpart struck on the rocks in the Bay, between Withy-Hedge and Mount-Batten-Point. The tide by this time was strong ebb, and the ship remained with her head to the sea, being kept in that situation by means of her cables and anchors until a quarter past three o'clock, the sea making a free and tremendous break over her. Though now quite aground abaft, the sea raised her forepart so much, that the cables parted, and the surf heaving her broadside round, beat against her with so much fury, that she was every minute completely hid from the view of the spectators. While she lay in this situation, every hope of the crew being saved seemed at an end: but, providentially, from the circumstance of her drawing less water forward than abaft, every succeeding surf forced her bow round nearer to the land, until she got again nearly end on with her stern to the sea. The hope of the ship holding together, and the prospect of a chance that the crew might be able to save their lives, were now revived, especially as the tide was ebbing very fast. The ship being quite aground fore and aft, she was thus made to heel towards the shore, and by the latter fortunate circumstance the crew were sheltered from

the violent beat of the sea, and exposed only to the spray, which every minute formed a cloud over them. In this state the ship lay till eleven o'clock, when the crew were out of danger, and by noon the tide had left her so as to enable the officers and men to get ashore with safety. The gale abated about one, and the crew, with the people from the dock-yard, began to get out the stores, the greater part of which will be saved. A more melancholy scene, for at least two hours, could not be witnessed, as no other prospect appeared, during that time, than the loss of the whole crew, because, in their then situation, no assistance could possibly be given them, either on the land or sea side. On board the Pallas one man only lost his life, and he was killed by the fall of the mainmast. The ship was reduced to such a state of wreck that she could not be got off; and it was expected she would fall to pieces the next flood tide. A boat belonging to the Canada, in attempting to go to the relief of the Pallas, was upset, and Mr. Masley, acting-lieutenant of the Canada, and three seamen, were unfortunately drowned.

Being Maunday-Thursdaiy, his majesty's annual bounty of bread, meat, fish, cloth, and money, was distributed, in Whitehall-Chapel, by the rev. Dr. Vincent, sub-almoner, and the attendants of the household, to sixty-one poor men, and the same number of women; who, according to the usual custom, after the service, received a bag containing as many penny pieces as the king is years old. An anthem, suitable to the occasion, was sung by the gentlemen of the chapel royal, during the service: and in the afternoon the same

same persons attended again to receive the cloth allotted.

A boat with a fail, in attempting to pass the middle arch of London-bridge, from unskillful management, was overset, and five out of eight passengers were unfortunately drowned.

The lottery closes this day. The last drawn blank being entitled to 20,000*l.* tickets could not be got last night at any price. The night before, they sold for 120 guineas.

10th, *Vinna*. The mats of the people voluntarily took up arms last year to defend the city and the palace of their monarch against the attack of the French army, then supposed to be in full march towards that city. On the evening of the last anniversary of this day, which was celebrated with great solemnity, the tricoloured flag was displayed in triumph, a little before sun-set, at the balcony of the French ambassador's hotel. A report of this circumstance being suddenly spread, produced murmurs of discontent among the people, and occasioned their assembling in small groupes in the different streets. One of the chief commissioners of the police immediately waited upon the ambassador, and pressed him in the most earnest and solemn manner to order the flag to be removed, declaring that the people were so exasperated, that it was impossible to answer for the consequences, if it were suffered to remain. The ambassador received him with great haughtiness, and, putting his hand upon his sword, announced his determination to defend the flag, which was hoisted in consequence of orders from the directory, to the last extremity. The populace, in the mean time, were approaching in great crowds to the

house of the ambassador. They demanded, by loud and repeated cries, that the flag should be taken down, and at length proceeded to assail the house with stones, by which all the windows were soon destroyed. The loudest acclamations of loyalty and attachment to the emperor were heard on all sides, accompanied with the strongest expressions of execration and detestation of the French. A small piquet of cavalry, with some infantry, soon arrived; but they were unable to overcome the violence of the people. A boy, assisted by those who were next to the hotel, mounted to the balcony, and pulled down the flag, which was instantly torn, and the standard to which it was attached was burnt. The resentment of the people, now put in motion, did not stop here. All the consequences which were apprehended, immediately followed. They demolished every thing that they found on the ground floor of the hotel. They laid hold of two of the ambassador's carriages, and dragged them, the one to a neighbouring square, and the other to the court of the palace, and broke them to pieces. While they were thus employed, a considerable detachment of military arrived, and, availing themselves of the absence of the mob, occupied the entrances into the street in which the ambassador's house is situated, and prevented their return. Marshal Kintky, governor of the town, and another officer, waited upon the ambassador, and informed him, that he had nothing farther to apprehend. The gates of the town were shut during the night, to prevent the crowds being increased by the people, who were flocking in from all

all quarters of the suburbs. When they were opened in the morning, a piquet of cavalry was stationed at each gate. Early in the evening, M. Bernadotte wrote to baron Thugut, to inform him of the insult offered to him, and to demand protection. M. de Degelmann was immediately dispatched to him, with orders to express the concern with which the Austrian government had learned the disturbance that had taken place, and to assure him, that an adequate number of troops was already detached to protect him. In the beginning of the tumult, the ambassador invited the ministers of the powers in alliance with France to visit him at his house. The Spanish ambassador and Dutch minister, the former by his secretary, the latter in writing, expressed their concern that the state of their health did not permit them to leave their rooms at so late an hour. On the following morning they both waited upon him, when he declared to them his determination to quit Vienna, and shortly afterwards, M. Godin, first secretary of the embassy, attended by an Austrian corporal, passed on foot through an immense crowd, bearing in his hand a letter for the emperor. When they arrived at the court of the palace, the people appeared to take offence at his national cockade and insolent air, and the crowd began to press upon them on all sides. The corporal then prevailed upon him to take refuge in the guard-house, where the commanding officer entreated him not to think of penetrating to the emperor, as the passages were crowded with people, and undertook himself to announce his business to the officers in waiting. One of these officers, having taken

the emperor's commands, came down and received the letter, and carried it to his Imperial majesty. The contents of this letter were to require, as the conditions upon which general Bernadotte would consent to stay at Vienna. 1st, The dismissal of the minister Thugut.—2dly, The immediate and exemplary punishment of the chief of the police, and of the commanding-officer of the military.—3dly, The establishment of the privileged quarter in the city of Vienna, (already required and refused) for the French militia, and its compatriots. 4thly, That the emperor should repair, at his own expence, the flag and flag-staff, and the picture of the French arms. It is here proper to observe, that the arms of the French republic were over the door of the ambassador, and that the offensive flag was put there in addition to them. It can hardly be necessary to say, that the whole of these demands were peremptorily refused. Upon which Bernadotte quitted Vienna, denouncing vengeance against the Austrians, and threatening to return and punish, upon the spot, the outrage upon the dignity of the great nation.

A small party of gentlemen, from the city, composed of Messrs. John Mellish (of the house of John Gore and Co. of Bishopsgate-street) Mr. W. Bosanquet, of Bishopsgate-street, and Mr. Peter Pole, of Mansfield-street, quitted town on Friday last for Windsor, with a view of taking a few days hunting with his majesty's stag hounds: these gentlemen accompanied the hounds on Saturday. His majesty, understanding they were from the city, directed that a deer of much speed and bottom should be turned out on
Tuesday

Tuesday, for their diversion, at Langley Broom; the deer was turned out about nine o'clock in the morning, and was taken at three in the afternoon, after a run of an unusual distance, between Chertsey and Staines. After the chase had ended, the gentlemen returned to the Castle, at Salt-hill, where Mr. Mellish had left his carriage, from which place the party set off for London immediately after dinner. Post-horses were put to the carriage, and they were proceeding on their way to town; when, about half an hour past eight, and within a quarter of a mile of the Magpies, on Hounslow-heath, they were attacked by three foot-pads, who started out of a hedge, one of whom stood at the heads of the horses, while the others went to the side of the carriage, and, without any previous intimation, instantly fired a pistol, the contents of which passed through the window on the left hand side, through the frame of that on the opposite side; on the widows being put down, the assassins demanded the fire-arms in the chaise; they were informed by the gentlemen there were none; whereupon a second pistol was discharged into the carriage, and their money demanded. Mr. Mellish gave his watch, Mr. Pole, a note-case, containing some bank-notes, and Mr. Bosanquet gave them all the money he had in his pocket. None of them expressed a desire of resistance, but immediately surrendered their property. After the robbers had obtained their booty, and before the carriage was allowed to proceed, a third pistol was discharged from the right-hand side of the carriage, the contents of which entering the window in an oblique direction, and Mr. Mellish being

seated in the corner of the carriage, unfortunately struck him in the forehead. Mr. Pole, who was seated in the opposite corner, received the gun-powder in his face and eyes, where it lodged, and for a short space of time deprived him of his sight: the person who fired this last pistol, after uttering a most horrid oath, directed the boy to drive on; they had not proceeded many yards, when Mr. Bosanquet asked his companions if they had received any injury—to which Mr. Mellish replied, “that he feared he was hit on the head,” and coming up to the light at the Magpies, his face and clothes were perceived to be covered with blood; the ball from the last pistol had entered his forehead about half an inch above the right eye; he was much exhausted from the loss of blood, and was carried up stairs at the Magpies, and laid on a bed. A messenger was dispatched instantly to Hounslow for assistance, and Mr. Frogley, an eminent apothecary and surgeon of that place, in proceeding thither, was stopped and robbed by the same gang. The seat of the wound was too complicated and difficult, perhaps, for Mr. Frogley’s single interference, and he immediately dispatched a messenger to London, who brought down Messrs. Bizard, Jones, and Rush, by whose united aid, however, the situation of the bullet could not be discovered. He made his will, and expired in forty-eight hours.

An account of this melancholy affair was communicated to Sir W. Addington and Mr. Ford, at an early hour on Wednesday morning, who instantly dispatched Townsend, Fugion, Carpmeal, in search of the robbers; and by the accounts given them,

them, they had great hopes of returning to town with the culprits: unfortunately, however, the darkness of the night prevented either the post-boy or the gentlemen in company with Mr. M. from giving an account sufficiently descriptive to enable them to identify the persons of the robbers, who have thereby, for the present, eluded the justice which awaits them. Mr. John Mellish was a married man, and has two children; he long resided in Albermarle-street, and is the brother of Mr. William Mellish, member for Great Grimsby.

11th, *Cork*. The hon. col. King, was this day arraigned and acquitted of the murder of col. Fitzgerald, (particularly related in our vol. for 1797, page 55) as was likewise John Hentney, a person connected with the earl of Kingston's family.— When col. King appeared in court, he was visibly agitated and embarrassed, and seemed to feel, with lively delicacy, the distressed situation in which he was this day placed. The court was considerably crowded. The fact of the murder was not brought home to either of the prisoners.

12th. *Dublin*. A man was seen staggering from the corner of Great George's Street South, just as the patrol guard passed across Dame-street to the corner of Temple-lane, where he fell, and shortly afterwards was found weltering in blood, and quite dead. It was some time before the unhappy man was identified; at length, however, he was recognized to be Mr. Terence Sheel, clerk in the employ of Messrs. M'Auley and Hughes, George's Quay. The body was examined by surgeon Hume on the spot, and it was found that the deceased had

received a stab of some sharp instrument at the back, under the left shoulder, which passed to his heart, of which he died instantly. The body was afterwards brought to the parish watch-house, where a coroner's inquest was held, who found a verdict of wilful murder, against some persons unknown. Yesterday, in consequence of this alarming and melancholy occurrence, a meeting of the parishioners of St. Andrew was summoned, for the purpose of inquiring into the manner of the death of the deceased, and to take the best means of discovering the murderer, and bringing him to condign punishment. Several persons who were present reported many instances of violence which they saw offered by the officer or serjeant of the patrol-guard, which passed at the time the deceased received this mortal wound, but none could speak positively as to the regiment, or who was the officer; but a woman who was brought into the assembly by alderman Exshaw, who, he said, came to give evidence of the whole affair, at which she was present. A committee was then appointed to inquire into what evidence could be brought forward to elucidate the melancholy transaction, and report the same, who were instructed to prepare a memorial to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, or take such other measures as to them should seem most proper, to prevent the continuance of those outrages of the military, which had for some time disgraced and distracted the peace of this parish, and put the inhabitants in terror for their lives. At this period of the proceedings, Mr. Hughes, the employer of the deceased, came in, and reported to the meeting that he had just come from
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lord Fitzroy, the chief in command, who told him that the murderer was identified on the fullest proof; that his name is J. J—, an officer in the Fermanagh militia; that he had been taken under arrest, but escaped from the guard; that orders had been immediately issued to search the packets, and prevent his escape that way; and that it was the determination of government to use every possible means to bring him to justice, which, if he was apprehended, should be done in the most exemplary way. A subscription was then opened, and a sum of 400*l.* subscribed in less than five minutes, for the purposes above-mentioned. The following garrison-order was issued yesterday evening, and we consider it highly honourable to the commanding-officer, and to the army in general, that even the suspicion of individual misconduct has been so promptly and so solemnly treated: — Garrison-orders, April 12, 1798. “A suspicion of an inhuman murder having fallen upon the officer who commanded the Fermanagh patrol on Tuesday night, major-general lord Charles Fitzroy was induced to order him into close arrest till farther inquiry could be made. The officer had, however, absconded before the order could have got to him, by which he has clearly proved the suspicion against him was not ill-founded; and no step will be left untried by the government of the country to bring him to justice, and to the punishment such unfoldier-like behaviour deserves. Though we lament the loss of a fellow-creature, and feel ourselves ashamed of the conduct of a brother officer, let us hope that it may, in some degree, act as a caution to others, and lead us seriously

to reflect upon our situation, and the duties of an officer. True bravery has no connection with wanton cruelty, and if youth is sometimes an excuse for ignorance of duty, it is none for barbarity.”

Sunday evening, between ten and eleven o'clock, as Mr. Greenwood, stock-broker, his wife, and two sons, were returning from London to Kentish-Town, in a hackney-coach, they were stopped by a single highwayman, near the old workhouse, the spot on which once stood the house of judge Jeffries, of notorious memory. The robber was enraged at the coachman for not immediately attending to his first call; he thrust his pistol into the coach, and exclaimed, “Your money instantly, or I'll blow your brains out.” Mr. Greenwood gave him a few guineas. The ruffian said, “D—n your eyes! there's more money amongst you.” Mr. Greenwood's son gave him all the had in his pocket; and he rode off full speed towards London. Croker, and some other Bow-street officers, came up, shortly after the robbery; on the information being given, they returned in the same coach, but were not fortunate enough to meet with the highwayman.

On Tuesday night, about nine o'clock, Mr. Lavender, the principal clerk at Bow-street, attended by a party of peace-officers, went to search a house, No. 19, Great Suffolk-street, Haymarket, against which an information had been laid for gaming, but which cost them near an hour's siege before they could effect an entrance, two very stout doors, strongly bolted and barred, obstructing their way in the passage; which circumstance gave all the gamesters, except one, an opportunity

opportunity of escaping, and the unfortunate disciple of chance, getting over to the yard of an adjoining house, was discovered and secured. His companions made good their retreat, by a subterraneous passage, through a long range of cellars, communicating with each other, and terminating at a house in Hedge-lane, from whence their leader, having the keys of every door, conducted them safe into the street; so that they were out of danger long before the officers could have got in. A *Ronge et Noir* table, with its appendages, was brought away, and produced before the magistrate, who, judging that and the other circumstances sufficient evidence of its being a gaming-house, committed the porter for trial accordingly, and bound the other person over as a witness.

The honourable artillery-company, by an order from the secretary of state, were under arms the whole of Saturday and last night, and patrolled different parts of the New River, to guard against the mischievous intentions of disaffected persons. A division from the Tower Hamlets, kept guard over the water of Hackney, and a party of the military were also set over the works at London Bridge. It is reported that the 21st of next month was the day appointed by the conspirators to set fire to the principal towns in England.

Last night, at half past nine o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Hill's, upholsterer and cabinet-maker, opposite York-house, Piccadilly, which consumed the whole of the premises and the back warehouses adjoining; a party of horse, and a serjeant's guard, attended to keep off the populace; the gates of

York-house were thrown open, for the reception of the furniture of the unfortunate sufferers, and every assistance was likewise given by the servants of the duke of Portland: at twelve o'clock it was so far got under that no farther apprehension was entertained of its extending to Jermyn-street.

Some experiments have been lately made in the neighbourhood of Bristol, under the immediate inspection of one of the members of the Bath agricultural society, with respect to the culture of madder; the result of which is, that madder may be produced in large quantities in England, and sold to the dyers at a cheaper rate than that imported, being of a quality equal to that grown in Zealand.

On the 12th inst. a chimney took fire in the town of Tipperary, in Ireland, the sparks from which were communicated by a strong southerly wind to a number of thatched houses, and in a little more than an hour about 120 dwellings, and a number of stables and stores, in which were a vast quantity of malt and barley, were consumed. Such was the rapidity and violence of the flames, that the inhabitants were scarce able to save any thing; their furniture, clothes, and provisions, being destroyed in a very short space of time. Above seven hundred persons, many of whom were industrious tradespeople, are thus, from a comfortable situation, reduced to the lowest degree of human wretchedness.

Peter Perchard, esq. was elected alderman of Candlewick-ward, in the room of Thomas Wright, esq. deceased.

17th. *Cork*. The trial of John Haye and Timothy Hickey, for the murder

murder of colonel St. George and Jasper Uniacke, esq. came on, at our assizes, on Saturday morning. The first witness was the unfortunate Mrs. Uniacke; she scarce was on the table when she fainted, and became totally insensible; during her examination, she repeatedly swooned away, in wading through the horrid detail of her husband's murder, and her own sufferings. She swore, that, on the night on which the banditti had attacked her husband's house, she was sitting in her parlour, her boy with her, and a child at her breast; that her husband had attended colonel St. George to his room, to see that he had a night-cap and every thing convenient for his rest; that, whilst they were talking above stairs, the door was pushed in; that a man came, brandishing a pistol, followed by many others; that, not finding the gentlemen in the parlour, they took the candle, and proceeded to the room; that they seized Mr. Uniacke, drew him down stairs, stunned him with several blows; that, when they brought him into the parlour, she threw herself, with her infant-child, on his body, and intreated them to spare the best of fathers and of husbands; that she then received a stroke of a pistol on the side of her head, which covered her with blood; that two wretches seized her husband by the legs, whilst four of them stabbed him in various parts; that, during this time, others of the party had been engaged with colonel St. George, and had dragged down his mangled body, and threw it upon her and her infant, as they lay stretched on the dead body of her beloved husband; that she crawled to her room with her child, and

endeavoured to prevail on a terrified servant-maid to go down and look after her master, having brought herself to believe that he might still be alive; that, having, with difficulty, succeeded with the maid, she went down, and confirmed her in the death of her husband and his friend. When Mr. Quin, the counsel for the crown, requested her to turn round, and see whether she could identify those persons, a most afflicting scene of horror took place: Mrs. Uniacke had not seen the wretches since the time she had identified them, and then but for a moment; a cold tremour instantly seized her, she turned pale, and fainted; when recovered a little from her depression, she made repeated efforts to turn round; the fear of seeing them counteracted every effort—"Will they hurt me?" she exclaimed; the court assured her not. It was the pure impulse of nature; it spoke home to every heart. When she was turned round, the start of horror which she gave was inconceivable; her look was wild—she gazed at them for a moment; then, recovering a greater degree of apparent strength and composure, she started suddenly from the chair, and exclaimed, "O! then, I will point them out.—That is the man who murdered my dear husband; this is the man who nearly murdered me." She sunk into her chair, and moaned piteously: indeed the whole of her examination gave the attentive spectator an unequalled opportunity of tracing the operation of the two most powerful passions: grief and terror. Master Uniacke's evidence was not material. The prisoners attempted an *alibi*; suffice it to say, their story was discredited by an honourable jury.

jury. The two were found guilty, and sent off for execution to the place at which the murder was committed.

Patrick Haynes was, on Monday afternoon, capitally convicted of being concerned in the murder of colonel St. George and Jasper Uniacke, esq. and sentenced to be hanged on Wednesday.

19th. Robert Reeves, the stock-broker, who was tried and found guilty, last January sessions, of forging scrip-receipts, but whose judgement had been respited, on account of a defect in the indictment, was again indicted, and tried for an offence precisely similar, with intent to defraud a Mr. Parry, and on which indictment he was now convicted.

21st. David Wilkinson was indicted, at the Old Bailey, for forging and counterfeiting, and uttering, knowing the same to be forged, a certain bill of exchange for the sum of 273*l.* 6*s.* purporting to have been accepted by Messrs. Favell, Bousfield, and Co. with intent to defraud the bank of England: the second count laid the intention to defraud Messrs. Favell and Co. The prisoner, in his defence, entered into a very long detail of circumstances respecting the bill in question, the drift of a great part of which went to throw the blame upon Adamson, a fellow-prisoner, indicted for a similar offence. He dwelt on the practice, among commercial men, of drawing bills reciprocally in favour of each, for mutual accommodation, as it was a rule of the bank not to discount beyond a certain amount, for one individual; that he was persuaded by Adamson to act as he had done, &c. He urged, that he had made ample discovery upon his apprehension, and concluded by an appeal to the

compassion of the court, saying that he had a wife and five children. Several witnesses were brought forward, in the view to establish the points asserted in the prisoner's defence; but in this, in the opinion of the court, they totally failed, the inclination of evidence seeming to be, if either way, rather to the advantage of Adamson. Several respectable witnesses gave the prisoner an excellent character. The jury retired for better than half an hour, when they pronounced a verdict of guilty—death. Mr. Wilkinson is a respectable good-looking man, about forty. His deportment, during the whole of his trial, was such as manifested the utmost fortitude. The questions put by him to the witnesses were judicious. During the interval, when the jury were consulting, he expressed no anxiety. He heard the verdict with firmness, and retired with apparent composure.

Joseph Adamson (above-mentioned) was charged with forging and uttering the same, knowing it to be forged, a certain bill of exchange for the sum of 490*l.* purporting to have been accepted by Messrs. Bowles, Beachcroft, and Co. bankers, and drawn by Messrs. Stephenson and Co. with intent to defraud the bank of England, and the said Messrs. Beachcroft, and Co. &c. In his defence, the prisoner said, that, he would not have troubled the court with one word, but have silently relied upon its strict and merciful administration of justice, were it not that he understood that Wilkinson endeavoured to impute to him the whole blame of transactions of which Wilkinson himself was solely guilty. He solemnly declared that he acted in consequence of the influence of Wilkinson in

the whole affair. If he had done wrong, it was intirely through ignorance. Mr. justice Buller said, he was inclined to think that there might be some truth in what the prisoner said. It appeared, that, at the time he had entered into those practices with Wilkinson, he bore a very good character; but this did not weigh a feather in the question which the jury had to determine. The case was so clear, besides the offence being acknowledged by the prisoner, that he would not trouble them with repeating a word of the evidence; but the circumstances of extenuation, although they could not influence a verdict, would nevertheless have due weight in that quarter which was the fountain of mercy, and might possibly obtain some remission of his punishment. The jury found the prisoner guilty, but strongly recommended him to mercy, which the court seemed to approve. Adamson's conduct, on the trial, was the reverse of Wilkinson's: he appeared extremely ill and dejected.

The earl of Bristol, who is bishop of Derry, in Ireland, is stated, in the last Paris papers, to have been lately arrested at Tedo, a post town between Ferrara and Bologna, on suspicion of being a spy. The circumstances attending his arrest are thus related in a letter from Ferrara, dated the 2d inst. "His lordship stopped at Tedo, on pretence of sickness, where he became suspected. Citizen Rousselet, commandant at Bologna, gave information to general Guieu, who ordered him to pay the bishop a visit, for the purpose of reconnoitring him. He accordingly went, attended by twelve chasseurs, and found in the apartments of his lordship two large

portmanteaus, filled with various papers, reflections upon the French nation, its government and principal defenders; a correspondence with emigrants; a plan of the campaign in Italy; an exact account of our forces in the Adriatic and the islands in the Levant: a plan of an invasion of Mexico, by the emigrants; the restoration of the French monarchy; and a proclamation on this subject. This spy has been conducted to Ferrara, and is going to be tried by a council of war."

The subjects for the bachelors prizes at Cambridge this year are for the seniors, *Utrum Troja unquam extiterit*; for the middle bachelors, *Utrum, gloriæ cupido plus, boni quam mali, hominibus attulerit*. One prize of a former year not having been determined, there will be five prizes given this year, should they be merited.

An experiment was tried on South-Sea Common, near Portsmouth, of a new invention for firing chain shot at the masts of ships, which were represented by three poles stuck in the ground. The shot were fired from two guns, placed at the distance of thirteen feet asunder, and discharged at the same instant, by means of a line fixed to the locks of both guns; the shot were linked together by a chain eighteen feet in length; so that, when the cannon were loaded, the *bate*, or surplus of the chain, remained suspended. Another experiment was also tried for throwing a line on shore, by means of a shot fired from a gun on board a ship, supposed to be stranded, for the preservation of the crew. They both answered the expectation of the inventor, who is a brazier, at Portsmouth, and are said to be much approved of.

24th. *Rome.* The private library of the pope, rich in books of the fifteenth century, has been bought by a bookseller, for 36,000 piastres. A considerable treasure of gold and jewels is said to have been found in it. The French commissary, Roessner, a Silesian by birth, has bought the celebrated Raphael's tapestry for 30,000 piastres. Piranesi, the former Swedish minister here, has resigned a pension of 600 schudi, granted him by the king of Sweden. On the 29th, all the ex-nobility, who are entitled to wear the badges of any public order, will repair to the capital, and commit their *insignia* to the flames.

26th. *DIED.* At Paris, after only six days illness, Mancini Nivernois, *ci-devant* duc de Nivernois; born December 16, 1716, and formerly ambassador to the court of Great Britain. He retained his pleasant and amiable temper until his last hour, and, the very day he died, made verses on his physician. He arrived in London, in September, 1763, as ambassador from France, to treat of peace; and, when he appeared on the Royal Exchange, was attended by an amazing crowd, which he took as a compliment. The first night of his arrival in England he slept at Canterbury, where his bill, for twelve persons, amounted to near 45*l.* and the wine to 11*s.* a bottle; for which extortion the innkeeper was deservedly reprobated by all his customers. His excellency, having executed his commission, returned to Paris in May following, with his majesty's picture set with diamonds. The duke was fond of literature; and, besides collecting many valuable books in this country, translated into French lord Orford's "Essay on

Gardening," and wrote a panegyric on captain Cook. These and his other miscellaneous works (*Oeuvres Mêlées du Citoyen Mancini Nivernois*) were printed at Paris, in 1797, in 4 vol. 8vo.

Aged eighty-four, at his house, in the neighbourhood of Kentish-town, where he had resided more than forty years, John Little, esq. bachelor. The narrative of his life exemplifies the little utility of money, when in possession of such a man. A few days prior to his demise, the physician, who attended, observed how highly necessary it was that he should occasionally drink a glass of wine. After much persuasion, he was induced to comply; yet, by no means would entrust even his house-keeper with the key of the cellar; but insisted on being carried down to the door, which, on being opened, he, in person, delivered out one bottle of wine; when, it is supposed, being removed from a warm bed into a dark humid vault, he was seized with a shivering fit, which terminated in an apoplectic stroke, and occasioned his death. So great was his antipathy to the marriage-state, that he discarded his brother, the only relative he had, for not continuing, like himself, in a state of celibacy. On his effects being examined, it appeared, that he had 25,000*l.* in the different tentines, 11,000*l.* in the four per cents, and 2,000*l.* in landed property; one hundred and seventy-three pairs of breeches; and a numerous collection of other articles of wearing-apparel were found in a room which had not been opened for fourteen years; one hundred and eighty wigs were found in the coach-house, which had been bequeathed to him, with other things,

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by different relations, whom he survived, and to which the offending brother becomes entitled.

Of a decline, aged thirty-one, Mr. Jenkins, the bank-clerk, so remarkable for his height. He was buried, very early in the morning, by permission of the governors of the bank, in the ground within-side that building, which was formerly the burial-ground of St. Christopher's church. The outer coffin measured more than eight feet in length. Upwards of two hundred guineas had been offered for his corpse by some surgeons.

MAY.

13th. Sir Sidney Smith arrived in town, having made his escape from his two years confinement in France. The following is the account he gives of his emancipation:

That he was taken in open day from the Temple, escorted by a troop of horse; and, after passing through several larger streets, the carriage in which he was conveyed, was stopped, by a crowd, in a very narrow one, where a great degree of confusion prevailed, from an affray among a number of women; one of whom had thrown herself on the carriage from a two-pair of stairs window. During the tumult occasioned by this accident, a man came out of the house from which the woman had thrown herself, and, opening the coach-door in which Sir S. Smith was seated, called on him to follow him; saying, that, he should be soon out of all danger, as there was a post-chaise in waiting to convey him to the coast. Sir Sidney at first hesitated to accept the offer; but,

perceiving the earnestness and resolution which accompanied it, he at length consented. He then entered the post-chaise, which was in readiness, agreeably to promise, set out upon his journey, and found horses and drivers awaiting him at the different stages till he arrived at Havre.

Sir Sidney's perfect knowledge of the French language, and his unembarrassed behaviour, secured them from suspicion, and facilitated their escape. At length they reached the coast, which the emigrant was well acquainted with. In a small creek, they found an open boat, with oars, into which they instantly jumped, and put to sea, without loss of time. After tugging and rowing till they were almost worn out, the *Argo* frigate, captain Bowen, hove in sight, to whom they made the best signals in their power, and, happily, they were taken up, and safely landed at Portsmouth; from which place they immediately set off for town. On their arrival at the admiralty, an express was sent off to earl Spencer, at Wimbledon, who came to town immediately. His lordship warmly congratulated Sir Sidney on his escape, and invited him to dine with him; previous to which, the enterprising knight paid a visit to the prince of Wales and the duke of York.

Sir Sidney Smith was in confinement upwards of two years. He was taken prisoner on Monday, the 18th of April, 1796, and effected his escape on or about the 1st instant.

On Sunday night, a most barbarous murder was committed, in Drury-lane, by some man unknown, on the body of — Watts, a journey-

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man-tailor, who, it appears, was passing by the end of Princes-court, about twelve o'clock, when he was assaulted by a man, who stabbed him in three different parts of the body, and then, throwing away the weapon, which was a large dagger, ran down the court, where he was stopped by a young man, who heard the scuffle, but from whom the murderer escaped, by tearing away the part of his coat by which he was held. The dagger was picked up by a watchman. The deceased received two large wounds on the right breast, and one in the side, and which caused instant death.

Monday morning last, D. Anker, esq. a gentleman connected in an eminent mercantile house, at Christianstadt, in Norway, put a period to his earthly existence, at his lodgings, on the North-parade, Bath, by discharging a pistol through his temple, while in bed. It was supposed this dreadful act originated from having lost more money at play than was convenient immediately to settle; but we are happy to hear that idea was removed, by the money and effects found in his possession. It is said, that, since the death of a beloved wife (about two years and a half ago), he has been, at times, in a very uncertain state of intellect. Coroner's verdict—lunacy.

18th. After an absence of many years, Mr. Smith, last night, resumed his favourite character of Charles, in the School for Scandal, for the benefit of his friend Mr. King. That ease, grace, and elegance of deportment, which so long distinguished Mr. Smith in this character, and which have never since been supplied, not only gratified his old admirers, but furnished a treat

which those who had never before seen him had never experienced. At the close of the piece, an apology was delivered by Mr. Smith, for his now attempting the character, but the applause of the audience, throughout the whole piece, rendered this unnecessary.

On Saturday, ten prisoners were tried at the Old Bailey, five of whom were convicted of felony, viz. Maria Jennings, for stealing four half-guineas, and two guineas, the property of Thomas Hopkins; Mary Allen, for stealing a water-pot, value two shillings, the property of John Hinde; Hannah Clarke, for stealing a sheet and other articles, the property of Ann Dawson; Elizabeth Abigail, for stealing a man's shirt, the property of Winifrid Maddison; Mary Cattle, for stealing a piece of beef, the property of Joseph Fisher: and five were acquitted, viz. Sarah Kirk, John Robinson, John Wilde, Mary Purkin, and Joseph Hutchins.

The same day, sentence was passed, when Richard Phillips, Nicholas Vargin, and Sarah Holloway, received judgement of death. Thirteen were ordered to be transported, beyond the seas, for the term of seven years; six were ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate; nine were ordered to be imprisoned in the house of correction at Clerkenwell; four to be publicly whipped, four to be privately whipped, and one to be fined a shilling and discharged.

The deputy-lieutenants of the county of Northumberland lately held a meeting, and passed resolutions, purporting "that it was expedient and proper, in the present critical times, that lords lieutenants should reside in the counties they represented; that if the lord-lieutenant

nant of Northumberland could not take an active part, on account of his health, he ought to apply to the king to have the lieutenantcy put in commission." These resolutions were forwarded to the duke of Portland, and to his grace of Northumberland, who thereupon resigned.

20th. Tuesday, admiral lord Duncan waited upon the chamberlain, at one o'clock, and was made free of the city, and received a sword richly ornamented with diamonds, voted to him by the courts of aldermen and common-council, as a testimony of their sense of the important services he rendered to his country, by gloriously defeating the Dutch fleet on the 11th of October, 1797.

The ship-owners of the borough of Campbeltown, in Argyleshire, have given a most laudable proof of their public spirit, by a tender of all their vessels, amounting to about 3000 tons, to government, to be employed in such services as the exigencies of the country may require.

As the hon. colonel. Finch was, on Friday morning exercising some companies of the guards, on Barhamdowns, preparatory to their being reviewed on the following day by sir Charles Grey and prince William of Gloucester, standing in the centre of the line, giving the word of command, he was dangerously wounded in the left groin, a little below the hip bone, by some combustible matter fired from a musket, and which could not be extracted. The troops were all firing, but by whom the wound was inflicted has not been discovered; from the direction, however, some person in captain Fitzroy's company is suspected. The ball has since been extracted, and the colonel recovered of the wound.

Maidstone. May 21. This morning, at seven, the judges met, pursuant to adjournment, to proceed to the trial of the prisoners indicted for high treason. The persons summoned as jurors were called. The crown challenged 25, and the prisoners the full number allowed by law. Three hours and a half elapsed before the jury were chosen; and a considerable part of this time was taken up in challenging persons *with cause*, and producing evidence to shew that they had used expressions of warmth against the prisoners. Some of these challenges were admitted, and others refused. Mr. Abbott opened the case on the part of the crown; and the attorney-general detailed the whole of the circumstances, stating the tenor of the paper, purporting to be an address to the directory of France, together with several letters of a treasonable tendency. He entered into a minute history of the conduct of the prisoners, from Feb. 27, till the time of their apprehension, in order to shew their design was to get to France. On the next day, the court being met, Mr. Plomer, as leading council for Mr. O'Connor and O'Coigley, opened the defence in an able speech, which took up four hours and a half in delivery. The examination of the witnesses being ended, and Mr. justice Buller having delivered the charge; the jury, after a consultation of forty minutes, returned the following verdict: James O'Coigley, guilty; Arthur O'Conner, not guilty; John Binns, not guilty; John Allen, not guilty; Jeremiah Leary, not guilty. After the jury had given in their verdict, Mr. justice Buller, in his address to O'Coigley, which he read from a written paper previous to his

his passing sentence, observed, that he had been clearly convicted of the most atrocious crime that could be committed in any country; that of meditating the destruction of a sovereign, who was one of the best, the most just, upright, and amiable of princes that ever graced a throne; and he could not conceive what were the motives that could actuate any man to wish for the death of such a person. The prisoner was also found guilty of conspiring to overturn the constitution of these kingdoms; a constitution which, from the experience of years, had been found to be the best calculated of any that ever existed in the world, to secure the liberty, security, and happiness of the people who lived under it. These atrocious crimes became still greater from the manner in which they had been intended to be perpetrated; that of inviting a foreign enemy to come and invade, and conquer these countries. Those people, who had thought such an event a desirable one, ought to think seriously what the consequences of it would be, provided it was possible to be accomplished. Did they suppose that (desperate as their present situation might be) their condition would be bettered by having their country put into the possession of people who were holding out the delusive hopes of what they called liberty to other nations? Could such persons hope that they themselves should enjoy liberty, even supposing the conquerors to have enjoyed as free a constitution as any in the world? No! they would become suspected, be despised, and ultimately destroyed by them. A celebrated writer (Montesquieu) very justly observed, upon this subject, that a

country conquered by a democratic nation always enjoyed less liberty, was more miserable, and more enslaved, than if that country happened to have been conquered by a nation whose government was monarchical. But, if there was any illustration of this observation wanting, one had only to look to the conduct of the French at this moment towards Holland, Italy, Switzerland, and every other country they had conquered. His lordship believed that the prisoner might have been actuated by motives similar to those which used formerly to induce many people to think that the killing of men of a different religion would give them a claim to canonization. But, though the motives might be similar, the subjects connected with them were very different. In the present times, he did not believe that any person entertained such sentiments about religion. On the contrary, he was sorry to find that religion was too much neglected, and that the peace and tranquillity of numbers of people were destroyed, in consequence of having lost all belief in a Providence, and abandoned all hopes of a future state. He was afraid that the prisoner had been afflicted with this infidelity; and, if he was, he (the judge) prayed that the almighty God, in his infinite mercy and goodness, would change his heart, and cause him to repent of his sins. His lordship then, in a solemn and awful manner, passed the sentence on the prisoner, who had listened attentively to the above address; and, after it was concluded, bowed respectfully to the court. He did not appear to be at all agitated, but, on the contrary, firm and serene.

23d. Soon after four o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of Mrs. Bull, in Gerrard-street, St. Anns, adjoining the Westminster general penny-post-office. The servant girl did not awake till it was too late to make her escape down the stairs; and, endeavouring to make her escape out of the two pair of stairs room, she fell into the street, and was so much hurt, that she expired in the course of yesterday. Mr. Crozer, a copper-plate engraver, who occupied the house adjoining Mrs. B. on the west side, on being alarmed, ran into his two pair of stairs room to save a very valuable plate; where, in a short time after he was found lifeless on the floor, suffocated by the smok. Several experiments were tried in the course of the day, by some medical gentlemen, to restore life, but in vain.

The following article, which we translate from a foreign journal, records an instance of gratitude no less honourable to those by whom it was performed, than to the person who is the object of it:

"The undersigned artists, to the number of 343 French, Flemish, Savoyard, Roman, Neapolitan, Venetian, Tyrolese, Russian, German, English, Irish, Scots, &c. to citizen Haller, administrator of the finances of the army of Italy.

"Citizen administrator. Among the effects belonging to the English at Rome, upon which seals have been put, are different subjects of art, collected by the bishop of Derry, lord Bristol. The artists, who are at Rome, conceive that they may venture to represent that this generous Irishman, having for forty years spent the greatest part of his income in employing artists of all nations, may be considered as a va-

luable and useful character to the fine arts, which the French republic protects.

"The pictures and statues which he has purchased, during this period, form a collection of the most choice works of the first painters and sculptors of our time; *unique* in its kind, and worthy of being preserved entire. But a more direct motive, citizen administrator, ought to induce you to reinstate lord Bristol in the possession of these effects; and this is, that these articles are the works, by means of which a number of the best artists, many of whom are French and republicans, have been enabled to subsist during years of war little favourable to the fine arts.

"The important benefits which have been lavished upon the artists of all nations, indifferently, by a generous and impartial patron, induce them to present this petition, and the protection which the French government and the French armies bestow upon the fine arts encourages them to hope that it will be attended with effect."

It does not appear that this liberal and proper petition has been successful. The scandalous plunder in which the officers of rank indulged, when the army was under the command of Massina, may, however, be repaired by his successor general St. Cyr. Perhaps, then, this very fair and reasonable application may have its due weight.

As a sprit-sail vessel, laden with hay, was coming up the river, by some mismanagement, in not letting down the sail, she drove with great velocity against London-bridge. The mast struck the ballustrades over the centre arch, and broke them away to the space of near ten feet. Two men and a boy, who were

were standing at the time looking through, were fired into the highway, and several of the stones fell on them. They were immediately taken to St. Thomas's Hospital. The boy having his thigh broken, and his skull fractured, died soon after; the others, it is thought, cannot recover.

25th. A board of privy council was held at St. James's. Mr. Falkener, as clerk of the council, laid the book, containing the list of privy councillors, before his majesty, in obedience to his commands; when the king drew his pen across the name of the right honourable Charles James Fox, and returned the book to Mr. Falkener.

It is difficult to imagine a fete more brilliant and more magnificent than that which was celebrated at Rome on the occasion of their federation with France. The place of St. Peter represented a field of battle, and at the same time a superb amphitheatre; above fifty pieces of cannon were mounted on their carriages, and thirty thousand men, French and Romans, were drawn forth in array; three hundred instruments of music, and about six hundred vocal performers combined their talents in a concert of hymns and songs sacred to liberty. There was erected on the bridge of St. Angelo an immense triumphal arch, under which general Dallmagne and all the French troops passed. The centre of the place was occupied by a groupe of statues representing France, Liberty, and Rome; before which was erected the altar, upon which they were to take the sacred oath of liberty or death; the whole of this was placed upon a theatre, or stage, ascending by steps, and it was ornamented with festoons and trophies. Just under the great obelisk

five trees of liberty were planted, of an extraordinary height, ornamented in an elegant manner, and towering their proud tops to the clouds, and on each side two fountains poured forth their waters in abundance. All the grand portico, three stories high, which surrounds the place, was ornamented with garlands, emblems and allegorical pictures, while above 200,000 spectators, Roman, French, and foreigners, assisted in the spectacle. After the solemnity, in the grand place, there was a dinner of 700 covers, and a general illumination and fire-works concluded the day.

The meeting of the whig-club, at Freemason's Tavern, the 20th inst. was remarkable, on account of Mr. Fox's avowal of some bold and extraordinary sentiments; who said,

"I'll give you a toast, than which I think there cannot be a better, according to the principles of this club; I mean the sovereignty of the people of Great Britain."

He then, in a speech fully declaratory of his sentiments in these critical times, condemned ministers, in the most pointed manner, for the measures adopted in Ireland, and which measures they certainly intended should soon be enforced in England. Mr. Fox, however, said, that he would be one of the first to aid in repelling any foreign enemy, under whatever government England might be. He compared the ministry with the directory of France; affirmed that he was resolved upon retirement; but that he would be happy to come forward whenever the country demanded his services. He entertained no apprehensions of an invasion; and was fully persuaded, that should the enemy be rash enough to land even with a formidable force, that the

the spirit of the people would soon rout them, and destroy the invaders.

About twelve o'clock at noon, one of the battle powder-mills, belonging to Mr. Harvey, and a drying-house and store-room nearly adjoining, were, by some unknown accidental communication of fire, blown up, with two tremendous explosions, and totally destroyed. Three men, employed in the mill, were forced into the air with the works, and one of them, an elderly man, rent to atoms, different parts of his limbs having been picked up at considerable distances from each other; the other two fell, sadly lacerated, into an adjacent piece of water, out of which they were both taken alive, but in no situation to give the least account of the accident. They both died without apparent agony. By the above violent explosions the house of Mr. Harvey was considerably damaged, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood thrown into very great alarm. The trees near the spot were totally stripped of their infant foliage and blossoms, and a horrid scene of devastation presented itself to the view of the beholder.

Yesterday morning, about four o'clock, two boys were found dead on a brick-kiln, in the field adjoining the duke of Bedford's private road, where they had laid themselves down to sleep the preceding night. Two other boys, who also went to sleep on the kiln, very narrowly escaped the same fate; being so extremely ill when discovered as to be obliged to be taken to the hospital.

The duke of Northumberland has given instructions to the bailiffs of his different manors to lay proposals before his tenantry and their labourers for forming armed corps

of infantry and cavalry, to be under the immediate command of his grace, who proposes to furnish clothing and horse furniture at his own expence, and pay one shilling per day to those who choose to accept it, for each time of exercise.

Dublin, May 31. On certain information, major Sirr, captain Ryan, and Mr. justice Swan, proceeded, on Saturday evening, to the house of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers, in Thomas-street, near St. James's gate. They were attended by a serjeant's guard only. Major Sirr waited behind to station the guards, so as to cut off the possibility of the prisoner's retreat. Mr. Swan first went up, and coming to the apartment, entered. Lord Edward was in bed. Mr. Swan told him, that he was sorry to be obliged to see him on such an occasion—that, however, he must do his duty as a magistrate, and that, on his submitting, he would treat him with every possible indulgence. Lord Edward, then immediately turning in the bed, drew a pistol, which he discharged without effect. At this time no one was in the room but lord Edward and Mr. Swan. His lordship, on finding his pistol had not told, assailed Mr. Swan with a dagger, and ran him through the body, above the shoulder blade. At this instant, captain Ryan entered the room, when lord Edward disengaged himself, and made at him with such determined fury, that with one cut he opened his belly to such a degree, that his bowels fell out. So little time passed, that major Sirr had no other alarm than the shot, and when he rushed up stairs, he found lord Edward and justice Swan struggling for the dagger—both their hands cut. Captain Ryan
was

was in a dying condition—Mr. Swan was exhausted with loss of blood—and the desperate young man making another effort, the major in his own defence fired on him, and wounded him in the shoulder. He was then easily overpowered, and conveyed to the Castle, where he underwent an examination, and from thence to Newgate. It appears that the unfortunate young nobleman, although proclaimed, had made a practice of going out at night in disguise, and to sleep during the day. He was traced by orders issued not many hours before to the societies of united Irishmen. The weapon, with which Lord Edward Fitzgerald did so much mischief, is of a curious construction. A more bloody instrument was never forged. In the middle is a handle, with a blade right and left, which cuts and thrusts—of course cuts whether drawn to the right or left. It is scarcely possible to disarm a man of such a weapon, without depriving him of life. Lord Edward, when brought to the Castle, affected the politeness of a courtier, and declared he was sorry for what wounds he had inflicted. When conveyed to Newgate, he appeared to be entirely dispirited, his voice faltered, his complexion was deadly pale, and his eyes apparently fixed.

Murphy, the owner of the house Lord Edward lodged in, was conveyed to Newgate, along with his lordship.

Daniel Frederick Ryan, esq. died on Wednesday the 23d.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald died on Tuesday, the 5th of June: The following is the verdict of the coroner's jury, summoned to hold an inquest on his body: "We are of opinion that the deceased came by his death by an effusion of water in

the left side of the thorax, and inflammation of the lungs of that side, occasioned, as appeared to us upon the testimony of four eminent surgeons, by fever brought on by great anxiety of mind, aided by two wounds inflicted on the right arm by two pistol balls found lodged over the scapula of that side."

The following manifesto was to have been dispersed through Ireland, which was found in the pocket of counsellor Sheares, who, with his brother (the sons of a banker at Cork) are now in irons, and in whose hand-writing the manifesto is drawn up.

"Friends and Countrymen,

"Repair to the flag of liberty that is now flying—many of your tyrants have already bled—many more will shortly bleed, by the decree of the revolutionary tribunal, which will immediately be established. Seize this opportunity of rescuing the country—it is the only one you will ever have."

In consequence of some expressions made use of by Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons, on Friday last, Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Rider, and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by Mr. George Walpole, met at three o'clock, yesterday afternoon, on Putney-heath.

After some ineffectual attempts, on the part of the seconds, to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired, at the same moment, without effect; a second case was also fired in the same manner; Mr. Pitt firing his pistol in the air, the seconds then jointly interfered, and insisted that the matter should go no farther, it being their decided opinion, that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business

ness was ended with perfect honour to both parties.

24th. Yesterday morning were executed, in the front of Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, Peter Deklerck, a Dutch skipper, convicted of issuing a forged note of the bank of England; and Thomas Hunter, alias Kavanna, convicted of a burglary in the house of the Miss Eliotts, in Queen Anne-street, East. No execution has taken place, for years, that has more powerfully interested the feelings of the public, than that of the unfortunate stranger, the Dutch captain; whose deportment strengthened and confirmed the high character for integrity which he obtained from all who knew him. He declared his innocence of the crime to the last moment, and the unaffected firmness with which he met his fate, impressed every hearer with the truth of his solemn declaration. Being a Roman Catholic, he was attended by the reverend Charles Juliaens, a respectable German chaplain, and one of the chaplains of the Sardinian ambassador, whose attentions and consolations he received with pious gratitude. This simple-hearted man could not speak English, and he could neither read nor write: he received the bank note, for which he suffered, together with one more, at Dunkirk, with which he was commissioned to buy goods; he shewed them to his factor, to learn whether they were good; and receiving his assurance, that they were, he went to a shop to buy boots, and waited an hour and a half, until inquiry was made whether the note, which he offered, was good. These things were all forcibly stated at the secretary of state's office, by several gentlemen

of the first character in the city; but there having been some contradictions in his defence on the trial, and the directors of the bank not having interposed, the duke of Portland did not think himself justified to lay the case before his majesty. He stated himself to have been married for thirty-six years, and that he had six children, and five grand children alive, besides a child whom he had adopted. The body was taken away by his mourning friends in a hearse. We never witnessed a more general sentiment of a sufferer's innocence than was manifested by the surrounding crowd.

A most ingenious, useful, yet simple, combination of machinery, for the purposes of regulating the conveyance of waggons, laden with coal, down an inclined plane, from Benwell colliery, on the north side of the Tyne, to the staith at the border of the river, and for bringing up the waggons, when unloaded, by the same power that resisted its projectile impetus in the descent, has lately been perfected, and no doubt can now be entertained of its effective operation. The length of the railway, on which the wagon runs, is eight hundred and sixty-four yards, which distance it descends in two minutes and a half, and ascends it in the same space of time; so that the loaden wagon can be let down with ease and safety, the coal discharged, and the empty wagon returned to the pit within seven minutes.

A handsome monument, to the late king of Poland, has been erected, at Petersburg, with the following inscription in Latin:

To the memory of Stanislaus Augustus, king of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, an eminent example
of

of adverse fortune. He was temperate in prosperity, and bore adversity with fortitude. Out of friendship to the deceased, Paul I. emperor of all the Russias, erected this monument.

DIED. At his house in Canonbury-row, Islington, the rev. John Williams, LL.D. above forty years an useful minister among the dissenters at Sydenham, and well known by several literary works. "An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the first and second Chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel;" intended to disprove their authenticity. "Thoughts on Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles." "A Concordance to the Greek Testament," 4to. Some single sermons; one for the charity-school, 1771; and "An Enquiry and Observation respecting the Discovery of America." He engaged in controversy with Dr. William Bell, the celebrated prebendary of Westminster.

JUNE.

7th. Maidstone. Mr. O'Coigley having been informed, between four and five o'clock yesterday afternoon, that he was to die this day, received the information without the least surprise, or apparent emotion. He spent the evening comfortably. This morning he was visited by a gentleman, whom he told that he had been very kindly treated by Mr. Watson, the keeper of the prison, who was more affected, Mr. Coigley said, than himself, when he announced to him the death warrant. Being asked if he had any communications to make to his friends, he said he had not; for every arrangement he desired had been already made. He

had but one thing upon his mind that created any anxiety, and that was from an apprehension that he might be misrepresented after his death: that he had been grieved to hear that a speech had, some days ago, been cried about as his dying speech. He was anxious to be faithfully reported, and that was all he wished. At a quarter after eleven, he was brought out of prison, placed upon a hurdle, drawn by two horses, preceded by the sheriff's men, and escorted by a company of about two hundred of the Maidstone volunteers. The procession moved slowly to the place of execution, on Penenden-Heath, about a mile from the town. When arrived at the place of execution, he exchanged a few words with the Catholic priest who attended him, and read his prayers from a Roman Catholic prayer-book in Latin, which he performed with great fluency and ease; after which he sang a verse in the Psalms, in English. He then took out an orange, and desired a gentleman who was near him to cut it:—"I will thank you, sir," said he, "to cut this orange for me; here, take my knife (pulling out a pen-knife); it was said, they were afraid to trust me with a knife, because I wished to cut my throat; but I would not deprive myself of the glory of dying in this manner." He then turned round to the keeper of the prison, and said, "God bless you, Mr. Watson, you have been very kind and civil to me." He then ascended the scaffold, and, being tied to the gallows, made a very inflammatory speech, in which he protested his innocence, and reflected on the jury by whom he was tried, and the witnesses who appeared against him. The speech was of considerable length, and he delivered

delivered it in a stedfast and impressive manner.

The board was then dropped, as at Newgate, and he remained suspended for twelve or thirteen minutes; he was then taken down, the head taken off by a surgeon, and the executioner held up the head to the populace, saying, "this is the head of a traitor." Both head and body were then put into a shell, and buried at the foot of the gallows.

From the London Gazette.

Downing-street.

9th. The letter and attestation, of which the following are translations, having been humbly submitted to his majesty by the under-mentioned officers, who served in the detachment of his majesty's 15th regiment of light dragoons, at the action near Cambray, on the 24th of April, 1794, his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to each of them his majesty's royal permission to wear the medals conferred on them by the emperor of Germany, in testimony of the high sense entered by his Imperial majesty of their distinguished conduct upon that occasion.

Translation of a letter from baron Thugut to lieut.-col. Aylett:

Vienna, March 5,

Sir,

The emperor remembers, with satisfaction, the distinguished proofs of valour that you, sir, and seven other officers of the 15th light dragoons, manifested, on the 24th of April, 1794, near Cambray. His majesty regrets that the statutes of the order of St. Maria Theresa, confirmed by constant custom, do not allow the cross of this order, strictly

national, to be conferred on officers so worthy of being decorated with it; but wishing, at the same time, to give you, and your honourable companions in arms, a public mark of his particular esteem, his majesty has ordered a medal to be struck, to perpetuate the remembrance of this brilliant action, and has commanded me to offer them, in his name, the only impressions which have been struck, except that which is placed in the Imperial cabinet of Vienna. In fulfilling the intention of his Imperial majesty, I beg you to accept, for yourself, sir, and to distribute to the other officers, who, in the important affair of the 24th of April, 1794, fought under your command, these medals, which, for that purpose, I have delivered to captain Ryan. I have the honour to add the assurances of the consideration with which I have the honour to be,

Sir, your most obedient

humble servant,

Baron von Thugut.

To lieut.-col. Aylett.

Attestation of major-general count Merfeld:

Vienna, Dec. 20, 1797.

The 15th light dragoons charged the enemy on the 24th of April, 1794, who were in great force at Villers en Couche, routed and sabred a great many; and, by this conduct, rescued his Imperial majesty from the danger that menaced his person, who, being on the road from Valenciennes to Catillon, was cut off by the patrols of the enemy, as his majesty, on that day, was returning from Brussels to the army, and the enemy's patrols had already passed the river Selle.

The

The courageous conduct of this regiment, animated by its brave officers, is so much the more meritorious, as the main column of the allied army did not arrive to its support; but this gallant regiment, abandoned to itself, relied on its own valour, attacked the enemy, so much stronger, and whose bravery alone prevented the melancholy consequences above-stated; and, not content with that, they took from the enemy, who were so much more numerous, three pieces of cannon.

(Signed) M. compte de Merfeld,
Major-general.

Officers who served in the detachment of his majesty's 15th regiment of light dragoons, at the affair near Cambray, on the 24th of April 1794, with the ranks which they respectively held in the said regiment upon that day:

Major William Aylett.
Capt. Robert Pocklington,
Edward Michael Ryan.
Lieut. Thomas Granby Calcraft,
William Keir,
Thomas Burrell Blount.
Cornets, Edward G. Butler,
Robert Wilson.

A terrible earthquake took place at Sienna, on the 25th ult. The shock was felt about fifteen minutes after one. A noise, similar to a discharge of cannon, accompanied an undulatory movement of the earth, which made all the inhabitants of the town join at once in an exclamation of terror. It was observed, in the country, that the shock was less sensibly felt towards the sea than southward. No extraordinary phenomena preceded this alarming

event. It was only observed, that, for some days before, the air was extremely thick and cloudy, and that the temperature passed, several times in the day, from excessive heat to insupportable cold. Almost all the churches have been damaged. The dome of a lecture-room, in the college of Boromeus, fell in. Seventeen young students, who were assembled in the room, were all either killed or wounded. The son of the governor of Leghorn, who was one of them, has lost both his arms. The number of the persons killed, in consequence of the earthquake, is supposed to be fifty. The number of the wounded is much more considerable. A part of the convent of St. Barbo, where the pope resided, is destroyed. Fortunately for the sovereign pontiff, he was then in the gardens of the Sallerani family. All the inhabitants fled to the country, where they erected tents for their accommodation. A slight shock occurred during the night, and, between three and four o'clock, next morning, a more violent one took place, which renewed the general alarm. Even on the 27th, the people did not think themselves safe in the churches, and an altar was erected in the great square, where divine worship was celebrated.

The execution of Mr. Reeves, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Adamson, which took place this morning, in the front of Newgate, was the most awful example of severe justice we ever witnessed. Three persons, all of the rank and with the education of gentlemen, suffering at one moment, and all for the same modern but now unhappily common crime of forgery, ought to make a deep impression on every heart. Above

100,000

100,000 spectators were assembled on the dreadful occasion, of whom we lament to say, a great proportion were women, and many of them with the appearance of ladies. The houses opposite to the gaol had not only their windows all taken out to give greater accommodation for the curious; but some of them were untiled and canopied with heads. The humane and attentive keeper, Mr. Kirby, permitted their agonized families, and, at the request of Mr. Wilkinson, a methodist clergyman to remain with them till a late hour last Tuesday night, and every possible indulgence, consistent with safety, was shewn them. Mr. Reeves and Mr. Wilkinson manifested the most steady composure and resignation. Mr. Adamson, who had cherished hopes of pardon, from the applications which had been made for mercy, sunk into despondency, and having contrived to procure opium into his cell, had so far eluded the vigilance of the turnkeys, as to take a large dose during the night. About five o'clock in the morning it was discovered by the deleterious effects, and Mr. Ramsden, the surgeon, was sent for. The opiate, which most probably he intended for no more than to compose his spirits, threw him into a convulsed, and feverish state of disability; and it was with incessant difficulty that he was roused and kept up. By the attention of the people, however, he was able, under support, to join with the others in taking the holy sacrament, which the rev. doctor Ford administered with the most beneficent regard to their unhappy situation. They all desired to have the last solemn prayer given to them in private, that they might remain exposed to

the multitude as short a time as possible, and with this doctor Ford also most humanely acquiesced. The awful ceremony took place at a quarter past eight yesterday morning. Mr. Reeves mounted the platform first, and Mr. Wilkinson followed, both with undaunted though pious fortitude; and while they were prepared for their fate, Mr. Adamson was supported by two men, by whom he was at length led to the same place. He viewed it with a delirious stare, and it seemed as if he could not have survived the dose he had taken, even if the royal mercy had at that instant intervened. They were then launched into eternity, and such is the merciful fatality of the new contrivance of the drop, that they all died without a struggle.

At the last meeting of the court of proprietors of the bank of England, the governor informed the court, that the following letter had been received from the chancellor of the exchequer.

*“ Downing-street, June 14,
“ Gentlemen,*

“ It being intended to propose to parliament a clause, authorizing the bank of England to receive, in payment of the three millions of exchequer-bills, charged on the loan for the present year, as the several instalments become due, other exchequer-bills, at the same rate of interest, to be charged on the supply to be granted for the services of the ensuing year, I have to request you to communicate such intention to your court; and to state that, if the clause should be approved by parliament, their consenting to receive payment of the exchequer-bills, in the manner proposed, will, at this period, afford an

an important accommodation to government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

" WILLIAM PITT."

He then stated that the court of directors had taken this letter into their consideration, and they were of opinion the accommodation might be granted, and had accordingly come to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the letter of the chancellor of the exchequer be laid before a general court of proprietors, and that the governor be authorised to declare, that it is the opinion of the court of directors the accommodation requested by government may be granted, on depositing, in payment of the three millions of exchequer-bills secured on the loan of the present year, other exchequer-bills, at the same rate of interest, to be paid out of the first instalment of the supply to be granted next sessions of parliament.

The question was put; and the court of proprietors unanimously concurred in the above resolution.

The cause respecting the Downing estate, which has been so long in litigation, between the university of Cambridge, and the occupiers of the estate, who have been in possession of it above 30 years, is at length finally determined in favour of the university; and the lord chancellor has ordered a receiver thereof to be immediately appointed. The arrears of rent will be more than sufficient to erect the new college, agreeably to the will of sir Jacob Downing, whose name it is to bear, as soon as any piece of land, proper for the purpose, can be found, and purchased.

In the court of king's-bench, yesterday, a Mrs. Mary Henderson

was found guilty of obtaining a sum of money from lord Eardley, for suppressing the publication of a pamphlet, reflecting on his lordship in the most unfair terms. The noble lord, as soon as he gave her the money, caused her to be taken into custody. It appeared she had two associates in the business, against whom, however, a verdict could not in this case be obtained, as the issue was not joined against them.

The French papers, which arrived lately, contain an account of a lover, who certainly burnt with one of the strongest passions we ever remember to have seen recorded. His mistress having proved unfaithful to him, he called up his servant, informed him that it was his intention to kill himself, and requested, after his death, that he would make a candle of his fat, and carry it lighted to his mistress. He then wrote a letter, in which he told her, that as he had long burnt for her, she might now see that his flames were real; for the candle by which she would read the note was composed of part of his miserable body.

18th. A woman, dressed in deep mourning, waited yesterday afternoon at the garden-gate, St. James's, in anxious hope, when their majesties stepped into their carriage, of presenting a petition; but being prevented by the officers on guard from approaching near enough, she retired to some distance from the place, and threw a petition into his majesty's coach, which fell into the lap of the princess Elizabeth. She said, she had lost her husband on board the Queen, in the West Indies; that one of her sons, a lieutenant, had been murdered by the crew of the Hermione; that another

had fallen in action, while serving on board the Leviathan, and that she was reduced to great distress.

The following are the correct particulars of a late disturbance at Eton-college:—Many of the boys of the fifth form, together with some juniors, had formed a resolution of rowing up to Maidenhead on Tuesday evening last, an act which, if put into execution, would have rendered it impossible for them to attend six o'clock absence. Dr. Heath, having heard of the above purpose, endeavoured to counteract it, first by remonstrance, and next by threats. The fifth form, with some others, however, in despite of the doctor's counsel and menaces, went upon the expedition, and, on their return, underwent punishment. Here the matter rested, until the succeeding day (Wednesday) when one of the boys of the fifth form being guilty of another act of aggression, it was deemed expedient, in order to support due subordination in the school, to send him away in a private manner. No other expulsion took place on the occasion, and all the boys, fully sensible of their error, returned to obedience.

20th. The king has granted unto lord viscount Duncan, his royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may bear, as an honourable augmentation, in the centre of his paternal arms, a representation of the gold medal conferred upon him by his majesty upon occasion of the victory of the 11th of October, pendant from a blue and white ribbon, ensigned with a naval crown, and subscribed, "Camperdown."

Yesterday morning a man of the name of Smart was found drowned in the Thames, near Windsor-bridge; he had been employed in his ma-

jefty's gardens for many years, and is supposed to have fallen in by accident, being found with his clothes on. A boy on Sunday also lost his life in bathing near Datchet-bridge.

Early on Saturday morning the shop of Mr. Fitzpatrick, silk-mercier, in Cranbourn-alley, was robbed of property to the amount of near 300*l.* and a young man, of the name of Richard Clarke, is charged on suspicion of being concerned in the burglary.

24th. Early this morning the Castle Inn, in Highgate, was entered by some villains, and robbed of cash and notes to the amount of about 40*l.* and a quantity of silver plate, with which they got clear off.

The sea in the neighbourhood of Sunderland has been so uncommonly clear for a fortnight past, that a great number of anchors, kedges, ships guns, and all kinds of ships iron work, have been seen many fathoms deep, and a very successful fishery of those articles carried on; some large anchors have been recovered which lay a considerable way out to sea.

Saturday night six and twenty persons were apprehended at a house in Lisle-street, Leicester-fields; illegally assembled for the purpose of gaming; they were taken to St. Martin's Watch-house, where six of them were bailed, and two yesterday; the rest remained in confinement.

25th. This evening, about six o'clock, as Mrs. Stow, of Wargrave, near Maidenhead, was travelling in a post-chaise, in company with two ladies, near the 33d mile stone, on the Reading road, they were stopped by a single highwayman with crape over his face, who robbed them of a watch and their cash.

A few

A few evenings since, as an agent of Mr. Fleming's, of Salt-hill, was travelling over Hounslow-heath, he was stopped and robbed by a single highwayman of a 10*l.* bank note and three guineas.

On Friday afternoon, about three o'clock, as Mrs. Gordon, of Gerard-street, Soho, was travelling in a post-chaise over Madams-Court-Hill, near Seven Oaks, Kent, she was stopped by a single highwayman, who robbed her of her cash and notes.

The same evening, as Dr. Pitcairn was returning to town, near Eltham, he was stopped by two footpads, who robbed him of his cash and watch.

The following extract from the speech of admiral De Winter, on his public entry, at Amsterdam, on the 7th ult. bears honourable testimony of the greatness and liberality of the English character:—

"Citizen Councillors and Fellow Burghers,—It is with the most grateful acknowledgements I receive your congratulations, and I rejoice in the consolatory satisfaction to find myself once more in the territory of my native country, and again to reside in the midst of my worthy fellow citizens. The fortune of war formerly forced me for a while to live abroad, and being since, for the first time, vanquished by the enemy, I have experienced a second state of exile. However mortifying to the feelings of a man who loves his country, the satisfactory treatment I met with on the part of the enemy, the English, and by the humane and faithful support and assistance they evinced towards my worthy countrymen and fellow-sufferers, whose blood flowed by torrents in their country's cause, have considerably

softened the horrors of my situation—nay, worthy burghers, I must not conceal from you, that the noble liberality of the English nation, since this bloody contest, justly entitles them to your admiration."

30th. Yesterday the recorder made his report to his majesty of the following prisoners, under sentence of death in Newgate, convicted in May session last, viz.

Richard Philips, for stealing an ingot of gold, value 8*l.* the property of Charles Aldrige, in an out-house belonging to his dwelling-house. Nicholas Vargin, for feloniously assaulting James Stow, on the King's highway, near Hammersmith, putting him in fear, and taking from his person 3*s.* 6*d.* in money, and a red-morocco card-case. Sarah Holloway, for stealing a bank-note, value 10*l.* the property of Charles Dibdin, in his dwelling-house. When they were all respited during his majesty's pleasure.

A vast dock is making in Portsmouth-yard, which is intended to receive ten sail of the line for equipment, which may be effected in much less time than by sending every article by boats to the vessels in the harbour, as is the case at present, and by which the waste and plunder that attends the present system will be obviated. The dock will be 22 feet deep, and faced with cut stone. The excavation is removed to a part of the yard near the arsenal, for the purpose of making a gun-wharf and battery. A steam-engine is about to be erected in the yard, for the purpose of pumping the water out of the docks, which is at present effected by horses.

The following letter, dated Whitehall, June 22, has been writ-

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ten by his grace the duke of Portland, to Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, at Haverfordwest:

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter on the subject of the late influx of persons in your country from Ireland, and am extremely sorry to observe that there are so many young clergymen and able-bodied men among them. The conduct of such persons, in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the present, is very much to be censured; and I desire that you will use your best endeavours to impress them with a due sense of the dangerous tendency of such an example, and of the dishonourable and disgraceful imputations to which it obviously exposes themselves; and, at the same time, that you will make it known to the clergy, that their names will certainly be reported to their respective diocesans. With respect to Mr. Colclough and Mr. M'Cord, I desire that they may have full liberty either to go to Ireland, or to stay in this country; and that all persons for whom they will answer, as well as all the infirm men, women and children,

may be admitted to the same indulgence.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

Portland.

To Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, }
Haverfordwest. }

(A True Copy.)

DIED. 19th. In his ninety-seventh year, William Jennens, of Aston-place*, near Long Melford, in the county of Suffolk, and of Grosvenor-square, esq. He was baptized in September, 1701; and was the son of Robert Jennens, esq. aid-de-camp to the great duke of Marlborough (by Anne, his wife, daughter and heir of Carew Guidott, esq. lineally descended from sir Anthony Guidott, knt. a noble Florentine, employed on sundry embassies by king Edward VI.), and grandson of Humphrey Jennens, of Erdington-hall, in the county of Warwick, esq. lord of the manor of Nether-Whitacre, in that county, in 1680, and an eminent iron-master at Birmingham†. King William III. was godfather to the late Mr. Jennens; and, amongst other valuables discovered in his house, is a silver ewer, which was the

* Aston-place was formerly the seat of the Daniels; they sold it to Robert Jennens, esq. who began to rebuild it: his son William finished it, and made it a fine structure. The advowson is in Mr. Jennens; but the monuments of all the former owners of the estate are destroyed, or shut up from public view.

† Who purchased a family-seat at Gopsal, in Leicestershire; and possessed some very extensive forges at Whitwick, on the edge of Charnwood-Forest. Bromford-forge and Aston-furnace, also, in the county of Warwick, and Hales-Owen iron-works, in Shropshire, formed part of his extensive concerns. His house in Birmingham was in High-street, now in the occupation of John Ryland, esq. and Erdington-hall his country residence. The father of Humphrey is supposed to have resided at Hales-Owen; and it is conjectured that his predecessors were originally inhabitants of Yorkshire. This family is one among the many who have acquired ample fortunes at Birmingham, where they were equally famous for industry and generosity. John Jennens and his wife were benefactors to the poor there in 1651; and another John Jennens, their descendant, in 1749, built the church of St. Bartholomew, in that town, at his own expence. (Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 646.)

present

present from that monarch at his baptism. He had been page to George I; and, during the long period of his life, remained a bachelor, more given to penuriousness than hospitality; of course his accumulations magnified even beyond his powers of computation. He was the last annuitant of the exchequer-tontine of 100*l.* a share, for which he had received 3000*l.* a year for many years past. He had property in almost every fund.* And such was his immense wealth, that the dividends on most of his stocks have not been received since 1788, nor the interest on his mortgages for a long time. In his iron-chest, the key of which could not be found till after a long search hid in a mortgage deed, there were bank-notes of the year 1788 to the amount of 19,000*l.* and several thousand new guineas. About 20,000*l.* were found, in money and bank-notes, at his town and country houses, and also a key to the chest containing his mother's

plate and valuables, which is deposited at Child's, the banker's, and has never been opened since her decease. He is reported to have always kept 50,000*l.* in his banker's hands, for any sudden emergency, and had not drawn a draft on the bank for the last fourteen years. He never, till very lately, employed a regular steward. Not many years since, an eminent attorney of Suffolk, who happened to be present, offered his assistance at his audit, thinking the fatigue too great for Mr. Jennens's age; but he was answered, "What! do you think I can't write?" He was very regular and exact in all his accounts; insomuch that he even noticed his household-bills exceeding their usual weekly amount. His expences were supposed not above 3000*l.* a year, although his property, it is thought, cannot fall short of two millions. It appears that he has had very faithful servants, who will be all well provided for.—A will was found in

* The following is given as an accurate statement of his property :

| Capital. | | Interest in Arrears. | |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------|
| South Sea Stock | - - - £.30,000 | Interest on ditto | £.8,725 |
| Ditto, new ditto | - - - 30,000 | - - - ditto | - 7,650 |
| Ditto, old ditto | - - - 40,000 | - - - ditto | - 9,600 |
| India Stock | - - - 23,890 | - - - ditto | - 18,570 |
| Consols. 3 per cents. | - - - 50,000 | - - - ditto | - 17,250 |
| Ditto, ditto, his mother's | - - - 10,000 | - - - ditto | - 5,450 |
| Bank Stock | - - - 35,000 | - - - ditto | - 19,600 |
| 5 per cent. ditto | - - - 30,000 | - - - ditto | - 17,250 |
| 4 per cent. ditto | - - - 24,000 | - - - ditto | - 11,520 |
| Reduced annuities | - - - 50,000 | - - - ditto | - 16,800 |
| Long ditto | - - - 2,000 per ann. | - - - ditto | - 22,000 |
| Account at the Bank | - - - 57,719 | | |
| Ditto at Child's | - - - 6,000 | | |
| Ditto at Hoare's | - - - 17,800 | | |
| Ditto at Stephenson's | - - - 19,000 | | |
| Ditto at Gosling's | - - - 7,000 | | |
| In London Assurance Office, 400 Shares | | Due upon them | 3,400 |
| New River concern | - - - - | Dividend due | - 5,000 |
| On mortgage | - - - 200,000 | Interest due | |
| Landed estate | - - - 8,000 per ann. rent due. | | |

his coat-pocket, sealed, but not signed, which was owing, as his favourite servant says, to his master leaving his spectacles at home when he went to his solicitor for the purpose of duly executing it, and which he afterwards forgot to do. By this testamentary instrument, in which John Bacon, esq. of the First Fruits office, was a residuary-legatee, the whole property was intended to be totally alienated from the channels into which it has accidentally fallen.

The most material sufferers by Mr. Jennens dying without a will are, the Hanmer family, of Bettesfield-park, in Flintshire, and Holbrook-hall, in Suffolk. Mr. Jennens's own aunt was mother to William Hanmer, esq. of the Fenns, first cousin of the late sir Walden Hanmer, of Bettesfield and the Fenns; and his descendants, particularly those residing in Suffolk, have most certainly been in the greatest habits of friendship with Mr. Jennens. The above-mentioned William Hanmer, esq. married his first cousin, Miss Jennens, of Gopsal, by whom he had a daughter, Hester, who married Afshton, now lord Curzon, by whom he had a son (the honourable Penn Afshton Curzon, M. P. for Leicestershire), who married lady Sophia Charlotte Howe, daughter of earl Howe, and died September 1, 1797, leaving an infant son, George Augustus William Curzon, who was born May 14, 1788, and is now heir at law to all the real estate of Mr. Jennens (which he had possessed for seventy-three years). His personal property devolves on his cousins, William Lygon, esq. M. P. (grandson of Mrs. Hester Hanmer, aunt of the deceased), and Mary,

relict of William Howard, commonly called viscount Andover (eldest son of Henry Bowes Howard, late earl of Suffolk and Berks), granddaughter of Dame Anne Fisher, also aunt of the deceased. Thus his most incalculable wealth merges into three individuals possessing previous fortunes almost immense. On the 29th, his remains were interred in the family vault, at Acton-church, with much funeral pomp. On opening the vault, the coffins of his father and mother only were found therein, the former of whom had been buried seventy-three, and the latter thirty-seven, years.

Lady Dorothy Hotham, relict of sir Charles Hotham Thompson, colonel of the 5th regiment, and groom of the bed-chamber to his majesty. She was daughter of the first earl of Buckinghamshire, by his first wife, and was married to sir Charles, Oct. 21, 1752, by whom she had one daughter, Henrietta, married to sir Alexander Hood. By her ladyship's death, her immense fortune thus singularly comes into the hands of her only daughter, Miss Hotham. Her ladyship, some years past, had informed baron Hotham, of the exchequer, that she had appointed him her sole executor; and also hinted, that it was her intention to leave him the bulk of her estate. On her death, the baron convened Miss Hotham, and a few particular friends, to hear the will read; when, holding it in his hand, he thus addressed that lady: "Your mother, lady Dorothy, while living, made many handsome declarations of bequests in my favour. Whether they are ratified by this instrument, I know not; but, before I open it, I think it a duty I owe my own feelings to declare, that, if it prove
so,

so, I shall, with pleasure, renounce all claim to those possessions, which, in common equity, can only appertain to you!" The will was now opened, wherein the baron found himself sole residuary-legatee, and became entitled to the bulk of the fortune; which, however, in manner correspondent with the amiable disinterestedness of his character, he, the next morning, transferred, by the proper legal instruments, to Miss Hotham, and her heirs for ever.

Executed at Wexford, in Ireland, for rebellion, aged near 70, Cornelius Grogan, who possessed an unincumbered estate of more than 6000*l.* a-year. He had been high-sheriff of the county of Wexford, and twice a candidate to represent the county: had not been in the habit of meddling with the politics of that country; and was generally esteemed for his hospitality. At the same time and place were also hanged, two of his companions in the same crime, viz. J. Colclough, and Beauchamp Bagnall Harvey. The latter was some time commander-in-chief of the rebels, in that part of the kingdom; and for his apprehension government had offered a reward of 1000*l.* He was taken in a cave in one of the Saltee islands, whither he had fled with Mr. and Mrs. Colclough, accompanied by Mrs. H. her infant, and one servant maid. They had provisions for six months, and all their plate and money. They were discovered, it is said, by soap-suds spilled at the mouth of the cave, which had been observed by three officers, who were on a fishing-party there, who immediately entered the cave with presented arms, and perceiving Mr. Harvey and Mr. Colclough, desired them to surrender;

telling them that resistance was vain, as the cave was surrounded with armed men, and that they should be obliged to fire on them if they hesitated. Hereupon they submitted, and walked out, but appeared greatly mortified on not seeing the force they expected, as they had with them, in the cave, arms and ammunition in abundance. They were marched to a small boat, which waited for the officers, and conveyed to Wexford. On landing at the quay, Mr. Harvey appeared quite dejected, and extremely pale; but Mr. Colclough's fortitude did not, apparently, forsake him until he approached the goal, where he beheld his friend Keogh's head on a spike. On inquiring whose head that was, and hearing it was Keogh's, he seemed like a man electrified, and sunk into all the anguish of despair and guilt, and never recovered any shew of spirits. Mr. Harvey was about thirty-six years of age; formerly a practitioner in the law; and, at his death, possessed an unincumbered estate of near 2000*l.* a year, besides personal property to the amount of 20,000*l.* He married, about a year since, a young woman of considerable personal merit, but no fortune, the daughter of an honest and industrious tradesman at Clonegall. She had been lately delivered of a son, and remains in a situation of mind bordering upon distraction. — Their heads were cut off, stuck upon pikes, and fixed on the market and sessions houses at Wexford. — The defence set up by these wretched men was, that they had acted by compulsion. Fortunately, for public justice, it happened that a young but intelligent gentleman (who passed unnoticed while the

rebels possessed Wexford) had recorded every circumstance as it occurred, in a sort of journal; which, when produced before the court-martial, proved a faithful and irrefragable register of the voluntary crimes of the chief traitors; and supported by other evidence, left no room for hesitation of their guilt.

J U L Y.

2d. A deputation of the Royal Humane Society, consisting of Dr. Lettson, Dr. Hawes, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Nichols, had the honour of presenting to his royal highness prince Ernest, at his apartments at St. James's, the honorary medalion, which had been unanimously voted to his royal highness for his exalted philanthropy in the restoration of an unfortunate desponding suicide. The medal was presented by Dr. Hawes, after an appropriate address. The prince was pleased to express the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the Humane Society, and graciously desired to become a governor, assuring the deputation that he experienced a most sincere satisfaction in having been instrumental in the preservation of life, and should, at all times, be ready to render the same assistance if ever it should be required. The Transactions of the Society were also presented to his royal highness, and accepted with that amiable grace, which adds dignity to the most elevated station.

The Princess Amelia, captain John Ramsden, was burnt, by accident, off Pigeon island, on the Malabar coast,

the 5th of April, 1798, when about forty of the crew were unfortunately lost.

The Raymond and Woodcot, captains Smedley and Hannay, were taken, after a gallant resistance, by the French frigate, *La Precieuse*, in Tellicherry-roads, the twentieth of April.

During the last week, eighteen vessels arrived in the river from Petersburg: their cargoes consisted of 77,807 bars of iron; 4,034 casks of tallow; 176 casks of ashes; 466 bales of linen; 1,248 bundles of hemp; 596 bobbins and 62 bundles of flax; 54 bags of feathers; 122 casks of bristles; 10 bags of bees wax; 74 bags of singlats.

5th. As Mr. Dearling, of Weymouth, was passing over London-bridge, he was hustled by a gang of pickpockets, and robbed of his pocket-book, containing two bank-notes for 20*l.* and 10*l.* a singular draft drawn at three minutes after date, by Mr. John Cox, on Mr. Puckett, of Weymouth: it is supposed to be the same gang who used to parade Fleet-street and the Strand, but have left those places, within these few days, in consequence of two of their gang being detected.

6th. A fire broke out, last night, at a cork cutter's in a court vulgarly called Rat's Castle, in Church-lane, St. Giles's, which raged with great fury till eleven o'clock, before they could procure water; five houses were then down; a child is said to have perished in the flames, and a woman was dragged out of her house very much scorched. The horror which pervaded the poor inhabitants cannot easily be described, as they could scarce save an
article

article of furniture, from the narrowness of the court.

A negro woman, of St. Domingo, emancipated by her master eighteen years since, being informed that he served in the army of Condé, offered him pecuniary assistance. The French officer returned in answer, that, though he was very thankful for her offer, yet he could not accept it, his pay being fully sufficient for his support. Nevertheless, the grateful negro has sent over £5*l.* to be transmitted to him on her part, as a pledge of her gratitude towards her ancient master.

8th. Yesterday morning John Allison for forgery, and William Hill for a burglary, were executed at Kennington, pursuant to their sentence at the last Surry assizes. They behaved themselves in a manner becoming their unhappy situation, particularly Allison, who stood up previous to his being turned off, acknowledged his crime, and expressed his contrition for it, and begged leave to be allowed to return his hearty thanks to Mr. Allport, the keeper of the prison, for his kind and humane attention. Hill did not make any address, but died, as he lived, firm and unaccommodating.

In the evenings of the 13th and 14th, there were violent storms of thunder and lightning at Ramsgate: about two o'clock a small waterspout discharged itself, by which the cellars, in some parts of Ramsgate, had four feet water. The Tornado was so local, that many parts of the town had scarcely a drop of rain.

Last night, precisely at ten o'clock, Joseph Greenway, who on Tuesday night strangled himself in bed in the gaol of Newgate, where he had

been committed for forging a receipt, purporting to be the receipt of Hester Clarke (who had cohabited with him, but had been dead some years,) for the sum of 20*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* an annuity allowed to her, was, in pursuance of the coroner's warrant, and by order of the sheriffs, buried between Newgate-street and Snow-hill, in a very deep hole made for the purpose; he was escorted by four of the sheriff's officers, preceded by ten of the keeper's men, and the corpse carried by the two executioners, amidst a great concourse of people.

17th. At a court of common-council, Mr. Powell moved, "that it be referred to the committee of city lands, to consider the necessity and expediency of abolishing Bartholomew-fair;" which was seconded by Mr. Stokes. This motion Mr. Goodchere opposed. It was not in the power of the court to put a stop to the fair, it being held under the charters of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. A court-leet, and a court of *pied poudre*, were held from the opening of the fair to the setting of the sun. The lands which were held by the city of London in free soccage by the charters, included Smithfield-market, several of the houses, and a street in joint-tenancy with the earl of Leicester. Many of the householders were capable of discharging their rents and taxes by the fair. In this way it had been maintained quietly for a number of years. No misfortune of any consequence had happened, not so much as a broken head. The rising generation were amused half a day only once in a year; surely that was not too much: almost every parish in the kingdom has its revels, its amusements; and sometimes

times blood has been spilt. All nations, ancient and modern, had allowed sport and festivity, to prevent greater and more serious evils. Mr. Goodbehere therefore, was decidedly against the motion. It was then proposed to shorten the period to one day; upon which Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Waithman objected on the ground that the account of the immense crowd of people from all parts of the metropolis would render such a scheme dangerous, and be the means of losing a great number of lives. After some debate, it was referred to a committee.

Two causes of libel were tried before lord Kenyon, in the court of king's bench, both founded on the sale of Mr. Wakefield's pamphlet, in answer to the bishop of Landaff's address. The first plaintiff, Mr. Jordan, threw himself upon the mercy of the court; stating that he bought the pamphlet of the publisher, Mr. Cuthell, and suppressed it as soon as he knew it to be exceptionable. The other plaintiff, Mr. Johnson, tried the issue, and was convicted; the tract in question being declared, by lord Kenyon and the jury, to be a libel.

19th. About seven o'clock this morning a fire broke out on board the Walmer-Castle East Indiaman, a new ship, lately launched at the lower water-gate, Deptford, occasioned by some loose powder taking fire in the gun-room. The explosion did not do much damage to the ship. Three floating engines were sent down from London-bridge to assist on the occasion. Two men on board the ship were so shockingly burnt, that they were sent to the London-hospital, with little hopes of recovery.

As lieutenant Millar, of the Grace, gun-boat, and lieutenant Dawson, commanding another gun-vessel, were going ashore at Sheerness, they had a dispute, and, on Mr. Millar stepping from the boat, the other drew his hanger, and ran it through his body, occasioning his instant death. The deceased has left a widow and two young children. Dawson is in custody.

The late doctor Farmer's library sold for 2,210*l.* and his pictures for 500*l.* Such is the rage for musy literature. The whole, it is estimated, was purchased by the doctor for a sum much under 500*l.*

Yesterday morning, Mr. Birks, an eminent sadler, in the Haymarket, cut his throat with a razor. He was discovered by his servant, in the act of holding a baton to catch the blood. A surgeon was sent for, but the unhappy man expired just as he arrived. No cause can be assigned for his committing this rash action, as he was possessed of considerable property. He spent the preceding evening in a very cheerful manner, with some friends, in the neighbourhood, and no appearance of mental derangement was noticed by the company. Coroner's verdict—lunacy. The deceased was above sixty years of age.

On Saturday night last, a gentleman was stopped, between nine and ten o'clock, by two footpads, near Langley-Broom, who robbed him of 10*l.* It is imagined they are the same men who stopped a gentleman, on the same road, last week, as the description of their persons perfectly agree.

At Chelmsford quarter-sessions, on Tuesday last, a question came on, by appeal, whether the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-house were exempted,

empted, by their charters of Charles II. and James II. from serving the office of overseer, as they were from that of jurors, and other offices requiring personal service; when the court adjudged, that the exemption could not legally be maintained, and therefore confirmed the appointment of captain Cotton, of Laytonstone, in Essex, as overseer of that parish.

The proposal for opening a direct communication between the two great maritime counties of Essex and Kent, by a cylindrical tunnel of keyed stones, bids fair to be adopted, by a general subscription of the principal inhabitants of both: this *sub-aqueous* work is proposed to be in a direct line from Gravesend to the opposite shore, west above Tilbury-fort. Government have already given their sanction to the work. The extreme width of the river at high water, on this spot, is 800 yards; the depth about four fathoms and a half. The central point of the segment, which is to form the tunnel, will be twenty-five feet below the bed of the river, and the diameter of the tunnel sixteen feet in the clear, and to be lighted up with lamps. The substratum, for more than three parts over, is known to be of chalk, and it is conjectured, that the other part is at least a chalky clay, equally favourable for the operation. The estimate of the whole, including pipes, lamps, steam-engine, and all other machinery and materials, amounts to 15,955*l*. The projecting engineer, on this occasion, is a Mr. Dodd, who, on Thursday last, laid his plan before the judges of assize, and magistrates, assembled at Chelmsford, and, next week, he proposes making a similar display of it at the assizes in

Kent: after which, a meeting will be convened, in town, of the principal gentlemen of each county, in order to propose a general adoption of the plan, and the means of carrying the same into immediate execution.

Colonel Twiss and other officers, of the engineers, have been employed by government to examine the proposition, made by Mr. Dodd, for forming a tunnel under the river Thames, from Gravesend to Tilbury; and we understand their report to be highly in favour of the measure.

So very productive have the fisheries of Greenland and Davis Straits been this season, that, in seven ships, arrived at Hull, last week, there were brought 119½ whales, 2,960 seals, producing 2,338 butts of blubber. The Dutch Greenland-men, twenty-two in number, are also reported to be full of fish.

The emperor of Russia has issued an edict, by which the greater part of the printing-offices in the kingdom are suppressed. No work can be printed, and no work, printed in a foreign country, can be introduced into Russia, until it has been approved by censors, appointed for that purpose. All the German newspapers are prohibited, and all the French periodical works.

An unfortunate accident happened yesterday evening: a fine girl, of three years old, fell out of a three pair of stairs-window, at the house of Mr. Carey, linen-draper, in the Strand, by which she had her skull fractured, and her thigh broke in two places.

24th. At the Old Bailey: this day sentence was passed, when Charles Davis, Elizabeth Starenaugh, John Crawford, George Singures, Samuel Bamber, Susan, otherwise,

otherwise Sufannah, otherwise Sarah Skelton, James Macknell, George Clerk, and John Gilbert, severally received judgement of death. Twelve were ordered to be transported, beyond the seas, for the term of seven years; and one was ordered to be transported for the term of fourteen years.

On Tuesday last, the rev. G. Scott was convicted of defamation, at Shrewsbury, on the suit of the rev. J. Roake, and sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000*l.* with costs; and, in an action preferred against him, by the rev. H. C. Adams, for the like offence, was fined 500*l.*

The following is the account of the mutiny on-board the *Lady Jane Shore*, transport:

The *Lady Shore* had on board, besides convicts, eighty soldiers of the New South-Wales corps, amongst whom were German, French, and condemned criminals, reprieved on condition of serving, during life, at Botany-Bay. They arrived at Portsmouth while the mutiny on-board the fleet was at its height. They formed a plan to seize the ship when she should get out to sea. Of this captain Wilcox was informed by major Semple. He complained to the transport-board of the danger of proceeding to sea with such men, while they had arms in their hands. The colonel of the regiment was sent to investigate the business; but he, perhaps, hesitating to give credit to Semple, and, from the benevolence of his own heart, entertaining a better opinion of his men than it would seem they deserved, overruled captain Wilcox's desire. In this state they went to sea.—When four days sail from Rio de Janeiro, the mutineers rose, in the night, on

the second mate, who was then on watch. He found resistance to so many armed men to be all in vain, and, of course, submitted to save his own life. They then entered the cabin of the chief mate, and murdered him in the most savage manner, cutting his head off. They then proceeded, past Mr. Black's birth, to the round-house, where captain Wilcox was, and demanded admission, which he refused, and, on their farther persistence, fired a pistol at them through his door. They instantly broke the door in pieces, and murdered poor Wilcox in a manner too shocking to describe. They then returned to Mr. Black's hammock, and, without the least warning, thrust their bayonets through it in several places, not in the least doubting but he was in it. But, during the disturbance, he had quitted it, and concealed himself; which gave him an opportunity of begging his life, when their rage began to abate. This they granted; put him and ten others into the long boat, gave them a compass, and turned them adrift. They got safe to Rio de Janeiro, from whence Mr. Black took his passage in a foreign ship; but at sea fell in with a South Whaler, the captain of which (captain Wilkinson) received him on-board. After this, captain Wilkinson took a Spanish vessel, value about 10,000*l.* Mr. Black was appointed prize-master, and carried her to the Cape. He has since sailed, with captain Wilkinson, to the coast of New Holland, to fish for whales.

The following resolutions, so honourable to the parties concerned, were entered into by a number of our prisoners (natives of Ireland) at this time confined in France:

“ At

" At a meeting of the Irish prisoners of war, held at St. Charles's prison, in Orleans, this 9th July, 1798, to take into consideration an order of the French government, to separate us from our fellow subjects and prisoners of Great Britain, by ordering the latter to be sent to Valenciennes, and us to Cambray, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, viz.

" Resolved, That any attempts to promote jealousy between us and our fellow-subjects of Great Britain, we behold with contempt.

" Resolved, That, attached to our gracious and good king, and to the glorious and free constitution we were born under, we will defend them, on all occasions, with our utmost ability, against our foreign and domestic enemies.

" Resolved, That, should any man, or set of men, presume to attempt to suborn us, or any individual of us, from that affection and attachment we bear our king and country, we pledge ourselves to disclose the same immediately, and to bring the author or authors to such punishment as we can inflict.

" Resolved, That, let our sufferings, in this our captivity, be of whatever magnitude a disappointed and inveterate enemy may inflict, we swear never to desert our king and country.

" Resolved, That our king and country are entitled to our heartfelt gratitude, for the handsome provision afforded us in this our captivity.

" Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by each individual, and forwarded, by the first conveyance, to Great Britain and Ireland, for publication."

" Signed by all the natives of

Ireland, prisoners of war, at Orleans."

Many hundred Roman catholics, in the north of Ireland, after publicly avowing their abhorrence and detestation of the rebellion in that country, have published a declaration, consisting of the following articles:—

" 1st, We declare ourselves satisfied and happy in the peace and quiet we have for some time past enjoyed.

" 2dly, That one of the fundamental principles of the Roman catholic religion is, to obey the higher powers, both in church and state, because we know that such powers are delegated by God, or at least they exist by his permission: to rebel against them, therefore, we conceive to be rebelling against God, who permits their appointment.

" 3dly, Christ, our law-giver, desires us to pay tribute to Cæsar; St. Paul tells us, honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute.

" Filled with these sentiments of our religion, a due sense of the danger we incur of God's wrath by rebellion, and a firm and faithful allegiance to his majesty George III. whom God has appointed our king, and his successors, we declare ourselves avowed foes to rebellion, and are ready, at any call, to aid and assist his majesty's officers, civil or military (in such manner as they shall think proper), to suppress and repel any treasonable or seditious practices which may take place."

27th. The new church of St. Paul's, Covent-garden, which, on Wednesday last, was consecrated by the bishop of London, was opened for divine service, the day being Sunday, at the usual hours, viz. eleven in the morning, and four in the afternoon.

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The sermons were preached, one by the rector, and the other by the lecturer of the parish; after each of which there was a collection for the parochial charity-schools.

The following view of the exports from North America, in 1793, may be regarded as interesting at this crisis, as it affords some idea respecting the extent and proportion of her several commercial connections with Europe:

| | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| To Great Britain . . . | 8,431,239 |
| France | 7,050,498 |
| Holland | 3,169,536 |
| Spain | 2,227,950 |
| Germany and the } low countries | 1,013,347 |
| Portugal | 997,590 |
| Denmark | 870,508 |
| Hanseatic towns . . | 792,537 |
| Sweden | 310,427 |
| Italy | 220,688 |
| Russia | 5,769 |
| Total | 25,100,089 |

Accounts from Petersburg and Mittau mention two remarkable edicts lately put in force: by the first, the entrance of the Russian empire by all strangers (couriers and deputies from foreign courts, foreigners of distinction, and persons in the Russian service, excepted) is forbidden; and, has been so strictly enforced, that several merchants, and other persons, coming by water from Lubeck and Riga, and not knowing of the order, were obliged to return. By the second edict, all young men from the Russian provinces, studying in any of the foreign universities, are recalled, under pain of confiscation of property; and their friends and tutors are also called upon to enforce their

return home in the course of the present month.

27th. Lieutenant Dawson, convicted of the murder of lieutenant Millar, was executed on Pennenden-heath. The deceased and Dawson were old friends; but, after dinner, on the day of the murder, when heated with wine, had some angry words. Dawson went a-shore, and challenged the other, who, treating the matter with levity, irritated Dawson, and produced the melancholy catastrophe which ensued.

28th. The ceremony of the consecration of the Jewish synagogue was performed, on Friday and Saturday, at their house of worship, in Leadenhall-street. The building has been repaired, and beautified in a very elegant and neat style. The high priest, with the subordinate rabbies, chorus and attendants, with a great number of the fathers of families in their proper vestments, were at the ceremony, which was awful, grand, and affecting. The music and the voices performed in the eastern manner of strophe, antistrophe, and full chorus. The anthems were performed, by the four brothers who sing there, in a very superior style of modulation and harmony. A crowd of people attended, but they all conducted themselves decorously. A subscription was opened, and, in about twenty minutes, upwards of 200*l.* was subscribed, which is more than sufficient to cover the expenses.

29. Peter de Pon, a French emigrant, was committed to prison, for assaulting and ill-treating his wife, an English woman, of very pleasing person; who, it appeared, he married about six years ago, at

at which time she was only sixteen years of age: and that, in less than six months after her marriage, though pregnant, he compelled her to prostitute herself for his support, and in which state she has continued ever since, subject to his ill-treatment, whenever she could not obtain a sufficient sum of money to maintain him in dissipation and idleness.

Eighteen men and one woman, apprehended at a gaming-house, in Little Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, were brought to Bow-street, on Saturday, on whom were found large sums of money. Four of the prisoners, who are Frenchmen, were committed to prison; the rest were discharged on finding bail. A *rouge et noir* table, and several other articles, seized in the house, were, at the same time, brought to the public-office.

29th. The four French emigrants, apprehended, on Saturday last, at a gaming-house, in Suffolk-street, and Peter de Pon, also a Frenchman, in custody for ill-treating his wife, were conveyed to Gravesend, for the purpose of being sent out of this kingdom.

30th. *Bristol*. At the annual methodist conference, held here this day, it appeared, that the numbers in the methodist societies are as follows: Great Britain, 85,055; Ireland, 16,640; West Indies, 11,986; United States of America, 38,655. Total—172,336.

DIED. At his house, in Lincoln's-inn fields, James Adair, esq. king's prime serjeant at law, M. P. for Higham-Ferrers, and chief justice of Chester. His death was occasioned by a paralytic stroke, which seized him while walking along Lincoln's Inn. He was assisted

home by some gentlemen who were passing by, and died in a few hours. This gentleman was equally distinguished for great eminence in his professional line, and in his political capacity; for a sound knowledge of, and warm attachment to, the principles of the constitution. On being called to the bar, he joined the Oxford circuit, on which, for a considerable time, he was the leading advocate. His first rise into public notice was his election, about the year 1778, to the office of recorder of the city of London, in which he succeeded Mr. serjeant Glynn, the popular defender of "Wilkes and liberty," who, but a short time before, had been chosen in the room of the present chief justice of the common pleas, on his advancement to a judicial seat in the court of exchequer. In consequence of business increasing very fast upon him, Mr. serjeant Adair found himself obliged, in the year 1788, to resign the recordership of London, the heavy duties of which were incompatible with his laborious engagements at the bar. He was then at the head of his court, the common pleas; and, notwithstanding the share he took in political concerns, and his advanced age, it is greatly to his credit, that, to the last day of his existence, he fully maintained his professional superiority, and never relaxed his efforts in his professional character. In the beginning of last year, on the death of Edward Bearcroft, esq. he was appointed chief justice of Chester, which he owed, in some measure, to the friendship of the duke of Portland, but, in a greater degree, probably, to his high name and personal respectability. Until the great schism of opposition, in 1793,

1793. Mr. Adair was the most zealous and most intimate of the friends of Mr. Fox; he was accustomed always to be at his side at his elections for Westminster, and on other public occasions; and he presided, as chairman, at the meeting for raising a subscription to disengage the right honourable gentleman from his pecuniary embarrassments. So intimately, at that period, was he connected with the party, that, at the time of the discussion on the expected regency, in the year 1789, he was talked of as likely, in the event of a change of administration, to succeed to the Irish chancellorship. Latterly, however, on questions relative to French politics, he had voted with administration, from a conviction that more danger at this crisis was to be apprehended from mistaken notions of liberty, than from the prerogatives of monarchy. In this persuasion he was upholden by the greater part of those with whom he had formerly acted: but though Mr. serjeant Adair was induced, on this ground, to give a powerful and independent support to government, he did not condescend to become their passive tool, or their unqualified defender. On every occasion on which he could not conscientiously approve of their measures, he warmly opposed them; of which his able and eloquent speech on the introduction of the Hessian troops into the Isle of Wight, in 1794, in which he denied the regal powers, contended for by ministers in that instance, is a full and convincing proof. Of his sentiments in favour of religious toleration, he gave a fair specimen, in his efforts in favour of the quakers, last year; and his zealous exertions

against the continuance of the slave-trade, attest his love of humanity and justice. In the house of commons he was esteemed a forcible and impressive speaker, and at the bar a powerful and weighty advocate.

At Vienna, almost as much from melancholy as disorder, the present situation of affairs on the continent having affected him beyond measure, field-marshal lieutenant-general Clairfait. During his long and painful illness, he exhibited the same greatness of soul, the same wisdom, and all the virtues by which he had been distinguished during the whole of his honourable military career. As he was generally beloved in his life-time, so his death is universally lamented. He had been in the service of the illustrious house of Austria forty-five years, under four regents, during which time, his fame, his zeal, and his fidelity, were equal: impartial historians will, no doubt, rank him with the first generals. He looked upon the soldiery as his children; he encouraged them by his benevolence, which proved that he was continually occupied by their necessities; hence he frequently heard them call him father. He distinguished himself as an excellent officer very early in life; especially, during the seven years war; and, about the end of the same, was made a colonel. He was not less conspicuous in the campaign relative to the Bavarian succession. In the last Turkish war, where he commanded a particular corps, he gained, upon all occasions, a number of signal advantages. The two masterly retreats from the Netherlands which he made, after sustaining repeated misfortunes, drew the attention of all Europe upon

upon him, in 1792 and 1794; but his fame attained its highest pitch, through the happy issue of the campaign upon the Rhine, in 1796; after which, like another sage, he returned to Vienna, and lived in a dignified retirement. The sympathy of their majesties, the emperor and the empress, honoured the loss of this eminent servant of the state, and caused his remains to be interred with every mark of distinction, though his request was, to have been buried in private.

Executed, at Dublin, Messrs. Henry and John Sheares, barristers, sons of the late Henry Sheares, esq. of Cork, a representative in parliament for the borough of Clogh-nakilty; and who had a pension of 300*l.* a year on the Irish establishment, which continued till he obtained the lucrative situation of weigh-master of the city of Cork. He published, in that city, a series of periodical essays, under the title of "The Modern Monitor," which, by their fancy, humour, and elegance, place him in the very first line among the numerous imitators of Addison. He died about twenty years ago, leaving his widow and eldest son Henry 500*l.* per annum each, and 4,000*l.* to each of his five younger children. Two of the sons of this gentleman were drowned; one of them on-board the Thunderer, which foundered on her passage to the West Indies, during the last war. Henry, the eldest of these unfortunate brothers, was about forty years of age: he married a Miss Sweete, an heiress, with whom he got a fortune of 600*l.* a year. This lady died, about nine years ago, leaving five children. Through the interest of lord Shannon, who had, on all occasions,

been a friend to the family, Henry obtained a commission in the 11th regiment of foot; but he did not continue more than three years in the army; after which, he entered at the Temple, and was called to the Irish bar. The younger brother, John, was called to the Irish bar in 1790. Unhappily for these gentlemen, they visited France together, and were at Paris during the dreadful æra of August 10, 1792, when the Swiss guards were massacred, and Louis XVI. and his family were imprisoned. They soon became acquainted, in that metropolis, with the principal leaders of the jacobin party, and are supposed to have imbibed there the revolutionary principles which ever marked their conduct, both in public and private life. They were constantly in the company of Thomas Paine, attended the different clubs, and were introduced to Robespierre, Roland, and Brissot, whose confidence they enjoyed. They were so extremely unguarded at Paris, in their public declarations of the necessity of a revolution in Ireland, that they received, from several of their acquaintance, and even from men of their own way of thinking, repeated cautions of the impropriety of their conduct, which might subject them, on their return to Ireland, to a charge of treason; After the murder of the unhappy Louis, these two unfortunate men left France, and returned to Ireland; were they found a society ready formed to receive and encourage the doctrines which they imported from France; and, in the original united Irishmen of Dublin, they could observe no very faint resemblance to their prototypes, the jacobins of Paris. How far they de-

signed to go, was, perhaps, not very clear to themselves; from step to step, they proceeded from libellous manifestoes, issued from Tailors-hall, to the demoniac spirit which dictated the merciless proclamation found among their papers.

AUGUST.

3d. About two o'clock in the morning, the French general Baraguay D'Hillier, and Messieurs Antoine Houdart Lamotte and Coutand Vullié, his aid-du-camps, with their servants, after landing at Portsmouth the day before, arrived at Lewes, on their way to Dover, to embark, in some neutral vessel, on their parole, for France.

The general and his suite, neither of whom could speak a word of English, experienced great inconvenience from want of accommodation in point of conveyance, it being at the time of Brighton races, for which all the post-chaises in town had been previously engaged; a circumstance that proved the more distressing, as their journey to Dover was, by their passport, limited to five days from the 31st of July, and they expressly prohibited going by the way of London. About eight o'clock, a cart being provided for the conveyance of their baggage, which was considerable, the general had resolved on walking the next stage, which was to Horsebridge, and distant from Lewes about ten miles; but, the circumstance being made known to H. Shelly, esq. he, very laudably, for the credit of our country, exerted his authority, and caused chaises to be procured for them, in which they proceeded on their journey about ten o'clock.

D'Hillier, though more in appearance, is only thirty-three years of age, and a very fine looking man, being six feet two inches high, proportionably made, and remarkably upright in his gait. He wears his own hair short, like our modern crops, and his upper lip being unshaven, the whisker, or mustachio, adds to the natural ferocity of his look, and gives him a very commanding countenance.

5th. Last night, at eight o'clock, two houses, in St. Martin's lane, inhabited by a Mr. Kish, salesman, and a Mr. Lawson, as an eating-house, fell down; happily, no lives were lost, as the tenants had warning of their danger, on Wednesday afternoon, by the stair-cases giving way, and, at seven yesterday morning, an universal crack apprised them that it was necessary to quit the premises; and, by the assistance of their neighbours, they saved all their furniture. Great apprehensions were for a time entertained, that the adjoining house would also fall.

Yesterday forenoon, after some days of extremely sultry weather, a violent thunder storm (accompanied by hail and rain) came on at Southampton; it commenced about seven, and lasted until near ten, o'clock. The lightning was extremely vivid, and had an uncommon appearance, the sky opening, and large streams of electric fluid, like fiery or blazen serpents, reaching from the horizon to the earth. From the beach, the storm appeared grand and awful; a large portion of furze, on the opposite shore, having been set on fire, the blaze extended far and wide, and was supposed to have been kindled by the lightning; but we have since been informed, it was nothing more than

than the usual custom of burning the heath, to enrich the land. A horse killed by the lightning, in East-street, was the only accident in the neighbourhood, from a storm which threatened so much mischief. The storm extended as far as Spithead, where a seaman, in the transport-service was struck blind.

It has been lately determined by the lord chief justice of the court of king's bench, that, where a sheriff's officer takes civility-money, as it termed, by which is meant a gratuity for keeping a person, whom he has under arrest, in a spunging-house, and not carrying him to the county-gaol, at the expiration of twenty-four hours after the arrest, such money may be recovered, by the person paying the same, in an action against the sheriff; and it was, at the same time, determined, that, where a bailiff takes for a bail-bond more than is allowed (which is 6s. 8d. including the stamp), whether it be under the pretence of a gratuity for accepting the bail or otherwise, the sheriff is likewise answerable to the party in an action.

7th. On Monday night the neighbourhood of Somer's town was extremely alarmed by the riotous behaviour of a number of Irish recruits belonging to the seventeenth regiment of light dragoons, who were in barracks, in Chalton-street, and who severely beat and ill-treated several persons. On Tuesday afternoon, much to the joy of the inhabitants of that place, the whole party, consisting of fifty-one, including two serjeants, were marched off to Billingtongate, and embarked on board a Gravesend-boat, for the purpose of being conveyed to the head-quarters of the regiment

at Canterbury; but, it being a considerable time before high water, the vessel could not set sail; on which they began to murmur, and at last resolved to return a-shore, and go back to their old quarters at Somer's town. They immediately put their resolution into execution, and, all the way through the city, conducted themselves in the most outrageous manner. In Gray's-inn lane, the riot was carried to such an excess, that the civil power was found insufficient to subdue the tumult; application was therefore made to the St. Pancras association; who assembled, and marched to the spot with all possible speed, when the rioters dispersed, and took refuge in the barracks, whither they were pursued, and taken prisoners, without bloodshed. It was then thought advisable to remove them to different watch-houses in the parish, where they remained, under a proper guard, till yesterday, when they were reconducted to the barracks, and four of the principal ringleaders, among whom were the two serjeants, were committed to the house of correction, by Mr. justice Leroux, of Somer's town, who attended on the occasion. About four o'clock yesterday afternoon, the remaining forty-seven were conducted, under a strong detachment of the association, to the water-side, to be again embarked for Gravesend. One watchman, wounded in the affray, lies without hopes of recovery, and several others, we understand, are severely wounded. The rioters are all very young men, and just arrived from Ireland.

A curious improvement in the art of gun-making has lately been brought to perfection. It consists

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in the barrels being bored out of solid pieces of steel, instead of being forged hollow from the iron, in the old way. These barrels, in addition to their never bursting, carry closer and sharper, in a great proportion, than the common ones.

We lament to have to state the destruction of another of the India company's ships, together with the greater part of her crew, by lightning. This melancholy event is thus mentioned in the last accounts from Bengal.

The Royal Charlotte and Britannia lay at anchor at Culpee, three or four cables length asunder, each having about five hundred barrels of gunpowder on board, as part of their cargoes for the Cape. A thunder-storm arising, the crew of the Britannia were employed in placing wet swabs round the fore-mast and pumps, when they were stunned by the explosion of the Royal Charlotte, and covered with fragments of the wreck. Every soul on-board, to the number of one hundred and forty, perished. Amongst the number were, Mr. Stoddard, chief mate; Mr. Barnard, second; Mr. Mifling, fourth; Mr. Saunders, pilot; Mr. Guthrie, carpenter; Thomas Collins, captain's steward; Stephen Collins, a Portuguese gunner; a cook, seventy-five Jafcars, and about fifty women and children. The shock was distinctly felt at Calcutta, a distance of fifty miles; and the ring of one of her anchors, and a copper bolt, were found about three miles from where the ship lay.

12th. This morning, at two o'clock, a woman, confined in the mayor's prison, which is over the court-hall, in Maidstone, contrived to get out on the roof, and took the

desperate resolution to leap on a house below, from thence she fell into the street; in all, a height of near sixty feet. The noise made by the falling created an alarm, by which means the woman was retaken, and conducted to her late habitation. She was much bruised, but, strange to tell, none of her bones were fractured, and she appears pretty well.

The New York American cabbage is cultivated with such success in this kingdom, that several have been produced at Covent-garden, this season, that have weighed from sixteen to twenty pounds each, and sold at the low rate of twopence. In some of the sheep-breeding counties they have been brought to much greater perfection in the open fields.

Whitchaven. We had one of the heaviest gales of wind on Tuesday evening ever remembered, at this season of the year, which occasioned a very melancholy accident. The sloop John and Thomas, Kessick, which had sailed from Liverpool the preceding day, was forced on shore, almost at low water, near the North wall. There were two female passengers on-board, with each a child (one of them at the breast), and a girl about fourteen years of age. This was about seven o'clock in the evening. The tide was flowing, and the wind caused such a surge, that for some time no boat could get to their assistance. The sailors, as it appears, had lashed the women and children to the mast, as the only possible means of saving them. The vessel unfortunately grounded, and, as the tide flowed, it, in a short time, made a road over the deck. In this situation, to the
astonish-

astonishment of all who witnessed this excruciating scene, they survived, and, about twelve o'clock, hopes were entertained of preserving them all; but, just at the moment when the most strenuous effort was made for the purpose, a violent swell of the sea washed the girl off the deck, and the two infants out of the arms of their mothers. The former was taken out of the water with life, but expired in a few minutes, and the lifeless bodies of the two infants were found soon afterwards; the rest were all saved.

13th. This day, John Newborn, an attorney's clerk; Thomas Gibbons, clerk to a scavenger; and R. Dixon, a journeyman-baker, were charged, at the public-office, Bow-street, by Dowsett and others, of the patrol, who apprehended them, the preceding evening, in a field near White Conduit-house, with having met for the purpose of fighting a duel. The whole business, on investigation, appeared so thoroughly contemptible, that the magistrate (Mr. Bond) ordered it to be dismissed *in toto*, and advised the parties to return to their several occupations.

A discovery has lately been made, which promises the most important consequences to navigation. It consists of a compass and latitude-instrument, in which we understand, the magnetic fluid is so disposed and controuled, that it shall lie truly on the meridian in all parts of the globe, and that constantly. The other instrument, by a similar management of the fluid, gives the latitude, with the same universality, in all seasons and weathers, within a few minutes of a degree.

The four antique horses, brought

from Venice to Paris, are to take their station in the Place de la Revolution, formerly La Place de Louis Quinze. They are to be harnessed to a triumphal car, in which the goddess of liberty is seated; the whole to be guarded by a suitable enclosure.

Early yesterday morning, Abel and Roberts, two felons, broke out of the Poultry-compter, by sawing away part of the roof of the prison: they sawed off their irons, and got through a house, into Grocers-hall-passage, and made their escape.

From the periodical account, published last month by the Moravians, it appears, their congregation in St. Kitt's alone consists of 1,870 negroes; in Antigua, the celebration of Passion week and Easter was attended by many thousand blacks; in the year preceding, 287 negroes were baptized, and 285 admitted to the sacrament.

Yesterday, Mr. D. Carco, hatter, in Piccadilly, was arrested, under authority of a warrant from the secretary of state, charging him with being concerned in certain treasonable practices. Mr Carco is a foreigner, but has resided in this country upwards of thirty years. Aiding and assisting French prisoners in their escape, we understand, constitutes one of the charges. He is the same person, who, in 1793, lent an asylum to Dumourier, during the short stay which the government of this country thought proper to lend to that famous adventurer, who, a few months before, had threatened to hoist the tri-coloured flag on the tower of London.

14th. The Serpentine River, notwithstanding the remarkable calmness of the weather for some days

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past

past, has recently swelled its surface to such a height, as to occasion much consideration with respect to the probable cause of such an unusual appearance.

On Thursday night last at Liverpool, a little before ten o'clock, a terrible gust of wind, or tornado, came on, during which a ferry boat, with a boatman, seven men and boys, and one woman, going to a vessel at the Slyke, was upset; three of the men were saved by boats belonging to flats, two were picked up by a flat going to Runcorn, and one saved himself by some oars or spars, which he tied together with the handkerchief from his neck, and on which he floated until the next morning at six o'clock, when he was cast on shore near Bank-hall, with little life in him, but we are happy to find he is likely to recover. The boatman, the woman, and a young man, foreman to Mr. Allen, sail-maker, were unfortunately drowned.

The Cherokee chief, who recently came to England, in the His man of war, is the celebrated general Bowles, who was in London before, about seven or eight years since. He had been under an arrest for several years by the Spaniards, but contrived to get on board a small vessel, which, on its way to England, fell in with the Isis, by which he was brought safe over.

Lady Edward Fitzgerald sailed for Hamburgh, on Thursday morning, from Yarmouth, on board the Prince of Wales packet. Her ladyship was attended to the packet by her brother-in-law lord Henry Fitzgerald, who left Yarmouth on the sailing of the packet.

17th. Mrs. Summerfield, wife of William Summerfield, servant

to the queen, was delivered of a boy; at five in the afternoon she was delivered of another boy; and at nine at night she was brought to bed of a fine girl, all likely to live. On Saturday the children were half baptized by the names of George, John, and Sarah. The queen sent for them to lady Cathcart's house, where they were brought for the princesses to see them. Her majesty desired that two proper nurses should be procured for the boys, the girl is to be under the care of her mother. Most of the nobility have been to visit the mother and children, and have also contributed towards making them comfortable.

15th. The storms have been remarkably severe in Kent, particularly in the Isle of Thanet; but the lightning has had the best effects on the fly, which has so long infested the hop-grounds, which now put on a better appearance. In the evenings of the 13th and 14th, at Ramsgate, there were violent storms of thunder and lightning. About two o'clock, a small water-spout discharged itself, by which the cellars, in some parts of Ramsgate, had four feet of water in their hold. Some walls were broken down, and several roofs damaged. The lightning was very vivid, and lasted many hours; but, fortunately, no lives were lost. The tornado was so local, that many parts of the town had scarcely a drop of rain.

An earthquake at Sienna took place on the 25th of May. The shock was felt about 15 minutes after one. A noise similar to a discharge of cannon, accompanied an undulatory movement of the earth, which made all the inhabitants of the town join at once in an exclamation of terror. It was observed in

in the country, that the shock was less sensibly felt towards the sea than southward. No extraordinary phenomena preceded this alarming event: it was only observed that, for some days before, the air was extremely thick and cloudy, and that the temperature passed several times in the day from excessive heat to insupportable cold. Almost all the churches have been damaged. The dome of a lecture-room in the college of Boromeus fell in. Seventeen young students, who were assembled in the room, were all either killed or wounded. The son of the governor of Leghorn, who was one of them, has lost both his arms. The number of persons killed, in consequence of the earthquake, is supposed to be 50. The number of the wounded is much more considerable. A part of the convent of St. Barbo, where the pope resided, is destroyed. Fortunately for the sovereign pontiff, he was then in the gardens of the Sallerani family. All the inhabitants fled to the country, where they erected tents for their accommodation. A slight shock occurred during the night; and between three and four o'clock next morning, a more violent one took place, which renewed the general alarm. Even on the 27th, the people did not think themselves safe in the churches; and an altar was erected in the great square, where divine worship was celebrated.

24th. The proposed improvement in the gold and silver coin of the kingdom, which has been submitted to the consideration of the royal academy by the lords of the committee of council, was discussed at the meeting of the academicians this evening, when the

designs or models of such of the members as had prepared them, were received.

The following circular notice had been issued on this subject to the academicians:

"Royal Academy, August 20, 1798.

"Sir,

"The lords of the committee of council having expressed a desire that the gold and silver coins of this kingdom should have every improvement which the present state of the arts can afford, and the royal academy having agreed to take the same into their consideration, the president has accordingly ordered a general meeting of the academicians, on the 20th of September next, at seven o'clock in the evening, to receive the designs or models of such of the members of the academy as will then offer; which designs or models are intended, by the lords of the committee, to be presented for his majesty's inspection, previous to their being carried into effect.

"The coins intended are as follow:

| | |
|---------|---|
| Gold. | { A two guinea piece, A guinea, and A half guinea. |
| Silver. | { Five shilling piece, Half crown ditto, One shilling, Sixpence. |

*The head of his present majesty,
The arms of the realm,
The lion, the crown, and Britannia*

"In forming the designs or models, it is desired that attention be paid to the roundness and simplicity of the coin; to the whole or part of the inscription on the same, and to guard against the wearing or filing.

"JOHN RICHARDS, R. A.

Secretary."

John's

John's Haven, near Montrose, 24th.

On Wednesday night, or early on Thursday morning last, came on shore, about one mile to the eastward of this place, in a thick fog, the ship *Fawrittie*, of North Shields, captain John Boswell, from the West-Indies, with the produce of eight large fish. The ship struck a little after high water, and drove on the top of a long ridge of rocks, where she stood upright all the tide of ebb, when, by the assistance of some shipmasters, with all the boats and fishermen, and many other useful hands, from this place, to the assistance of all present, the ship was got off next highwater, and in such a state, that she could be kept with the pumps, to proceed on her voyage to Shields. Too much praise cannot be given to the people employed in the saving so valuable a property.

The *New York Daily Advertiser* of the 24th ult. gives the following statement of an unhappy deed, perpetrated on the preceding Friday, near the exchange of that city, between three and four o'clock in the morning:

"Madame Gardie, late of the theatre, was in bed with her son, about eleven years of age; Mr. Gardie, who had cohabited with her a number of years, and who lodged in the same room, got up, ordered the boy to rise, and got into her bed. The boy hearing his mother cry out, asked what was the matter? Mr. Gardie desired him to be still, his mother had only fainted. Soon after, the boy hearing a knocking against the partition, he got up and went to the bed, where he found Mr. Gardie in the agonies of death, and his mother lying dead on the bed. It appears

the former had stabbed her with a new carving knife, in the left breast, which penetrated immediately to the heart, as she appears to have expired instantly. Gardie, in the height of his frenzy, appeared to have wounded himself in the breast in two places, with his own hand, and must have died in great agony, as he had fallen from the bed on the floor, and was covered with blood. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict, that he was the cause of her death, and afterwards committed suicide. The cause of this dreadful catastrophe is attributed to extreme poverty, and her refusing to accompany him to France, whether he was going shortly, having taken his passage. This refusal created jealousy, though there were no grounds for the suspicion. The body of Gardie was immediately interred in Potter's fields, and the remains of the unhappy female were respectfully interred in the Catholic burial ground.

The Surrey assizes concluded this day. The following is a list of those who received sentence of death, viz. John Alison, attorney, for forgery; Nicholas Abrathat and John Speares, left last assizes for a point of law; Martha Hill, for robbing her ready-furnished lodgings, in St. George's Fields, and John-street, in the parish of Christchurch; William Hill, for housebreaking, at Bermondsey; Stephen Freeland and William Maynard, for appearing on the king's highway with fire-arms, and assisting in carrying away a quantity of unaccustomed tobacco, against the statute; John Skinner, for stealing two horses, from Battersea-ridge; Sarah Clarke, for a burglary, at Benstead; Thomas William Willington, for footpad robberies.

beries, on Morden-common; and William Robertson, for assauling and robbing Sarah Jackson, on the king's highway, of a bonnet and cap. They were all respited, except John Alison, for forgery, and one other, who are left for execution.

26th. At the Gloucestersizes four criminals were capitally convicted, and are left for execution, viz. William Sheppard, John Roberts, John Hawkins, and Benjamin Gullick. They were charged with having broken into the house of George Jones, a horse-dealer, of Hanham, near Bristol, and stealing from thence cash and bills to the amount of £100. The three following also were convicted of capital offences at Gloucester, but afterwards reprieved: Wm. Hogg, for stealing above the value of 40s. from Mr. Samuel Holliday, of Minchin-Hampton; Thomas Robinson, for taking two surplices from the church of St. George; and John Marsh, for house-breaking.

There have been some disputes in the corporation of the city of Edinburgh, relative to the choice of magistrates, at the ensuing election. All of the parties profess equal attachment to Mr. Dundas, who has written to the lord provost the following epistle, which has fatished those who, not knowing his pleasure, had unwarily offended him.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas to the Lord Provost.

Edinburgh, 28th August, 1798.

My lord,

It is with very sincere regret that I learned, some time ago, and which has been confirmed to me since my arrival here, that there existed divisions and a difference of parties in

the council of Edinburgh. At a moment when it is the duty of every good subject of Great Britain to lay aside all paltry considerations, and to look only to the great interests which ought to occupy the attention of every good citizen, I lament that the metropolis of Scotland should allow themselves to be distracted by objects of so inferior a nature, as who should occupy this or the other seat in the council. It is the first time, since I was connected with the city of Edinburgh, that I have perceived any such spirit among you; and least of all should I have expected to have seen it at a time when provost Elder presided over them. Delicacy prevents me enlarging further on this topic; but I beg your lordship distinctly to understand, that, in so far as I am personally concerned, I must disclaim all professions of friendship from any persons who think themselves at liberty to hurt your feelings at the conclusion of your magistracy. If the city of Edinburgh has any desire to close their political connection with me, it will cost them no trouble; a hint from them will do the business; but, as that connection began in concert with you, it cannot continue at the expence of any injury done to your feelings; and your lordship is at liberty to convey that sentiment to any of my constituents with whom you conceive it will have weight.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Henry Dundas.

DIED. 2d. This evening, while performing the part of the Stranger, on the Liverpool stage, Mr. John Palmer, the comedian. It is universally admitted that a fit of apoplexy occasioned his death; but professional

professional men differ on the cause of it; some asserting that his constitution must have been prone to apoplexy, and that his life would have been so terminated at all events; while others affirm the fit to have been occasioned by the effort of the moment. Doctors Mitchell and Cerry gave it as their opinion, that he certainly died of a broken heart, in consequence of the family afflictions which he had lately experienced. He received, on the morning of the day in which he was to have performed the *Stranger*, for the first time, the distressing intelligence of the death of his second son, a youth in whom his fondest hopes were centered, and whose amiable manners had brought in action the tenderest affections of a parent. The play, in consequence of this, was deferred till the Friday following, during which interval he had, in vain, endeavoured to calm the agitation of his mind. The success with which he performed the part called for a second representation, in which he felt a sacrifice to the poignancy of his own feelings, and in which the audience were doomed to witness a catastrophe which will never be forgotten. On the preceding Sunday he dined with Messrs. Hurst, Hammerton and Mara. After dinner, Mr. Hurst complained, that of late he had always found himself exceedingly drowsy after his meals. Mr. Palmer, in a most friendly and feeling manner, said, "My dear Dick (for so he familiarly called Mr. Hurst), for God's sake, endeavour to overcome those alarming symptoms; and, after a short pause, added, "I fear, my dear friend, that my own afflictions (alluding to the recent loss of his wife and favourite

son) will very shortly bring me to my grave." For some days, however, he seemed to bear up against those trying misfortunes with much resolution; and, on the Wednesday following, performed the part of Young Wilting, in the *Liar*, with a considerable degree of spirit. On Thursday morning he appeared rather dejected, and all the efforts of his friends were scarcely capable of rousing him from the state of melancholy in which he appeared to have sunk. In the evening of that day he appeared in the character of the *Stranger*, in the new play of that name, and, in the two first acts, exerted himself with great effect: in the third, he displayed evident marks of depression. In the fourth act, Baron Steinfort obtains an interview with the *Stranger*, whom he discovers to be his old friend. He prevails on him to relate the cause of his seclusion from the world; and, as he was about to reply to the question of baron Steinfort, relative to his children, he appeared unusually agitated. He endeavoured to proceed, but his feelings evidently overcame him; the hand of death arrested his progress, and he instantly fell upon his back, heaved a convulsive sigh, and instantly expired without a groan. The audience supposed, for the moment, that his fall was nothing more than a studied addition to the part; but, on seeing him carried off in deadly stiffness, the utmost astonishment and terror became depicted on every countenance. Hammerton, Callan and Mara, were the persons who conveyed the lifeless corpse from the stage into the scene-room. Medical assistance was immediately procured; his veins were opened, but they

they yielded not a single drop of blood, and every other means of resuscitation was had recourse to without effect. The gentlemen of the faculty, finding every means ineffectual, formally announced his death. The piercing shrieks of the women, and the heavy sighs of the men, which succeeded this melancholy annunciation, exceeded the power of language to describe. The surgical operation upon the body continued about an hour; after which, all hopes of recovery having vanished, he was carried home to his lodgings on a bier, where a regular inventory was immediately taken of his property. Mr. Aickin, the manager, came on the stage to announce the melancholy event to the audience, but so completely overcome with grief as to be incapable of uttering a sentence, and was at length forced to retire without being able to make himself understood. Incedon then came forward, to communicate the dreadful circumstance. The house was instantly evacuated in mournful silence, and the people, forming themselves into parties, contemplated the fatal occurrences in the open square till a late hour next morning.—As an actor, his death is a great loss to the public. His figure and manner gave an importance to many characters, which, in other hands, would have passed unnoticed. In delivering a prologue, and in the graceful and insinuating way in which he impressed an occasional address, he was unequalled. A more general performer, since the days, and during the latter part of the days, of the inimitable Garrick, the stage has not boasted; and, in the peculiar province to which his talents were

adapted, he not only stood without a competitor, but possessed very great excellence. The province to which we allude was certainly the sprightlier parts of comedy, of which the predominant feature is easy confidence; such as Dick or Brass, in "The Confederacy;" Brush, in "The Clandestine Marriage;" and Lord Duke, in "High Life Below Stairs." In all these parts, but particularly the latter, the authors might be supposed to have written them on purpose for him, which was, indeed, the case with Brush, a subordinate part, but rendered very conspicuous and very entertaining in the hands of Palmer. This province seemed to be what may be more immediately termed his forte; but he possessed considerable merit in a variety of characters. His colonel Feignwell, in "A Bold Stroke for a Wife," was an admirable proof of the force and versatility of his powers, and, perhaps, was altogether equal to any comic performance ever seen. Sir Toby, in "Twelfth Night," was also a part in which he manifested uncommon abilities, and which he supported with such force, humour, truth, and spirit, as to produce all the effect of real life. Another of his most successful exertions was Serjeant Kite, in which he must have completely satisfied the wishes of Farquhar, who, in all probability, never saw it performed with equal pleasantry, correctness, and humour. This part, though so well performed by Mr. Palmer, he relinquished for Brazen, in the same excellent comedy; but, whether he had not studied it with equal attention, or whether the public regretted the loss of so exquisite a Kite, he certainly did not make such

such an impression upon them as might be expected from the nature of his talents. The merit of his Joseph Surface has been universally admitted, and it was, indeed, a proof of great skill. The hypocrisy was represented with a smooth and specious subtlety that left nothing for the author to desire beyond what was evident in the performance. But Palmer did not excel in comedy only. He was very forcible and impressive in the turbulent parts of tragedy, such as usurping tyrants and ambitious ruffians. There was, however, one part in which he sustained a dignified serenity, mingled with the emotions of tender affection, and supported by gentlemanly manners that might rank with the very best efforts of his theatrical powers, his Villeroy, in the tragedy of Isabella; was fairly entitled to a high degree of critical applause. Stukely, in "The Gamester," was also another proof of Mr. Palmer's ability that deserves a distinct notice. Nothing could be more finished than his artful mode of deluding the credulous and irresolute husband, his insidious attempts to excite and to work upon the jealousy of the wife, and the shame, confusion, and mortification, of conscious cowardice when he is reproached and insulted by the virtuous Lawson. His manners, in private life, were those of the polished gentleman; and the feelings of his heart were such, as the circumstances which we have already related forbid we should mention again. Though Mr. Palmer's character has been often the subject of public notice, it is but justice to say, that censure has been rather too severe in her animadversions.

If he was brought into embarrassments by his desire of becoming a manager, he only indulged a natural ambition, and such as his abilities might warrant. In his attempt to establish the Royalty Theatre, he was, in a great degree, deceived by "the glorious uncertainty of the law;" for he certainly consulted many professional men, of acknowledged ability, on the occasion, and was emboldened, by their opinions, to persevere in raising an expensive edifice, which would, most probably, have afforded him an ample fortune, if his efforts had not been suppressed by authority. He, perhaps, gave into a style of living, which, considering his large family, and the precariousness of his profession, it is impossible to reconcile with the rules of rational economy; but allowance ought to be made for the manners of the times, for the prevalence of the passions, and, indeed, for the influence of a handsome person, that exposed him to expences which the prudent may condemn, but which they, perhaps, would hardly have avoided if they had been placed in a similar situation, with similar recommendations. He was a most affectionate father, and many of the embarrassments under which he laboured arose from the excess of parental fondness. His sudden death is a fatal blow to his family, for the loss of his wife had been such a shock to him, that he had determined to square his future conduct by the rules of severe prudence, and as it was understood that he would certainly have succeeded to the management of Drury-lane theatre, it is not improbable that he would finally have surmounted all his troubles, and

and have left a comfortable provision for his offspring. For variety of talents, and professional industry, Mr. Palmer has not left his superior on the English stage. His rise to the great share of public patronage which he enjoyed was, however, very slow, and opposed from time to time by obstacles which would have discouraged any other man, less confident and persevering. An application was made in his favour to Mr. Garrick, to grant him an engagement at the early age of 15; but the manager, having condescended to hear him rehearse, declared that he would never make an actor. The soundness of Mr. Garrick's judgement was by no means proportionate to the splendour of his mimic powers, as this inimitable performer afterwards pronounced a similar opinion on Henderson and Mrs. Siddons. His first part was Harry Scamper, in Foote's pleasant piece of "The Orators," and Charles Banister made his *début* at the same time, in the character of Will, an Irishman. He was discharged at the end of the season, and played afterwards at Sheffield and Norwich. He returned to the Haymarket theatre, when Mr. and Mrs. Barry were engaged there, and distinguished himself very much by his performance of several respectable parts. In consequence of this success, Mr. Garrick enrolled him in the Drury-lane corps, but trusted him with nothing of importance till the death of his namesake Mr. Palmer, son-in-law to the celebrated Mrs. Pritchard, and who was in considerable repute for the ease and elegance with which he played the genteelst cast of characters. From this period Mr. Palmer had constant opportunities of displaying an un-

common versatility of powers, and at length became an universal favourite. With the exception of the last four or five years, Mr. Palmer had been imprudent in the management of his domestic affairs; but his misfortunes were still greater than his imprudence. Being involved, for some years past, in pecuniary embarrassments, his creditors, not long since, insured his life at Black-friers, for 2000*l.* which sum they are, of course, entitled to. He might have justly said, even to the end of his career, in the language of the poet,

"Woes cluster; rare are solitary woes;
They love a train—they tread each other's
heel."

His funeral took place on the 6th, and was conducted with the most solemn respectability. The hearse was preceded by mutes on horseback, four mourning coaches (being the whole the town could furnish) and one glass coach; and followed by Messrs. Aickin, Holman, Whitfield, Incedon, Matlocks, and Wild. The chief mourners were Mr. Hurst (as his oldest acquaintance) and a Mr. Stevens, cousin to the deceased. Next came major Potts, captain Snow, (the gentleman who performed, near two years since, at Covent-garden, under the assumed name of Hargrave), captain Kennedy; Messrs. Hammerton, Farley, Tomkins, Toms, Emery, Demaria (the painter), Clinch, Hollingwood, and the rest of the company; the whole of whom accompanied the corpse, in mournful silence, from Liverpool to the neighbouring village of Walton, where the body was interred. There were also two or three coaches of private parties belonging to the town. The procession

procession set out at eight o'clock in the morning, and reached the church about half past nine. Prayers being read over the body, it was committed to a grave, seven feet deep, dug in a rock. The coffin was of oak, covered with black cloth, and on the plate was simply inscribed, "Mr. John Palmer, aged 53."—He was, however, three or four years older, but there was no person in Liverpool who correctly knew his age. A stone is to be placed at the head of the grave, with the following inscription, being the very words he had spoken in the character of the Stranger:

"Oh! God! Oh! God!
There is another, and a better world!"

Mr. Palmer has left eight children, who, in a few months, have lost a father, mother, brother, and uncle. We learn, with much satisfaction, that a play was performed at Liverpool theatre, on the 13th, when the receipts of the house amounted, it is said, to 400*l.* including a donation of 50*l.* from the countess of Derby. Mr. Taylor, proprietor of the Opera-house, generously gave a free night, at his theatre, for the benefit of the four orphan daughters of Mr. Palmer, when the receipts amounted to 700*l.* and Mr. Sheridan has, with equal liberality, given one for the same purpose, at Drury-lane theatre.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. The Daily Advertiser, the oldest of the London diurnal publications, was sold, on Saturday, to the proprietors of the Oracle, with which paper it is intended to be consolidated.

2d. *Glasgow*. A number of young folks, to the number of eight or nine, if not ten, went down yesterday the length of Helensburgh, on a party of pleasure, in a boat belonging to Messrs. Truemans, rope-spinners here, having one of the rope-spinners on board to help to work the boat, and with the intention of returning to-day. In coming up the river, however, the boat unfortunately upset; and, shocking to relate, one person only was saved, by catching hold of a piece of floating timber. The names of the sufferers that have come to our knowledge are, the two Messrs Truemans; Miss Sally Trueman, their youngest sister; Mr. Brown, partner of Brown and Bogle, merchants below the exchange; Matthew Gilmour, writer; and Mr. William Dick, agent for the Paisley bank here. The fate of these sufferers is here universally lamented.

4th. This afternoon, about six o'clock, the north-east bank of the New River suddenly burst, about half a mile from Hornsey-house; and between that spot and the part called Tottenham freehold, the neighbouring meadow lands, for a circuit of perhaps three or four miles, were presently inundated, and the lower parts of them to the depth of three or four feet. The part of the bank which is completely carried away, is about nine yards in length, and the rupture goes so low as within eighteen inches of the bed of the river. At seven o'clock the water at Hornsey was not knee-deep. The noise, occasioned by the fall of water, was plainly heard at the distance of a mile. A great number of workmen were dispatched to repair the damage, which may be so far effected in the course of this day, as

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to afford the metropolis the usual supply of water; but it is thought, that, to make an effectual and permanent repair, a temporary change of the current will be necessary.

The latest accounts received from the English missionaries at Otaheite mention, that a whole province has been ceded to them. It is sufficient to sustain 10,000 persons. The king of that place seemed so highly pleased with an English infant, born soon after the missionaries landed, that he shewed it to a number of his subjects, and indicated his joy by dancing with it in his arms. A school has been established, where the children of the Otaheitans learn the English alphabet. The labours of the carpenters and smiths are looked at by the inhabitants with astonishment. The bread-fruit has also been made use of in the administration of the sacrament. But nothing is said to stagger the Otaheitans so much as the ceremony and the conditions of marriage, as practised by the Europeans.

The following is a copy of an assignat, issued by the rebels, in Ireland:—No. I. In the name of the French government—good for *half-a-guinea*, to be raised on the province of Connaught.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

We are concerned to have to relate a most daring and, apparently, unprovoked murder, committed on the body of Mr. William Sneyd, of Tubberbony, in the county of Dublin, a respectable farmer, and a member of the Coolock yeoman cavalry. The deceased had been at the fair of Kilsallaghan, on Saturday last, and while holding familiar conversation with the villain who murdered him, the demon took a pistol from Mr. Sneyd's holster, and

shot him through the head. Through the confusion incident to the event, the perpetrator of this horrid deed escaped from immediate punishment, but, we trust, will not be able to elude the hands of justice.

On Thursday evening a gentleman in a single-horse chaise, accompanied by a lady and child, drove into what he conceived a shallow part of the Serpentine River, Hyde-park, in order to wash the wheels of his carriage; but going to the brink of the declivity, which is said to be near fifteen feet deep, the chaise was overturned, and the whole party were precipitated into the water. We are happy, however, to add, that by the exertions of several persons, who fortunately happened to be on the spot, the lady, gentleman, and child were saved; but the horse was drowned, it being impossible to extricate it from the carriage.

5th. Monday morning a fire broke out at Mr. Walker's oil warehouse and colour manufactory, in Baker's Row, Cold-bath-fields. The combustible matter upon the premises occasioned the flames to rage with great fury. The whole of Mr. Walker's premises, together with articles of trade to a large amount, and some adjoining stables and out-buildings were entirely consumed.

7th. Last Monday evening, as the Rev. Dr. Green, of Steyning, was returning home from Whiston, he was overtaken by a soldier, who asked him his way to Steyning, when the doctor answered he was going there, and, if he chose, he might accompany him; but they had not walked far together before the soldier drew his bayonet, and demanded the doctor's watch and money, which he gave him, luckily having not

not more than ten shillings in his pockets. The robber, on observing the watch to be an old one, and apparently not of much value, returned it, but made off with the cash. The doctor, on arriving at Steyning, learnt, that not long before, there had been, at a public-house, a soldier answering the description of the one that had robbed him, who said, he belonged to the Sussex militia, stationed at Dover, and that captain Poyntz had sent him from thence to Cowdry, for a dog. Several persons went in pursuit of him, but without effect.

On last Wednesday se'nnight, in the evening, the following melancholy accident happened at Petworth, in Sussex: As the coachman of the earl of Egremont was watering a pair of horses in a pond in the park, during the storm, one of them took fright, at a flash of lightning, and plunged from him into the water beyond his depth, when the coachman perceiving that he was unable to swim, and attributing the cause to his being curbed, followed him on the other horse, in order to remove the impediment, but in the attempt, he fell into the water, and was unfortunately drowned, with the beast he endeavoured to save. The other horse swam, and recovered the land without injury.

12th. The storm of wind last night was as tremendous as any remembered by the oldest man living; at the turn of the tide, contrary to the wind, a great number of boats were dashed to pieces and sunk; and, below bridge, several ships were driven from their moorings, and sustained considerable damage: by land its effects were also severely felt. In Lambeth, several houses were unroofed and chimneys blown

down; and, in Hyde-park and Kensington-garden, a great many trees were torn up by the roots, and shattered branches of them carried through the air to remote distances. Even in the streets, the current of wind was, in some places, so violent as to break the lamps. We do not, however, hear any person has suffered bodily hurt.

18th. The following prisoners, for the following offences, received sentence of death, *viz.* John Lowther, for stealing goods, value 10*l.* in a dwelling-house; Dennis Nugent, for a rape; Thomas Henry Wiltshire, for stealing goods, value twenty-three shillings, privately in a shop; Joseph Peachy, for stealing goods, value 20*l.* in a dwelling-house; Thomas Allen, for the like offence; James Wingrove, for a burglary; Robert Ladbroke Troyt, for forgery; John Bruton, for highway robbery; William Hewlings and Josiah Oliver, for stealing goods, above forty shillings, from a ship in the river Thames; Catherine Leahay, Anne Warner, Sarah Willis, and Anne Sidney, for high treason, that is to say, for coining. The sentence of John Collins was respited for the opinion of the twelve judges.—The sessions was then adjourned to the 24th of October next.

Sunday morning, Mr. Dressings, the messenger, was stopped, on the other side of Saxmundham, in Suffolk, by two footpads, who robbed him of his money, and a green bag containing linen, and his whip and spurs. Mr. Dressings was sent off, by government, to Yarmouth, to overtake the mail, in order to forward some dispatches.

Yesterday, William Williams, late proprietor of the reading-room, in Round-

Round-court, in the Strand, appeared before the magistrate, on six different informations lodged against him, by virtue of the 29th George III. sect. 9; whereby it is enacted, that, "if any hawk^r of any new-paper, or other person, shall let out any newspaper for hire, to any person or persons, or to different persons, or from house to house, he, she, or they, so offending, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds." Francis Gibbs stated, that he went to the house of the defendant, on the 2d of May last, and there having read a newspaper of that day, called the Daily Advertiser, paid to the defendant one penny for the same; which being considered conclusive evidence by Mr. Dlicourt, solicitor for the Stamp-duties, he rested his case here; when Mr. Barry, as counsel for the defendant, was heard against it. It was at length mutually agreed, that, in consideration of the peculiarity of the case, and the defendant waving all appeal, and promising never to commit the like offence, one conviction only should take place, and all proceedings on the remainder cease. He was therefore fined in the penalty of five pounds; which operating as a precedent, several other persons were fined in the like sum; and thus it is established, that reading-rooms of this description come within the meaning of the aforesaid act.

19th. The mayor and corporation of Canterbury, having heard of the arrival of his royal highness the prince of Wales, at Charlton, near that place, waited on his royal highness with the freedom of this ancient city, which they presented in an elegant gold box. They all met with a most gracious reception.

VOL. XL.

The following is the address of the mayor, &c. to his royal highness, on the occasion:

May it please your royal highness,

We, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, of the city of Canterbury, thoroughly sensible of the manifold benefits and advantages which we enjoy, under the mild and just government of your royal father, are extremely happy in this opportunity of testifying to your royal highness, on occasion of your first coming to this ancient city, the duty and loyalty which we owe to his majesty, and the personal respect and reverence which we have for your royal highness.

And if any thing could increase that respect, it would be the satisfaction which we receive at seeing your royal highness appear here in arms, in defence of the country against the worst and most unprincipled enemies that ever disgraced any age or period. And we have no doubt, but, if any necessity should occur, which heaven avert, the inhabitants of this city and the county of Kent would be found ready, to a man, to second your royal highness's spirited exertions.

For ourselves, we beg leave to take this occasion of declaring to your royal highness, our firm attachment to his majesty's person and government, and our full intention to use our utmost endeavours to support the laws and constitution of this country.

As an additional proof of our personal respect for your royal highness, we humbly intreat that you will condescend to accept, from our hands, the freedom of this ancient city, so that this corporation may,
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in all future time, be honoured with having your royal highness's name enrolled among the number of its citizens.

Given under the common seal of the said city, the 18th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1798.

To which his royal highness was graciously pleased to deliver the following answer:

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and gentlemen of the corporation,

The token of esteem and attachment to myself and family, which the loyal and ancient corporation of the city of Canterbury have this day been pleased to grant me, I accept with many thanks,

It is impossible for me not to feel very forcibly the truly spirited and patriotic sentiments which pervade the whole of your address. For myself, I can only assure you, that it will be the pride and glory of my life, upon every occasion, to give my most cordial co-operation towards rescuing from dangers, foreign or domestic, our present inestimable constitution, which the experience of ages, and our own conviction, prove to us is the only one existing under which individual happiness is cemented by rational freedom.

An unfortunate accident happened on-board the *Endymion*, two or three days before she came into Portlinouth. Some pistols lying on the gun-room table, Mr. Thompson, a marine officer, took up one of them, not supposing it to be loaded, and presented it at Mr. Hogg, a surgeon, saying, "I'll shoot you;" when it unfortunately went off. The ball entered at one ear, and came out at the opposite side, carrying away part of the tongue. Mr. Hogg was sent immediately to Has-

lar-hospital, where hopes are entertained of his recovery.

20th. John Shaw, esq. was duly elected alderman of Portoken-ward, vice sir Benjamin Hammett, resigned.

A genteel young man, dressed in the naval uniform, has lately obtained money from the collectors of the customs, at various ports in this country, under pretence of being landed near the said ports, and going express to the admiralty, with letters of the greatest consequence; at the same time, producing the packets with which he was charged, and drawing bills on London for the sums he received, to discharge the expence of his conveyance; which have since been found to be drawn by and on persons of fictitious names, thereby defrauding those who advanced the money. On the 29th ult. he made the like attempt on the collector at Stockton, who, after examining him, put him under the care of a constable, and carried him before a justice of peace, who committed him to Durham gaol; but he escaped on the road.

A large quantity of foul air broke out in a coal-pit belonging to Mr. Whittuck, of Hanham, Gloucestershire, occasioned by the proprietor having stopped a communication between that pit and the duke of Beaufort's coal-work adjoining; by which accident, the whole pit's company, consisting of twenty-nine men and boys, were in imminent danger of being suffocated; but, receiving timely assistance from some of his grace's colliers, that were at work very near, they all providentially escaped, though some were saved with great difficulty, the foul air continuing so very powerful as

to render fruitless all the endeavours made, for several days together, to purify the coal-pit, and to fit it for work again.

A remarkable comet, or meteor, was observed on the 10th instant, about twenty minutes before twelve o'clock at night, by Alexander Campbell, one of the Masters of the free school at Alnwick, Northumberland, and another person. It appeared in the south-west at a considerable altitude; at first it was no bigger, but much brighter, than a common star, but presently expanded into the form and size of an apothecary's pestle. It was then obscured by a cloud, which was still illuminated behind; when the cloud was dispelled, it re-appeared with a direction south and north, with a small long streamer, cutting the pestle a little below the centre, and issuing away to the eastward. It was again obscured, and, on its re-appearance, the streamer and the pestle had formed the appearance of a hammer or a cross; presently after the streamer, which made the shaft to the hammer, or stalk to the cross, assumed two horns to the extreme point, towards the east, resembling a fork. It was then a third time obscured, but when the cloud passed over, it was changed into the shape of two half moons, back to back, having a short thick luminous stream between the two backs: it then vanished totally from their sight. It is observable that every new appearance became brighter and brighter, till it became an exceedingly brilliant object, all the other stars, in comparison, appearing to be only dim specks. The time of observation was about five minutes.

Bridgewater-bridge.—This struc-

ture, which is principally composed of cast-iron, brought in pieces from Colebrook-dale, Shropshire, by water-carriage, is now pretty well completed: it consists of one arch, the span of which is seventy-five feet; the road-way is twenty-four feet wide in the clear, including two foot pave-ways; it is lighted with six lamps. The expence of erecting the bridge is about 4,000*l.* which was collected by an additional toll on all the turnpikes leading to the town. The former bridge had stood five hundred years, and was built by an ancient lord of Bridgewater; the piers are not yet quite taken away. The iron bridge is one of the handsomest in the kingdom.

On Saturday, Mr. Mackintosh, of Micklem, near Leatherhead, was stopped and robbed by three foot-pads, near the seven mile-stone on that road, one of whom struck him a violent blow with a stick.

Bartholomew fair.—The lord mayor, according to ancient custom, with the sheriffs, and alderman Boydel, went in state yesterday, at one o'clock, from the mansion-house, and proclaimed the fair. The common business being done, and the jury of the Piepowdere-court sworn, his lordship returned to give a dinner to the sheriffs and aldermen. The hollowing, roaring, staring, shouting, trumpeting, grinning, swearing, drinking, &c. &c. then began. The crowd was uncommonly great, and, it being market-day, the fun created by the gentlemen of the cleaver, driving their *beasties* through the mob, was laughable and entertaining, but, happily, no mischief was done.

29th. This being the anniversary of the birth of her royal highness the
G 2 duchess

duthefs of Wirtemberg, who entered into the thirty-third year of her age, their majesties received the compliments of the nobility at Gloucester-lodge, Weymouth. The day was spent with great festivity; and the following rural sports formed a part of the celebrations, at Maiden-castle, Dorchester:

No. 1. To be played for at cricket, a round of beef. Each man of the winning set to have a ribband.

No. 2. A cheese to be rolled down the hill.—Prize to whoever stops it.

No. 3. A silver cup to be run for by ponies—the best of three heats.

No. 4. A pound of tobacco to be grinned for.

No. 5. A barrel of beer to be rolled down the hill.—Prize to whoever stops it.

No. 6. A Michaelmas-day goose to be dived for.

No. 7. A good hat to be cudgeled for.

No. 8. Half-a-guinea for the best afs—in three heats.

No. 9. A handsome hat for the boy most expert in catching a roll dipped in treacle, and suspended by a firing.

No. 10. A leg of mutton, and a gallon of porter, to the winner of a race of 100 yards, in sacks.

No. 11. A good hat to be wrestled for.

No. 12. Half-a-guinea to the rider of the afs who wins the best of three heats, by coming in last.

No. 13. A pig.—Prize to whoever catches him by the tail.

An umpire to be chosen, in each of the above cases, to settle all circumstances relative to the same, and declare the winners; and, if

he gives satisfaction, he will receive half-a-crown.

The duke of Bedford, or, as we should rather hope, some of his agents, has stopped up the road leading from Southampton-row to Somers-town. This, though called a private road, and, as such, not open to carriages, has been a foot-way from time immemorial. It is hoped, therefore, that the duke, without waiting for a legal process, will restore that privilege, which the inhabitants would rather owe to his own beneficence.

Early on Sunday morning, seventeen French prisoners effected their escape out of the castle of Edinburgh. They had made a large hole in the wall, through which they crept, and, by means of a rope, got to the bottom of a rock; fifteen of them got down safely, but the rope broke with the two last; and they were much hurt. Having gone into a house to get their wounds dressed, they were seized, and sent back to the castle. Parties were sent out in all directions, in order to retake them, and we learn that several of them have been secured. The two that were hurt were sent to the royal infirmary. A person in the west port, who is suspected of aiding and assisting them, is apprehended.

Yesterday morning, while the city light-horse volunteers were exercising in a field, at the end of Gray's-inn Lane, one of the horses ran off with his rider. An old man, standing near the wall, was struck with such violence, while the horse was attempting to leap over, that he was killed upon the spot. His body was carried to the Blue Lion to be owned. What was very remarkable, although the horse knock-

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ed a number of bricks from off the top of the wall, and tumbled over with his rider upon the opposite side, yet neither were much hurt.

Saturday night, James Bond, a carpenter, in Dean-street, Westminster, came home in liquor, and having words with his wife, beat her on the back part of her head with a mallet, which fractured her skull, and occasioned her death; he was immediately secured, and taken to Tothillfields-bridewell. The unfortunate man is sixty-seven years old.

Voluntary contributions.—Bank report, to September 20, 1798:

| Voluntary contribu- | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------|-----------|----|----|
| tions . . . | 1,514,933 | 12 | 9 |
| Assessed Taxes . | 821,717 | 16 | 7 |
| Total . | 2,336,551 | 9 | 4 |

A melancholy circumstance took place on Tuesday afternoon, near Dover: as some artillerymen were firing the great guns in Archeliff's fort, one of the shot unfortunately struck his majesty's sloop Osprey, and killed two men on the spot, and shattered another poor man's arm so badly, that he died yesterday. His royal highness the prince of Wales, hearing of the above, was much affected, and immediately ordered the greatest possible care to be taken of the wounded man, and of the families of the deceased. It appears the gun had been pointed some hours before it was fired, and, by the changing of the tide, the Osprey was in its direction.

Yesterday morning, about one o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of Mrs. Wood, baker, in Little Britain, which communicated to three houses adjoining, and two back houses. The whole premises

were intirely destroyed, together with the goods; happily, no lives were lost.

On Wednesday last, was caught, in Southampton-water, a spermaceti whale, measuring twenty-five feet in length, and eighteen in circumference. It was taken by the fishermen to Itchen, where it was exhibited while it could be kept, and afterwards was cut up and boiled for oil.

The village of Ordrup, about a mile from Copenhagen, the summer retreat of numbers of the inhabitants of that city, has been mostly reduced to ashes, by the breaking out of a fire in the night, with all the grain of this year's growth cut in the neighbourhood.

30th. On Saturday, a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the election of a lord-mayor for the ensuing year. The recorder having stated to the livery the importance of the business for which they were convened, the common serjeant called over the names of the different gentlemen who had served the office of sheriff. The names of Mr. alderman Combe and sir Richard Carr Glynn were received with loud applause, and it was declared, that the voice of the livery was in favour of those two gentlemen. Mr. aldermen Newman previously declined the contest. The court of aldermen retired for about half an hour; and, at their return, the recorder said their choice had fallen on sir Richard Carr Glynn, who was immediately invested with the insignia of the mayoralty.

Mr. alderman Combe said, his feelings were sufficiently gratified by the approbation of the livery, the show of hands having preponderated in his favour. He had no fault to

find with the court of aldermen, for the preference which they had made — perhaps their choice had fallen upon a worthier, though a junior alderman, than himself. He should continue his exertions for the advantage of the livery, and he pledged himself that the event of the day should excite no animosity in his breast against any individual whatever.

The number of aldermen that voted on Saturday, were, 15 for sir Richard Carr Glynn, and 5 for Harvey Combe, esq.

DIED. At his house in Park-street, Windsor, in his 84th year, Owen Salusbury Brereton, esq. many years recorder of Liverpool, F. R. and A. S. and vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries. He was going to Egham races, when he dropped down in a fit, and soon expired. He was buried in Saint George's chapel, Windsor, on the 22d. He represented the borough of Ilchester, in one parliament; and was an early member, and one of the vice-presidents, of the Society of Arts and Commerce, and various other literary and charitable societies. He held the recordership of Liverpool at the particular desire of the corporation; and has left the bulk of his fortune, after the death of his widow, to Mrs. Brand, sister of sir Harry Trelawny, bart. who was his ward. He had an estate in Flintshire, and was constable of Huddon-castle, a sinecure place. In a Roman station, called *Crocs Atti*, on his estate, his horse kicked up several Roman antiquities, engraved and described in Pennant's *Welsh Tour*, I. 51, 52, 67—73. He was elected F. A. S. 1768; and, in the "*Archæologia*," II. 80, is a paper of his observations on Peter Collinson's

account of the round towers in Ireland, I. 305. In III. 111, his tour through South Wales; and, p. 154, extracts from Henry VIIIth's household book; account of a painted window in Brereton church, Cheshire, IX. 368; a non-descript coin of Philip King of France, X. 463. Mr. B. married one of the Whitmores, of Shropshire, by whom he had 5 children, who all died young, the eldest son aged 5.

OCTOBER.

11th. Yesterday the lord mayor, alderman Boydell, and three others, with the late sheriffs and city officers, appeared in the court of exchequer, to present the new sheriffs to the curfitor baron. The ceremony of swearing the old sheriffs to the truth of their accounts, and the appointment of under sheriffs being finished, the feudal ceremony of chopping the sticks for a tenement, called the Moor, in the county of Salop, and telling the horse-shoes and sixty-one nails for a tenement, called the Forge, near Temple Bar, was performed by alderman sir John Eamer; and then the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, returned to the London-Tavern, to partake of a sumptuous dinner. Baron Maseres was invited, but declined the invitation.

That beautiful edifice, Wanstead church, Essex, was last week robbed of all its elegant communion plate, and the pulpit, desk, &c. stripped of their neat velvet coverings. The sacrilegious villains afterwards drank all the wine designed for the holy sacrament, leaving the bottles all broke about the church, and a candle burning, which providentially did

did not set fire to the building. The gang consisted of sixteen, six of whom are already taken, and we sincerely hope the rest will meet with that punishment which they so justly deserve. House-breaking, in the neighbourhood of Maryland Point, Laytonstone, and Wanstead, has recently been very frequent. The Bow-street officers ought most certainly to pay that quarter a visit.

3d. This day the court of common council was attended by two hundred members. The business was opened by the lord mayor's reading the following letter, which he had received from admiral Nelson, viz.

"*Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,*
August 8, 1798.

"My lord,

"Having the honour of being a freeman of the city of London, I take the liberty of sending to your lordship the sword of the commanding French admiral, Monsieur Blanquet, who survived after the battle of the 1st, off the Nile, and request that the city of London will honour me by the acceptance of it, as a remembrance, that Britannia still rules the waves; which that she may for ever do, is the fervent prayer of

"Your lordship's

"Most obedient servant,

"Horatio Nelson."

"Right hon. the lord mayor
of London."

A tumult of applause immediately followed the reading of the letter; and, upon the motion of Mr. deputy Leekey, the sword was ordered to be placed among the city regalia.—The thanks of the court were then unanimously voted to admiral lord Nelson, and to the officers and seamen under his command.

6th. Yesterday the lord mayor, six-

teen aldermen, and nearly two hundred common councilmen, attended. Deputy Leekey presented a report respecting the French admiral's sword. After a short debate, the court ordered it to be placed in a very elegant glass case, in the most conspicuous part of the council-room, with the following inscription upon a tablet of marble:

The sword of Monsieur *Blanquet*,
The commanding French admiral
In the *glorious victory* off the Nile,
On the first of August, 1798.

Presented

To this court by the right honourable
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

Resolved, That a sword, of the value of 200 guineas, be presented to rear-admiral lord Nelson, by this court, as a testimony of the high esteem they entertain of his public services to this city, and to the whole empire.

That the lord mayor be requested to provide and present the said sword to admiral lord Nelson.

That the freedom of the city of London be presented to captain Berry, in a gold box of 100 guineas value, as a testimony of the high esteem entertained of his gallant behaviour on the 1st of August last.

That the thanks of the court be given to all the other officers, seamen, and marines, for the undaunted bravery and steady conduct which they exhibited on that ever-memorable day.

All these motions were carried unanimously, with repeated bursts of applause.

The Halifax and New York mails, which arrived yesterday, brought the most melancholy accounts of the ravages of the yellow fever at Philadelphia, New York,

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and

and Boston. At the former place, sixty persons died in a day, upon an average, when the last return was made; but the number had so greatly increased, that publication has ceased to be made; and, in order to conceal the dreadful effects of the pestilence, the most unfortunate sufferers were buried in the night. The distemper had made nearly as mortal a progress at New York, where about twenty persons died every day, and all the principal families had deserted the city. Not a single person is to be met in the streets without a handful of segars, and one smoking in the mouth, as an antidote to the disease. At Boston, the dreadful malady had also committed some alarming ravages.

Constantinople, Sept. 8.

Immediately upon receiving the news of the victory off the mouth of the Nile, the grand seignior directed a superb diamond aigrette (called a *chelengk*, or plume of triumph), taken from one of the imperial turbans, to be sent to admiral sir Horatio Nelson, together with a piece of sable fur of the first quality. He directed also a party of two thousand sequins to be distributed among the British seamen wounded at the battle of the Nile. These presents are to be conveyed to sir Horatio Nelson in a Turkish frigate.

The following is a translation of the note delivered to Mr. Smith, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, upon the occasion:

TRANSLATION.

It is but lately that, by a written communication, it has been made known how much the sublime Porte rejoiced at the first advice received of the English squadron in the White Sea having defeated the French

squadron of Alexandria, in Egypt. By recent accounts, comprehending a specific detail of the action, it appears now more positive, that his Britannic majesty's fleet has actually destroyed, by that action, the best ships the French had in their possession. This joyful event, therefore, laying this Empire under an obligation, and the service rendered by our much esteemed friend, admiral Nelson, on this occasion, being of a nature to call for public acknowledgement, his imperial majesty, the powerful, formidable, and most magnificent grand seignior, has destined as a present, in his imperial name, to the said admiral, a diamond aigrette (*chelengk*); and a sable fur with broad sleeves; besides two thousand sequins, to be distributed among the wounded of his crew. And as the English minister is constantly zealous to contribute, by his endeavours, to the increase of friendship between the two courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his court, and to solicit the permission of the powerful and most august king of England for the said admiral to put on and wear the said aigrette and pelice.

September 8, 1798.

Halifax, Nova-Scotia, Sept. 29.

On Tuesday last, the 25th instant, in the forenoon, the atmosphere appeared thick, the sky lowering, and every thing gave tokens of an approaching gale. The wind, nearly south, about noon began to freshen into a heavy breeze, and backed towards the eastern board to about south-east. Between four and five o'clock P. M. a smart shower of rain passed over, which seemed to have given additional force to the wind. The vessels in the harbour prepared

to sustain it by striking their top-gallant masts, yards, &c. letting go their best anchors, and exerting every means which might enable them to withstand its fury, which by this time produced a considerable swell in the road. The first ship which began to drift, notwithstanding all these necessary precautions, was the *Penelope*, an American vessel, acquitted but a few days before by the admiralty; she fell athwart the bows of a Danish vessel, recently brought in for examination. The Dane's bowsprit carried away the *Penelope's* mizen-mast; the latter then got clear, and soon after was driven up towards the Navy Yard. The gale now increased to a most tremendous violence, veered from the eastward, and blew directly up the harbour. The sea ran dreadfully, and dashed to pieces almost every thing which opposed it. The prize vessels lately sent in by the *Prevoyante*, the transports with the troops on board, nearly ready to sail for Bermuda, and many other vessels, were hurried before it, without being able to make the least resistance. The tide, which should have ceased rising by eight o'clock, continued to flow till near nine. The wharfs were nearly all under water; the timber began to give way, and the vessels fastened to them assisted in dragging them into the harbour. The moon, which occasionally broke through the clouds, disclosed a prospect which baffles all description: ships driving before the hurricane nearly on their beam-ends, others actually upset, many with their masts torn by the board, wharfs and stores, filled with valuable merchandize, dashed into atoms; and, in short, one continued scene of devastation and ruin, the

whole length of the town, from the king's Lumber Wharf to the Navy Yard. The brig *Betty*, nearly ready to sail for London with a valuable cargo of sugars, &c. drove from the Long Wharf, together with the ship *Liberty* (a large retaken American vessel, that had just landed her cargo); the head of the *Liberty* was towards the town, and in her passage up the harbour she ran foul of and dragged many other vessels adrift, which might otherwise have sustained the tempest without much injury. The ship *Matilda* (belonging to Mr. Anderson), and a coasting sloop, were completely upset. A schooner, belonging to Messrs. Pryors, drove from their wharf, and forced a passage through the next wharf, nearly thirty feet from its head. The stores occupied by Messrs. Lawsons on Austin and Kidson's wharfs were beat down by a brig, which drove from Tremain's wharf, and sugars, rice, &c. &c. to a considerable amount, were almost entirely destroyed. The damage is computed at fully 100,000*l*. The *Lynx* sloop of war had a most singular escape; after driving from her anchors, she ran foul of another man of war, and in passing her she fortunately hooked on the other ship's anchors into her aftermost port, which she carried off with the cable to it, and by this she out-rose the whole gale with her stern to the wind, as the other man of war was luckily so well moored as to hold them both. The appearance of the country after the storm was singular; every tree and vegetable was blighted and withered, as if they had been scorched with fire.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 18.

*Correct Copy of the Letter of the Lord
Lieutenant's Secretary, to the President*

dent of the Court-Martial, who acquitted Whollaghan, the Wicklow Yeoman, of the Murder of Dogherty, a Peasant of the same County.

" Sir,

" Having laid before the lord lieutenant the proceeding of a general court-martial, held by your orders in Dublin barracks, on Saturday the 13th inst. of which colonel the earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you that his excellency intirely disapproves of the sentence of the above court-martial, acquitting Hugh Whollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the clearest evidence he appears to have been guilty.

" Lord Cornwallis orders the court-martial to be immediately dissolved, and directs that Hugh Whollaghan shall be dismissed from the corps of yeomanry in which he served, and that he shall not be received into any other corps of yeomanry in this kingdom.

" His excellency farther desires, that the above may be read to the president and members of the court-martial in open court. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

" H. Taylor, Sec.

" Lieut. general Craig, &c. &c.

" P. S. I am also directed to desire that a new court-martial may be immediately convened, for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them; and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Whollaghan be admitted as members."

The court-martial above, so justly reprobated, sat in the barracks, on the trials of Hugh Whollaghan and James Fox, sen. and James Fox, jun. privates in the New town Mount Kennedy corps of

yeomanry; the first charged with the wilful murder of Thomas Dogherty, of Delginny, in the county of Wicklow, and the two latter with being aiding and assisting in perpetrating the same. Mary Dogherty, mother to the deceased, deposed, that on Monday se'nnight the prisoners, Whollaghan and Fox, jun. came to the cabin of a woman where she then resided (her own dwelling and her son's having been destroyed by the soldiery); that Whollaghan only entered the room, the other prisoner wearing the uniform of his corps, having a musket, and, as the deponent verily believed, came on the same errand, having waited outside of the door, against the churchyard wall, opposite the cabin: on Whollaghan's entering the room, he asked, "Are there any bloody rebels here?" Witness replied, "No, sir." Her son, she said, was sitting behind her, eating some bread and milk. The prisoner addressed himself to him, and asked him if he was not Dogherty's eldest son? He replied, "I am." The prisoner then said, "You must die immediately." Her son answered, "I hope not, sir; if there is any thing against me, let me have a fair trial, and I will abide the consequence: I am ready to go with you now up to Mr. Latouche's." (Delginny is on Mr. Latouche's estate.) The prisoner said, "he did not care about Mr. Latouche any more than himself." The witness then begged of the prisoner to spare her son; he damned her for an old b—h, and snapped his piece, which missed fire; he then snapped it again, and it again missed. On this another yeoman, named Charles Fox, came in and said, "Your gun is not worth a penny, but by G—d that fellow must

must die." The witness, seeing the prisoner intent on murdering her son, caught hold of the muzzle of the piece, and endeavoured, as far as her strength would allow her (being an old infirm woman), to prevent him being killed by the discharge; the gun went off on the third attempt; the ball grazed the breast of her son, and entered his arm, which it broke. He let fall the vessel in which he held his milk, and dropped down, exclaiming, "Oh, mother, pray for me!" The witness, in an agony of woe, took hold of his head, which she supported in her arms. The prisoner immediately went out, returned in a few minutes after, and said, "Is the villain dead yet?" Witness replied, "Indeed he is, sir." The prisoner then observed, "For fear he should not, let him take this," and immediately fired a second shot, which entered her son's body; he never spoke after, but immediately uttered a groan and expired. He did not speak from the time he received the first shot till he died, except the one exclamation mentioned before. Witness thinks he might have lived, had he not received the second shot. Witness had no charge against James Fox, sen. They were all acquitted.

Dublin. 24th. Mr. alderman Truelock, who has laboured for several months past under a state of mental derangement, put an end to his existence with a pistol, at his house at Symond's Court, near Ball's Bridge. This unfortunate gentleman's prevalent symptom of insanity was a persuasion that his family and servants were leagued in a plot to poison him; and so strongly did this idea possess his mind, that, for many days previous to his unhappy cata-

trophe, he could not be prevailed on, even on the advice and strenuous remonstrance of his physicians, to take any food until Friday morning last, when he took some jelly. On the night of that fatal day, when sitting alone with his lady, he suddenly seized a pistol, which hung over his chimney-piece for the protection of his house, ever since a robbery which was committed on him there a short time since, and the ball passed through the back of her neck. Mrs. Truelock, with much fortitude and presence of mind, ran out of the room, in order to send one of her servants for a surgeon; and the instant she quitted the room, the alderman bolted it on the inside, and with a second pistol dispatched himself. The servants, alarmed by the report, broke open the door, and found that the unfortunate gentleman effected his fatal purpose by placing the muzzle of the pistol in his mouth, for the ball passed diagonally through the occiput. The coroner's inquest sat on the body, and returned their verdict—lunacy.

31st. The Board of Agriculture have come to an unanimous resolution, that their presidency, in future, shall be annually elective.

DIED A few days ago died, suddenly, in his stall in the Borough, — Leeds, a cobbler, aged 89, a melancholy example of the vicissitudes of human life. He was formerly an officer of rank in the army, but sold his commission, and became tea-dealer. He afterwards quitted this business, and accepted a commission in the Russian service; but happening to kill a brother officer in a duel, he fled to England, where he had not been long, when, being reduced to want, he hired himself as book-

book-keeper to an eminent woollen-draper; in this situation he remained five years, when his employer dying, he set up a chandler's shop, in which he traded; and, after encountering many changes and chances, being reduced to the greatest distress, he turned cobbler, which trade he followed till his death.

At Vienna, after a few days illness, of a complaint in his bowels, the abbé Joseph Hilarius Eckhel, director of the Imperial cabinet of medals, and professor of antiquities in the university of Vienna. He was born at Enzesfeld, in Austria, January 13, 1737. His learned friend, the abbé Michael Denis, first keeper of the Imperial library, has written the following lines on his death:

“In obitum Josephi Eckhelii το νομισμα-
τοφ λακος Παλατ.

.....

Eckhelium brevis horatulus; sed diva Menet,
Scripta Viri secum vivere secula jubet.”

By his death, numismatic science will sustain a great loss. His capital work is intitled, “*Doctrina Nummorum veterum*,” in four parts, Vienna, 1792—1794, 4to; to the first of which are prefixed general prolegomena. In 1785, he published a specimen of this work, intitled, “*Descriptio Nummorum Anachia Syriae*,” also, “*Sylloge Nummorum veterum Anecdotorum Theophrasti Castanei*. Vien. 1786,” 4to.

At his house, at Pinner, John Zephaniah Holwell, esq. formerly governor of Bengal, almost the only survivor of that ever-memorable and fatal catastrophe, the black-hole prison, at Calcutta, and writer of the affecting narrative of

that night of horror, published in 1758, and abridged.

NOVEMBER.

5th. An old woman, servant to Dr. Nicholaurin, of Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn Fields, who was left in care of the house, while the family were in the country, coming home much intoxicated with liquor, fell down the kitchen stairs, and fractured her skull in so dreadful a manner, that she lost her life.

6th. The new-erected mill, at Wooley, near Torrington, was, for the first time, set to work, when one of the mill-stones split in two parts, and was flung off with so much force, as to strike a young man at the distance of 25 feet, and killed him on the spot; a woman also received so violent a shock as to break her arm; and the miller received a blow from one piece of the stone, which fractured his leg and thigh.

7th. *Bath*. This day the lord bishop of Bath and Wells, assisted by his son (the chancellor), and Dr. Philpot, archdeacon, and attended by the clergy of the parish of Walcot, (together with such other gentlemen as have been concerned in the undertaking) and by the proper officers, consecrated the free church in this city.

The bankruptcy cause of Mr. Bowes came on to be argued in the court of chancery on Monday last, in consequence of his having presented a petition, the prayer of which was, that a commission of bankruptcy, lately issued against him, might be superseded, at the expence of Mr. Francis Peacock, the petitioning creditor, who was formerly

formerly the agent of Mr. Bowes. The doubt on which the present application was founded, it appeared, had existed for upwards of eleven years; no legal act of bankruptcy had been proved, and no satisfactory evidence had been given of Mr. Bowes's being a trader. The only proof of his being a trader was stated in the deposition to be this, "that Mr. Bowes was interested in four collieries; that he was part owner of a ship, which he had freighted, and thereby sought to get his livelihood as other ship-owners usually do."—After the whole of the case was heard, the lord chancellor was clearly of opinion, that Mr. Bowes ought to be considered merely as a part owner of a ship, and that he was not a trader within the meaning of the bankrupt laws. His lordship also thought that the petitioning creditor's debt, and the alleged act of bankruptcy were defective, and did not warrant the suing out a commission. Upon these several grounds his lordship ordered the commission to be superseded, at the expence of the petitioning creditor.

About six o'clock, a fire broke out at Messrs. Gordon and company's, distillers, in Goswell-green, which consumed part of the premises, but was, by the timely assistance of the firemen and engines, got under without doing any farther damage.

13th. On Thursday, a grand match, of ploughing against time, was performed in Windsor Great Park, between the oxen belonging to his majesty, and those of lord Somerville, which his lordship had brought, with his plough, from Somersetshire. Half an acre of ground being measured, lord Somerville's oxen (four

in the plough), started first, and performed it in an hour and twenty minutes. The machine went over two furrows at a time. His majesty's oxen were then put to the plough (six in number), but they lost the match by forty minutes.—The duke of Clarence, prince Ernest, lord Walsingham, generals Harcourt and De Budie, with a number of gentlemen farmers round the country, were spectators.—Lord Somerville's oxen were sent off yesterday for Sussex, to plough a match against time.

14th. This morning at ten o'clock, at the White Hart, a public-house, in Southampton, a well-dressed man, between thirty and forty years of age, put a period to his existence by a pistol. In the morning, he had asked the chambermaid for a glass of water. As soon as he was dressed, and retired into the bed-room, where he slept the night before, the mistress of the house expressing some wonder that he had not called for breakfast, the glass of water was mentioned to her as a reason for his not being in a hurry for it. After waiting some time longer, a message was sent to him, when he was discovered lying dead on the floor. So closely had the pistol been applied to his temple, that no report from it had been heard in the house. A small hole was made in the temple, whence a great effusion of blood ensued.

Prince Edward, on his landing at Portsmouth, proceeded, amidst the salutes of the batteries and the populace, to the commissioner's house, where he was waited on by the mayor and aldermen of that town, who, after addressing him in very loyal language, presented him with the freedom of the corporation. The
answer

answer of his royal highness was as follows:

"I am particularly flattered by this mark of your early attention. I thank you for your sentiments of attachment towards my family; and in respect to the latter part of your address, I accept of it with pleasure, that of being enrolled amongst the burgeses of your borough."

16th. Wednesday evening a coroner's inquest sat at the parish church of St. Lawrence, Cateaton-street, on the body of — Norman, a private in the West Yorkshire militia, who was unfortunately killed by a fall from the roof of the Manchester coach, the preceding day, when a verdict was returned of accidental death. The proprietor of the coach is ordered to pay a fine of twenty guineas.

19th. Two young men, who escaped some days since from the ship North Britain, to avoid being impressed, were, on the following morning, found frozen to death in the road, near Patrington.

On Monday, at Liverpool, a person attempted to go down, in a diving apparatus, to the wreck of the Pelican (overset in the river, about five years since). He descended about four fathoms and a half; but, owing to one of the tubes breaking, and want of proper persons to work the air pumps, was obliged to be taken up immediately, to prevent suffocation.

In an important tythe cause, solemnly argued by demurrer before lord chief justice Kenyon, a few days since, it was ruled by his lordship as the established law of the land for more than a century, that the owner, or occupier of land, cannot, by turning in cattle, or otherwise, destroy the tythes set out in

kind, on a pretence of having given reasonable notice for the removal of the same; but must recover damages for any unreasonable detention of the tythes on his land, by a proof of the fact, in an action against the proprietor of such tythes.

The markets at Taunton and Tiverton, in Somerset and Devon, were last week reduced much in price, to the great comfort of the inhabitants: Beef 3½d. the best; inferior, 2½d.; mutton and pork, upon the average, 3½d. to 3d.; poultry; 2s. 6d. the best in their feathers; geese, 2s. to 2s. 6d. each.

Letter of General Kosciuszko to the Emperor Paul I. of Russia.

Sire,

I profit of the first moments of the liberty I enjoy, under the protecting laws of the greatest and most generous nation, to return you the presents that your apparent bounty, and the atrocity of your ministers, forced me to accept. If I do wrong, sire, attribute it only to the irresistible force of the attachment that I bear for my compatriots, companions in misfortunes, and the hopes of yet serving my country. Yes, I repeat it, sire, and I am desirous of making to you the declaration; your heart appeared to me to be touched at my disastrous situation; but your ministers, and their satellites, have not conducted themselves to me according to your wishes. Should they attempt to impute to my free will a measure they compelled me to take, I will develope to you, and to all men who know the value of honour, their violence and perfidy; and that it will be to them only you will owe the publication of their crimes. Receive, sire, the testimonies of my respect. (Signed) Kosciuszko.
Paris, 17 Thermidor,

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The ravages of the yellow fever, in America, have been of the most dreadful description. At Philadelphia, seventy and eighty deaths are reported, on an average, in twenty-four hours; and in one instance the report of the health committee stated one hundred and eighteen to have died within that space. The last details, however, we are happy to state, are not of so melancholy a complexion. On the 15th ult. the deaths in the above city were only twenty-seven, and the new cases forty-eight. At New York, on the 17th of the same month, the deaths were no more than twenty-nine; but most of the citizens, who had returned to the sickly part of the city, had caught the infection. At Boston, on the 23d, the fever had entirely disappeared, and the citizens had, for the most part, returned to their dwellings.

21st. The following important declaration was unanimously subscribed to, at a very numerous meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants, of the metropolis, held at the mansion-house on this day, the lord mayor in the chair:

1. "That the principle of finance resorted to in the late session of parliament, namely, that of raising, within the year, a considerable portion of the sum necessary for the public service, had contributed, in an eminent degree, to the improvement of public credit, and the advantage of the community.

2. "That the meeting was nevertheless of opinion, that the criterion then assumed, as the basis of that extraordinary supply, had been found unequal in its operation, inasmuch as it had failed to call forth

a due ratio of contribution from many descriptions of persons.

3. "That, impressed with full confidence that the resources of these kingdoms were adequate to the maintenance of the national honour and independance, the meeting thought it proper to declare their readiness to give their utmost support to such measures as the legislature might deem best calculated to call forth those resources in a more equal and effectual manner, trusting, that its wisdom would devise such expedients for that purpose, as, combined with our late glorious victories, might afford the means of farther spirited resistance to the power and pretensions of the enemy; and secure, not only the blessings we now enjoy, but also that ultimate object of all our exertions—a safe and honourable peace."

26th. This morning Mr. Pitt sent a letter to the bank, stating, that he would be ready next week to treat for a loan. This notice was, as usual, communicated from the bank to the stock exchange.

This day the new church of St. Martin Outwich was consecrated by the bishop of London, before a crowded and respectable congregation. After divine service, the Rev. John Rose, the rector, in a very pathetic and forcible discourse appropriate to the occasion, took a review of the declining state of religion in a neighbouring country, and the frequent attempts of false philosophy in this, to triumph over revelation; and concluded with the most impressive exhortation to his parishioners, to give a constant attendance in the place which the Lord had that day made holy. This church, newly erected on the site of the old one, is a very

a very beautiful structure, where, to use the language of Mr. Rose, an elegant simplicity harmonizes the mind, without attracting the fancy.

28th. Yesterday morning, Dennis Nugent, for a rape; — Troit, for a forgery; and a woman, for coining, were executed, pursuant to their sentence, in the Old Bailey. They behaved with a degree of decency becoming their unfortunate situation.—Nugent denied his guilt to the last moment, calling aloud to the spectators to bear witness of his asseverations, even after the cap was drawn over his eyes.

Yesterday being the day appointed for a general thanksgiving for the successes obtained by his majesty's arms at sea, and in particular for the late victory of admiral lord Nelson, over the French fleet, it was duly observed throughout the metropolis. The shops were, for the most part, shut up; and the whole of the volunteer corps of London and Westminster attended divine service, at their respective parish churches.

The flags on St. Martin's church and Westminster abbey were displayed, and the bells rang in the morning, and at noon, on the occasion.

Their majesties, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, and Sophia, at twelve o'clock, went to chapel royal, St. James's, where they heard a sermon, preached by the Rev. Dr. Fisher, canon of Windsor.

Capt. Brown, of the Kite sloop of war, was shot with a pistol, on Wednesday last, about eleven o'clock in the evening, at Sheerness, by an inhabitant of that place, at whose house he had knocked

for admission, (having occasionally slept there when on shore); the man, after he had opened the door, refused him admittance, and while captain B. and an officer, who was in company with him, were parleying with him, the villain fired a pistol at captain B. the contents of which entered his left side, just below the ribs, but did not pass through his body. He expired in a few minutes. The murderer was taken in about two hours after, while attempting to cross the ferry.

American papers to the 4th of November arrived yesterday. The yellow fever still continued its ravages, though symptoms of abatement had begun to appear. The following are the reports of the last few days of October, and 1st of November, at Philadelphia:

October 27th, for the last twenty-four hours, ending that day at noon, 23 had died.

| | | |
|------------|---|----|
| October 29 | - | 47 |
| 30 | - | 17 |
| 31 | - | 15 |
| Nov. 1 | - | 20 |

On the 2d of November there were no reports.

By accounts from New York, it appears, that the burials in that city, on October 25, amounted to 7; on the 26th, to 13; and on the 29th, to 9. From this we have the satisfaction of knowing, that the virulence of the disorder was nearly at an end.

Mr. Matthew Lyon, a member of the American congress, has been tried and found guilty of seditious practices, at Vermont. The sentence pronounced against him was, That he be imprisoned four months, pay costs, and a fine of one thousand dollars, and stand committed until

until the judgement shall be completed with.—The indictment contained three counts; the first of which charged Mr. Lyon with writing a letter to Mr. Spooner, printer of the *Windfor paper*, published on the 51st of July last, containing artful and indirect accusations of the president of the United States, importing corruption in his appointment of men to office, displacing and rejecting men of age, experience, wisdom, and independency of sentiment, and preferring “men of meanness and ignorance;” and insinuating, that he is devoted to a fondness for “ridiculous pomp, idle parade, and selfish avarice.” The second and third counts were, for uttering, publishing, and printing of certain parts of a letter, said to be from an American diplomatic character, in France, commonly called the *Barlow Letter*, abusing, in the most virulent manner, the president and senate of the United States; and particularly for their conduct towards France.

The king has been graciously pleased to give and grant unto the right honourable Horatio baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet, and K. B. in consideration of the great zeal, courage, and perseverance, manifested by him upon divers occasions, and particularly of his able and gallant conduct in the glorious and decisive victory obtained over the French fleet near the mouth of the Nile, on the 1st day of August last, his royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may bear the following honourable augmentations to his armorial ensign; viz. *A chief undulated argent, thereon waves of*

*the sea, from which a palm tree, issuant between a disabled ship on the dexter, and a ruinous battery on the sinister, all proper; and, for his crest, on a naval crown Or, the che-
lengk, or plume of triumph, presented to him by the grand signior, as a mark of his high esteem, and of his sense of the gallant conduct of the said Horatio baron Nelson, in the said glorious and decisive victory; with the motto, “Palmarum qui meruit ferat;” and to his supporters, being a sailor on the dexter, and a lion on the sinister, the honourable augmentations following; viz. In the hand of the sailor, a palm-branch, and another in the paw of the lion, both proper, with the addition of a tri-coloured flag and staff in the mouth of the latter; which augmentations to the supporters to be borne by the said Horatio baron Nelson, and by those to whom the said dignity shall descend in virtue of his majesty's letters patent of creation; and that the same may be first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the herald's office. And also to order, that his majesty's said concession, and especial mark of his royal favour, be registered in his college of arms.*

18th. DIEU. Theobald Wolfe Tone, at Dublin. He was the son of Peter Tone and Margaret Lamport, and was born about the year 1764. His father, who for some time followed the business of a coach-maker in Dublin, was the son of an old and confidential servant in the family of the present lord Kilwarden; and from the celebrated lawyer, Theobald Wolfe, the young man derived his name at baptism. During his infancy, his father's circumstances enabled him to obtain for his son

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a good education. When about to enter Dublin college he was prevented, by having been concerned in a duel between two of his school-fellows, which terminated fatally for one of them, a boy of fourteen years of age. After an interval, however, of eight years, he succeeded in obtaining an admission into the college, where he distinguished himself in a literary meeting, called "The Historical Society." While in the college, he married a daughter of Mr. Witherington, then an eminent woollen-draper, without fortune, and against her father's consent. His company was coveted by every student of taste in the university; and, so attractive was his conversation, that many young men of the first rank and fortune solicited his acquaintance, and, in return, became his most useful patrons. During the intervals of business in college, Tone and his wife resided at the house of his father, in the county of Kildare. The ingenious owner of Millicent (Richard Griffith, esq.) took notice of his young neighbour, and attached his company by continual patronage and hospitality. He did not, however, lean entirely on his benefactor, but considerably assisted himself by literary labours for the London booksellers. These productions were chiefly of the light ephemeral kind, and are now forgotten: one piece alone is recollected, which contains some pleasant raillery on the wild and childish vagaries of romance-writers; it is called, "The wonderful History of Prince Fanfaradin." In Trinity term, 1789, he was called to the bar. Whether it was that he had mistaken his own talents, had neglected his studies, or yielded

to that disappointment, we cannot say; but he found himself embarked in a profession in which his want of fortune, and, perhaps, want of patience, seemed to exclude all hope of advancement. After travelling two or three circuits, and attending half a dozen terms in the hall, without any hope of better prospects, he followed what appears to have been his natural taste, and became a political writer. The French revolution, which broke out in 1789, soon attracted the ardent mind of young Tone, and he became a zealous preacher of the new doctrines. Events in France gave rise to proceedings in Ireland which are well known. The great questions of catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform railed up two powerful parties. Tone formed the project of uniting them, by shewing, that by that means they might both obtain their objects. This was the foundation of the united Irishmen. But on the trial of Jackson some circumstances transpired which made it prudent for Tone to abscond. His friends feared he might be implicated in treason, and he had the earliest notice to quit the country. What happened to him afterwards was stated as follows, on his trial:—This Irish adventurer, who had tried various means of living, after having subsisted by shifting for many years, at length resorted to the hacknied trade of a reforming patriot; but, being as unsuccessful in that as in his other pretences, he joined the enemies of his country, and was caught in the act of returning, with the French invading-squadron, in which he bore a commission. Having in vain attempted to conceal his person under the assumed name of Smith,

Smith, he at last confessed that he had a command among the invading plunderers. He was brought to Dublin, and tried by a court-martial. He behaved with great firmness and intrepidity: at his trial, he allowed the truth of the charges brought against him; he appeared to glory in the cause in which he had embarked, which he called "the same in which Washington had succeeded, and in which Kosciutko had failed." Holding a commission in the French service, he prayed the court to sentence him to be shot, enforcing his request by the conduct of the French towards those natives of France who were sent by the English to aid the rebellion in La Vendée, and were taken in arms. This request was denied him, and he was ordered to be executed. In the night preceding the day appointed for his execution, he, however, found means to cut his throat. The next morning Mr. Curran applied to the court of king's-bench for a habeas-corpus, to bring up the body of Mr. Tone, upon this ground, "that courts-martial had no jurisdiction upon subjects, not in the military service of his majesty, during the sitting of the court of king's-bench." The chief-justice ordered a writ to be made out immediately; but Mr. Tone was not in a condition to be moved. The military, in whose custody the prisoner was, obeyed the order of the court of king's-bench, and suspended the execution. His body was, on the twentieth, delivered to his friends, to be buried. It appeared, on the coroner's inquest, that, as soon as he was made acquainted with his sentence, on the evening of Sunday, the eleventh instant, he sunk into

a despondence which shook all the apparent fortitude he had displayed on his trial. The sentence was, "that he should be hanged by the neck till he was dead; and that his head should be cut off, and stuck up in some conspicuous part of the city." In the intervals of reflection, and the few opportunities he had of speaking, he complained bitterly of what had been done, and appeared to repent sincerely of the attempt on his own life.

DECEMBER.

2d. This day an eagle was shot by a labourer, in a garden at Horsham. The royal bird was on the wing, beset by upwards of a hundred rooks, whose noise attracted the notice of the man who shot him whilst at a considerable distance, and gave time for his procuring a loaded gun. The wings of this eagle measure, when extended from point to point, seven feet three inches. He is yet alive, having been only slightly wounded in one of his pinions.

Manchester Gazette. — A coach-driver, late on the twenty-sixth of last month, (near the hour of twelve) drove his vehicle into our river, near the Old Bridge, for the purpose of washing; when the current being strong, the horses were soon driven into the centre of the stream, forced under one of the arches, and, in that state, (too shocking almost to conceive) they swam, with the man on the box, through Blackfriars-bridge, fighting and struggling for their lives, till one in the morning. The poor fellow, in his endeavours,

deavours, had entangled his legs in the reins; but from them he extricated himself with a knife; when, fortunately coming nearly in contact with a dyer's flat, he, by an astonishing effort, jumped from the box upon the same, where he lay several minutes in a state of insensibility. The horses, after swimming about the river some time, followed their master to the flat, and attempted to raise their fore-feet upon it: the poor man, with the little strength he had left, held up the head of one of the creatures, till, with a convulsive groan, it expired in his arms. From the active assistance of several persons, attracted by the cries of the coachman, they had so far succeeded in rescuing the other horse as to extricate him from the reins, and had got him nearly half up Mrs. Duxbury's steps, when, owing to the tempestuousness of the night, he slipped from their holds, and again plunged into the river; after which nothing more was seen of him. Happy would it have been had the calamity ended here: curiosity (early on the morning following) called crowds of people together to see the bodies of the horses floating; among others, a group of nine or ten women and children very incautiously got together on a dyer's stage, hanging over the river near the New Bridge; when, shocking to relate, the bottom of the stage gave way, and they were all in an instant precipitated into the river. Three were recovered before life was gone; the strength of the current rendered every endeavour to save the others ineffectual, and they were all swept away. On how slender a thread does human life hang! The insecurity of these stages, from the number of years they

have been erected, renders it a matter of astonishment that even an individual will trust his person thereon. The following are the names of the unfortunate sufferers: Miss Martha Rhodes, Miss Anna Reed, Miss Jane Holiday; Ellen Neild, Sarah Petty, (Mrs. Duxbury's servants) and Richard Boardman. A woman and her child are also said to have perished. A boy, who was saved, was fetched out by a dyer's dog. The sagacious animal returned for a woman, but, it was too late.

Philadelphia, Nov 4.

The contagion, which has, for the last three months, raged so violently in this city, has as heretofore yielded at length to a succession of frost which has prevailed during the last week, and the committee of health has invited the inhabitants to return to their homes, under an assurance of perfect safety, under proper precautions as to cleansing and airing their houses, bedding, and clothing. The coldness of the season has worked the same happy change in New York, Boston, New London, and Wilmington, where the same species of disease raged at the same time, and proved infinitely more malignant than the former diseases with which those places have been visited.

Bombay, July 1.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the European and native inhabitants, held at the town-hall, it was resolved to open books for the receipt of voluntary contributions for the support of the mother country at the present important crisis. The following liberal donations, by the members of government, formed the commencement of the subscriptions:—

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|--|---------|
| The hon. Jonathan Duncan, governor - - - | 25,000 |
| Lieut. general James Stuart, commander-in-chief - - | 20,000 |
| James Rivett, esq. third in council - - - | 12,000 |
| William Page, esq. fourth in council - - - | 12,000 |

It is expected that the patriotism displayed on this occasion, by the government, will be followed by similar exertions throughout every branch of the service under this presidency, in proportion to their respective stations and fortunes. Other letters from Bombay state, that the contributions, on the first day, amounted to 20,000*l.* and that they had since exceeded 50,000*l.* The generous aid afforded to the national resources by the little island of Bombay will, no doubt, be greatly exceeded in amount at Calcutta and Madras, where the inhabitants are more opulent, and equally liberal in their ideas.

Dublin, Dec. 5.

This day, one of the castle secretaries called upon the several state-prisoners, and informed them, that they might now go to any part of the European continent, not at war with us, except the undernamed persons, who were informed that circumstances had occurred which prevented the lord-lieutenant from suffering them to leave prison for the present.—At the same time intimating to all persons included in the emigration-bill, (the excepted persons excluded) that if they did not depart in the course of a month, they must remain in prison at their own expence, as government, after that, would not grant them any allowance.

The following is a list of the

persons who will not be permitted to depart:

Arthur O'Connor, Thomas A. Emmett, John Sweetman, Henry Jackson, Doctor M'Nevin, John Chambers, Samuel Niellon, Thomas Russell, Matthew Dowling, John Sweeny, Hugh Wilson, Miles Dignam, Joseph Cuthbert, John Cormick, Dean Swift.

Hamburgh, Nov. 27.

The vessel, in which Tandy and his companions had been on the coast of Ireland, was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, from whence, apprehensive that in navigating the North Sea they should fall in with some English cruizer, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their object and their route was received at Hamburgh shortly after they had arrived there (on the 22d November). They were traced to the inn bearing the sign of the arms of America; sir James Crawford, the British minister, immediately waited on the chief magistrate, to request a warrant to arrest those persons, as subjects of Ireland in rebellion against their sovereign, but could not obtain it: not discouraged, however, he three times again applied, and at length obtained an order to the police to the required effect. On the 24th, soon after four in the morning, sir James led the officers of police, attended by a guard, to the American arms, which he completely invested, waiting till the doors were open, between five and six, when he entered with his escort, which instantly occupied every passage. The master of the house was then called, who, on being asked for the strangers by their travelling names, shewed their several apartments. Early

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as it was, Napper Tandy was found writing. The officer who entered his room demanded his passport, which he, with much confidence, said he would produce, and, going to his trunk, took out a pistol, which presenting at the officer, he said, "this is my passport!" The officer, however, being a man of uncommon bodily strength, seized and wrested the pistol from him; at which time, the guard, called by the scuffle, entered the room, and secured Mr. Tandy, who, together with his associates, were shortly after put in irons, and by order of Sir J. Crawford, confined in separate guard-houses. No sooner had this event transpired in the morning, than citizen Marragon, the minister of the French republic, sent a note to the senate, claiming Napper Tandy and his colleagues as French citizens, and threatening to quit Hamburgh, if they were not released. Sir James Crawford, on the other hand, opposed the demand in terms equally strong. In this perplexity, the senate held an extraordinary deliberation, at five o'clock on Saturday evening, which lasted till midnight. Yesterday another meeting was held, but the result is kept profoundly secret. This, however, is certain, that the senate, against the will and representations of Sir James Crawford, has ordered two of the prisoners to be unironed. What their fate will be cannot yet be ascertained. Napper Tandy is in a bad state of health. The French chargé d'affaires, citizen le Maître, apprehensive for the fate of the prisoners, offered a considerable sum of money to an officer of the Hamburgh regulars, who had the guard, to permit their escape; but he indignantly refused, and proclaimed

the attempt to dishonour him. Sir James Crawford and citizen Marragon immediately dispatched to their respective courts the particulars of this important event.

7th. The dispute between the senate of Hamburgh and the British resident in that city is not yet terminated, as the English cabinet have sent over instructions to their agents to insist on detaining Napper Tandy, Blackwell, and the other Irishmen in the military service of France, lately arrested at that place. Blackwell is said to be an officer of very high repute, and has served in several campaigns on the Rhine.

8th. A singular discovery was this day made in the barrack-yard, at Horncliff, Kent: some of the Middlesex militia, being employed to clean a well, one of them, let down in a bucket, called out to be drawn up, and informed his companions there was a dead man at the bottom. Upon drawing up the corpse with a rope, it proved to be the body of George Sullivan, who was supposed to have deserted on the Monday night preceding. He was a fine young fellow, about twenty-two years of age, and much esteemed by the regiment. Some bread and cheese he had been to provide was found in the well with him.

10th. The *Colossus*, of 74 guns, capt. G. Murray, was, this day, lost at Scilly. This ship was coming home with the convoy from Lisbon, and, owing to adverse winds, had put into Scilly. She drove from her anchors, and went ashore upon the rocks where she was totally lost. The crew, with the exception of one man, or, according to another account, of three lives, were all saved. Several of the convoy are also

also said to have suffered in the same gale.

17th. A court-martial, *pro forma*, was held on captain Thompson, of the *Leander*, for the capture of that ship; when he was most honourably acquitted.

25th. At noon, a fire broke out on the premises of Charles Adams, esq. at Whip's-cross, Walthamstow, which intirely destroyed the out-houses, consisting of a double coach-house, a fix-stall stable, cow-house, &c. and it was with great difficulty the flames were prevented from catching the house.

26th. Yesterday evening, between seven and eight o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at the mansion-house of the earl of Essex, in Curzon-street, May-fair, which consumed the whole of the premises. The flames raged with such fury that scarce any of the furniture could be saved. It began while the family were at dinner. A large party being invited to cards in the evening, the drawing room was lighted up for the purpose, and, while the company were regaling, the alarm was given that the room was on fire: his lordship and the gentlemen who were with him, attended by the servants, ran up, in hopes of extinguishing the flames; but it was too late, and the noble earl, in a state of frantic horror, was obliged to be forced out of the house by his son, lord Malden. The distracted situation of her ladyship, and that of lady Malden, cannot be described. The accident is supposed to have happened from a candle falling out of one of the girandoles on a sofa, and communicating to the window-curtains. It being feared the adjoining house, belonging to earl

Macartney, would share the same fate, the furniture was removed to the earl of Chesterfield's. The earl and countess of Essex, with their son and daughter, lord and lady Malden, took refuge in the house of Mr. Dent, in the same street, from whence they went to the honourable Mr. Stanhope's, and slept last night at the earl of Chesterfield's. The St. George's corps, and a party of the guards, endeavoured to keep off the crowd, but could not prevent depredations: one man was taken with several silver spoons and three napkins, marked with the initials of the earl of Essex.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the open air, with a northern aspect, was, on Christmas-day, in the afternoon, at 23; at nine at night, 22; Wednesday afternoon, 18; nine at night 17½; at nine this morning, 17, which is fifteen degrees below the freezing point; at eleven 18.

The Thames is nearly covered with sheets of ice, driving with the tide, so that the river is impassable for craft.

27th. Yesterday morning, about four o'clock, a fire broke out at a cottage, in Heytesbury, Wilts, which was in a short time reduced to ashes, together with two other thatched cottages adjoining; and three women and a girl, who were there employed in spinning, &c. for the parish, unfortunately perished in the flames, before any assistance could be given them. The accident is said to have been occasioned through the carelessness of a man who inhabited one of the cottages: he had drank pretty freely in the afternoon of Tuesday, and, returning home late at night, he imprudently set fire to a large bundle of straw,

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in his chimney-corner, which communicated rapidly to the rafter and thatch, and, in a few minutes the whole was in a blaze; he, however, escaped, himself, without injury. The disfigured remains of the four persons, who thus unhappily lost their lives, were dug from the ruins in the course of yesterday; and, this morning, inquests were taken on the bodies, by Mr. Clare, of Devizes (coroner), when the juries returned verdicts of accidental death.

The following is a return of the Duties on Malt, from October 1797 to June 1798:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|----------|----|----|
| Hatch and co. | 117,316 | 11 | 8 |
| Bush and co. | 94,058 | 6 | 8 |
| Cook and co. | 91,687 | 0 | 0 |
| Smith and co. | 88,183 | 18 | 0 |
| Hodgson and co. | 76,390 | 15 | 0 |
| Gosse and co. | 74,989 | 15 | 0 |
| Metcalf and co. | 70,942 | 13 | 6 |
| Liptrap and co. | 53,544 | 14 | 2 |
| Johnson and co. | 50,830 | 10 | 10 |
| Booth | 38,622 | 5 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £756,366 | 10 | 8 |

The military staff establishment of Great Britain, and her dependencies, has increased, through the necessity of the times, to the following numerous body of general and field officers, *viz.*

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Field-m Marshals | 6 |
| Generals | 289 |
| Colonels | 325 |
| Lieutenant-colonels | 648 |
| Majors | 595 |

Total 1863

The following is the present number of officers in the British navy,

according to their respective ranks, *viz.*

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| Admirals | 102 |
| Post-captains | 520 |
| Commanders | 359 |
| Lieutenants | 2068 |

Total 2959

The following is a statement of the amount of porter brewed by the twelve principal brewers, in this metropolis, the last and present year:

1797.

| | Barrels. |
|--------------------------|----------|
| Whitbread | 192,747 |
| Thrale | 141,592 |
| Gyfford | 119,822 |
| Trueman | 117,179 |
| Calvert, Felix | 101,763 |
| Meux | 95,376 |
| Goodwyn | 92,758 |
| Calvert, John | 70,095 |
| Clowes | 58,685 |
| Elliott | 55,819 |
| Harford | 54,197 |
| Cox | 46,130 |

1798.

| | |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Whitbread | 184,506 |
| Meux | 180,448 |
| Thrale | 131,519 |
| Gyfford | 123,040 |
| Calvert, Felix | 111,791 |
| Trueman | 109,227 |
| Goodwyn | 84,176 |
| Calvert, John | 72,433 |
| Clowes | 58,489 |
| Elliott | 51,542 |
| Riley | 45,863 |
| Phillips | 43,163 |

The following is an accurate statement of the quantity brewed by the first twelve houses in the London table-beer brewery for the last two years, ending on the 5th of July, each year:

Kirkman

1797.

| | <i>Barrels.</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| Kirkman and co. | . 26,533 |
| Sandford and co. | . 18,857 |
| Charington and co. | . 16,043 |
| Nieman and co. | . 13,799 |
| Cape Benjamin | . 13,000 |
| Edmonds and co. | . 12,475 |
| Bond, Edward | . 10,569 |
| Park and co. | . 8,739 |
| Satchell, Richard | . 7,396 |
| Hall and co. | . 6,938 |
| Allen, John | . 6,863 |
| Cawell, John | . 6,700 |

1798.

| | |
|--------------------|----------|
| Kirkman and co. | . 30,029 |
| Sandford and co. | . 20,217 |
| Charington and co. | . 14,482 |
| Edmonds and co. | . 13,543 |
| Nieman and co. | . 13,294 |
| Cape, Benjamin | . 12,193 |
| Bond, Edward | . 10,372 |
| Satchell, Richard | . 9,686 |
| Park and co. | . 9,633 |
| Levesque, John | . 8,335 |
| Cawell, John | . 7,575 |
| Holbroak, James | . 6,957 |

DIED. At his seat at Downing, in Flintshire, in his seventy-third year, Thomas Pennant, esq. the celebrated tourist and zoologist.

BIRTHS in the Year 1798:

Jan. 2d. The countess of Dalkeith, a son.

5th. Lady Charlotte Strutt, a daughter.

6th. The lady of P. I. Thelluston, esq. twin sons.

21st. Mrs. Banting, of Little Rington, Gloucestershire, a daughter, her thirty-second child.

28th. Lady Charlotte Greville, a son.

— Right honourable lady Emily M'Leod, a daughter.

— Her Imperial majesty of Russia, a prince.

Feb. 25th. Right honourable lady Petre, a daughter.

March 1. The empress of Germany, an archduchess.

— Lady of sir John Davie, bart. two sons.

3d. Lady of sir William Eliot, bart. a son.

19th. Lady Calthorpe, a daughter.

26th. Lady Rodney, a son.

27th. Countess of Derby, a still-born child.

— Lady Spencer, a son.

April 10th. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.

20th. Marchioness of Titchfield, a daughter.

— Lady of sir Thomas Henry Liddell, bart. a daughter.

23d. Countess of Albemarle, a daughter.

24th. Lady Say and Sele, a son.

26th. Her royal highness the duchess of Wirtemberg, a daughter.

29th. The lady of sir Samuel Fludyer, bart. a daughter.

May 13th. Countess of Aylesford, a son.

25th. Lady of sir John Stirling, bart. a son.

27th. Honourable Mrs. Childers, a son.

31st. Countess of Euston, a son.

— Lady Charlotte Nares, a daughter.

— Lady Harriet Gill, a daughter.

June 27th. Hon. Mrs. Carleton, a daughter

28th. Lady Eliz. Talbot, a son.

July 2d. Lady of sir Charles Watson, a daughter.

10th. Lady

10th. Lady of the honourable Newtown Fellows, a daughter.

13th. Her majesty the queen of Prussia, a princess.

19th. Lady of sir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.

28th. Countess Dowager of Mansfield, wife of the honourable F. Greville, a daughter.

31st. Lady viscountess Fielding, a son.

— The lady of sir N. B. Gresley, bart. a daughter.

Aug. 10th. Mrs. Sommerfield, of the queen's palace, two sons and a daughter.

Sept. 5th. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a daughter.

8th. Vicountess Chetwynd, two daughters.

13th. Lady Grey, a daughter.

17th. Lady Charles Ainsley, a son.

18th. The wife of John Primrose, esq. of Barton, two sons and a daughter.

29th. Countess of Banbury, a daughter.

Oct. 5th. Lady Louisa Brome, a daughter.

12th. Lady of the hon. and rey. A. H. Carthcart, a daughter.

12th. Princess of Brazil, a prince.

— Lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a son.

19th. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a son.

24th. Honourable Mrs. Barnard, a still-born child.

25th. Lady Portchester, a daughter.

31st. Mrs. Blower, of Downstreet, three sons.

— Lady of the bishop of St. David's, a son.

Nov. 5th. Countess of Guildford, a daughter.

9th. Vicountess Dungannon, a son.

14th. Lady Anne Vernon, wife of the bishop of Carlisle, a son.

15th. Madame Desparre, Welbeck-street, two daughters, and a son.

21st. Lady of the honourable the speaker of the house of commons, a son.

23d. Lady Hugh Seymour, a daughter.

Dec. 7th. Lady Louisa Hartley, a daughter.

— Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.

8th. Lady le Despenser, a daughter.

10th. Marchioness of Blandford, a daughter.

12th. The countess of Errol, a daughter.

— Lady of the honourable Mr. Petre, a daughter.

26th. Lady of sir Frederick Morton Eden, a daughter.

29th. Lady Harvey, a daughter.

MARRIAGES for 1798.

Jan. 4th. Lieutenant-colonel R. Ferguson, to Miss Monroe, daughter of lieutenant-general sir H. Monroe.

5th. W. Philips Inge, esq. of Thorpe, to lady Elizabeth Stewart, second daughter of lord Galloway.

15th. Pascoe Grinell, esq. of Taplow, to the honourable Georgina St. Leger, sister to viscount Doneraile.

— Sir Francis L. Wood, bart. of Bowling-hall, York, to Miss Buck.

20th. Lord Sheffield, to lady Anne North, daughter of the late earl of Guildford.

Feb. 1st. John Payne, esq. of Wells, to the honourable Mrs. Hyde.

12th. Mr. Holman, of Covent-garden theatre, to Miss Hamilton, daughter

daughter of the honourable and rev. Frederick Hamilton, and granddaughter of lord Archibald Hamilton.

20th. Lord Hervey, to the hon. Miss Upton, daughter of the dowager lady Templetown.

— Rev. F. North, son to the bishop of Winchester, to Miss Esther Harrison.

— Privé Loveden, esq. of Woodstock, to the honourable Mrs. Agar, sister of lord viscount Ashbrooke.

26th. Winchcombe Henry Hartley, esq. to the right honourable lady Louisa Lumley.

March 24th. Sir John Trollope, bart. to Miss Thorold.

28th. Joseph Sidney Yorke, esq. M. P. brother to the earl of Hardwicke, to Miss Rattray.

— Sir Richard Steele, bart. to Miss Frances D'Alton, daughter of the late general count D'Alton.

April 9th. James Arbuckle, esq. of Donaghadee, to lady Sophia Jocelyn, sister to the earl of Roden.

17th. The hon. George Villiers, brother to the earl of Clarendon, to the hon. Miss Parker, daughter of the late lord Borlenghe.

30th. Captain Ross, of the 41st regiment, to the hon. Miss Browne, daughter of the late lord Kilmaine.

May 18th. Earl of Yarmouth, to Miss Fagniani.

30th. Honourable W. Gore, second son of the earl of Arran, to Miss Caroline Hales, youngest daughter of the late sir Thomas Pym Hales, bart.

— The honourable Frederick West, brother to the earl of Delaware, to Miss Maria Middleton.

June 18th. Sir Henry Every, bart. to Miss P. Moseley, daughter of sir John Moseley, bart.

— Sir Samuel Brooke, bart. of

Seaton, to Miss Cottleboe, of Anglesea.

July 10th. Right honourable W. Wyndham, secretary at war, to Miss Cecilia Forrest, daughter of the late admiral Forrest.

12th. Honourable Henry Windsor, brother to the earl of Plymouth, to Miss Copton.

Aug. 2d. Charles Ellis, esq. M. P. to the honourable Miss Hervey, daughter of the late lord Hervey.

— Hon. col. John Vaughan, M. P. son of the earl of Lisburne, to the hon. Lucy Courtenay, daughter of the late lord Courtenay.

7th. The honourable col. John Hope, brother to the earl of Hopton, and M. P. to Miss Eliza Hope, daughter of the hon. Charles Hope.

16th. Captain sir Edmund Nagle, to Mrs. Blackman.

20th. Honourable Philip Pusey, brother to the late earl of Radnor, to lady Lucy Cave, daughter of the earl of Harborough, and relict of the late sir Thomas Cave, bart.

21st. Richard Norman, esq. of Leatherhead, to lady Eliz. Manners, eldest sister of the duke of Rutland.

25th. Honourable E. Tournour, brother of the earl of Wintertown, to Miss Hester Hayward.

29th. Hon. Edward Hawke, eldest son of lord Hawke, to Miss Frances Anne Hervey.

— Mr. Hardinge, to lady — Gore, daughter of the earl of Ross.

— Lord Leslie, to Miss Campbell, daughter of the late colonel Campbell.

Sept. 5th. Rev. Henry Maxwell, to lady Anne Butler, daughter of the earl of Carrick.

Oct. 6th. Sir Edward Baynes, bart. to Miss Lambert.

24th. Sir Charles Ventris Field, knight-banneret, to Mrs. Lill.

Nov.

Nov. 9th. Earl Home, to lady Eliz. Montague, third daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

10th. Lord W. Seymour, brother to the marquis of Hertford, to Miss M. Clitheroe.

Dec. 14th. The honourable Thomas Ralph Maude, to the hon. Frances Anne Agar, daughter of the archbishop of Cashel.

20th. J. Woodcock, esq. to Miss A. Hotham, daughter of the honourable sir Beaumont Hotham, baron of the exchequer.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1798.

Jan. 4th. Right hon. sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. of the privy council of Ireland.

5th. Right rev. Dr. John Porter, bishop of Killala, bishop of Clogher, vice Foster, deceased.

6th. Brevet capt. Richard Howdon, major in the army.

8th. Lieutenant-generals sir Thomas Shirley, bart. Patrick Tonyn, Gabriel Christie, John Reid, sir William Green, bart. George Scott, Charles O'Hara, Loftus Antony Tottenham, William Rowley, Peter Bathurst, hon. William Gordon, Robert Prescott, hon. William Harcourt, Henry earl of Carhampton, William Dalrymple, William Pictou, sir Hector Munro, K. B. hon. William Hervey, J. Fletcher Campbell, Francis Lalcelles, sir William Meadows, K. B.—generals in the army.

Major-generals William Sheriff, William Ormfield, Samuel Hulfe, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Valancey, John Thomas earl of Clanricarde, sir James Stewart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marsh, Caven-

dish Lister, Charles Leigh, James Grilvie, sir Robert Laurie, bart. William Martin, John Archer, William Edmeston, Forbes Macbean, David Home, Hugh Debbieg, Richard Dawson, Montgomery Agnew, James Stewart, Alexander earl of Balcarres, hon. Charles Stewart, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles earl of Harrington, hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Nesbitt Balfour, Edmund Stevens, Thomas Trigge, Francis earl of Moira, Peter Craig—to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels Philip Martin, of the royal artillery; William Barthwick, of the royal artillery; Lyle Coote, aide-de-camp to the king; Jeffery Amherst, of the 40th foot; Harry Burrard, aide-de-camp to the king; Charles Lennox, aide-de-camp to the king; James Adolphus Harris, of the 1st foot; Arthur Ormsby, of the 6th foot on guards; Henry Reader, of the 1st life-guards; William John Arabin, of the 2d life-guards; George Don, aide-de-camp to the king; John Francis Craddock, of the late 127th foot; Colebrook Nesbitt, aide-de-camp to the king; lord Charles Fitzroy, aide-de-camp to the king; Napier Christie Burton, of the 3d foot guards; Richard Rich Wilford, of the York hussars; Edward Morrison, of the Coldstream guards; sir Charles Aggill, bart. of the 1st foot guards; hon. Charles Monson, aide-de-camp to the king; Thomas Garth, aide-de-camp to the king; Vaughan Lloyd, of the royal artillery; sir James St. Clair Erskine, bart.; William Brady, of the royal artillery in Ireland; Lucius Barber, of the royal artillery in Ireland—to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonel James Webber, an independent officer; Chas. William

William Este, of the 64th foot; Samuel Twentyman, on half-pay of the 90th foot; George Rochfort, of the invalid artillery; Joseph F.W. Desbarres, of the 60th foot; sir Charles Marsh, an independent officer; Francis Grose, of the new South-Wales corps; William Scott, on half pay of the 80th foot; Archibald Campbell, of the 8th foot; Francis Fuller, of the 50th foot; Arthur Carter, of the 14th light dragoons; James Affleck, of the 16th light dragoons; George Vaughan Hart, of the 75th foot; John Robinson, of the late horse grenadier guards; George Brodie, of the 52d foot; hon. Thomas Maitland, of the 62d foot; Patrick Hely, of the 11th foot; Daniel Robertson, of the 60th foot; John Blake, of the 24th foot; Archibald M'Alister, of the 35th foot; Richard Bright, of the marines; Alexander Macdonald, of the marines; William Ramsay, of the 80th foot; Gustavus Belford, of the royal regiment of horse guards; John William Augustus Romer, of the 60th foot; James Campbell, an independent officer; Edward Madden, of the 15th foot; John Skerrett, of a late West-India regiment; Hildebrand Oakes, of the 26th foot; C. Campbell, of the 6th foot; George Prevost, of the 60th foot; Stair Park Dalrymple, of the 71st foot; John Ormsby Vardeleur, of the 5th dragoon guards; John Carnegie, of the 11th light dragoons; William Waller, of the 3d dragoons; sir Thomas Chapman, of the 6th dragoon guards; Mervyn Archdall, of the 11th light dragoons; John Haydock Boardman, of the 2d dragoons; Edward Dawson, of the 8th foot; John Cope Sherbrooke, of the 33d foot; James Hall, of the 8th

light dragoons; William Payne, of the 3d dragoon guards—to be colonels in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels hon. Edward Bligh, on the half-pay of the late 107th foot; William lord Craven, of the 3d foot; Hugh Campbell, of the 5d foot guard; lord William Bentinck, of the 24th light dragoons; Edmund Viscount Dungarvon, of the Coldstream foot guards—to be aides-de-camp to the king.

Lieutenant-colonel Lambert Theophilus Walpole, of the late 107th foot, deputy adjutant-general to the forces in Ireland, to be colonel in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Coote Manningham, of the 41st foot; Henry George Grey, of the 7th light dragoons; hon. Edward Paget, of the 28th foot; Arthur Whetham, of the 1st foot guards—to be aides-de-camp to the king.

Majors, from Ninian Imrie, of the 1st foot, to William Sherlock, of the 5th dragoon guards—to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains, from Robert Balfour, of the 2d dragoons, to James Eyre Caulfield, of the 55th foot—to be majors in the army.

12th. Brevet colonel John Whitelocke, brigadier-general in Guernsey only.

— Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh castle, vice lord Eglington, resigned.

19th. Rev. Joseph Stock, D.D. bishop of Killala, vice Porter.

— Colonel Charles Handfield, commissary-general of stores, &c. to the forces in Ireland.

— Lord Braybrooke, lord lieutenant of the county of Essex.

23d. Brevet

23d. Brevet colonel John Murray, brigadier-general in Nova-Scotia only.

— Lieutenant-colonel Henry viscount Gage, colonel.

Majors Charles Douglas Smith, on the half-pay of Tarleton's light dragoons; Charles Wall, on the half-pay of the independents; Francis Seymour, of the 87th foot; Thomas Fitzgerald, of the 29th foot; Richard Hovendon, of the 21st light dragoons—to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captain William Troughton, commandant of the late 129th foot; Patrick Ewing, and Henry Johnstone, of the Scotch brigade; P. I. Fellowes, of the 47th foot—to be majors in the army.

Brevet lieutenant-col. Walter Cliffe of the royal fusiliers, to be adjutant-general to the forces in the East-Indies, vice Achmuty, who resigns; brevet major Hugh Mackay Gordon, of the 16th foot, to be quarter-master-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Hall, who resigns; major William Hutchinson, of the independents, to be major of brigade to the forces in South Britain, vice M'Murdo, who resigns; capt. Henry Percy Pulleine, of the 2d dragoons, to be major of brigade to the said forces, vice Rudbeck, who resigns; Archibald Gloster, esq. to be deputy-judge advocate to the forces serving in the Leeward Islands; Thomas Williams, jun. gent. to be commissary of stores and provisions to the forces at Annapolis Royal, vice Williams, deceased.

John Ewart, M. D. to be physician to the forces, and inspector-general of hospitals in the island of Ceylon.

27th. Appointment of John Ross,

esq. to be his Sicilian majesty's vice-consul at Gibraltar, approved by his majesty.

30th. Thomas Williams, gent. to be barrack-master at Annapolis.

Feb. 6th. Appointment of John Elmslie, esq. to be vice-consul to his Swedish majesty at Gibraltar, approved by his majesty.

— Brevet the honourable colonel Thomas Maitland, of the 62d foot, to be brigadier-general in the West-Indies only.

— Lieut.-colonel Henry Richmond Gale, of the late 20th light dragoons; Robert Tipping, of the late 80th foot; George Ward, of the late horse grenadier guards, to be colonels in the army.

— Major Horace Churchill, of the late horse grenadier guards, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

— Captain Samuel Venables Hinde, of the 25th foot, to be major in the army.

8th. Sir Valentine Browne, bart. created baron of Castle Ross and viscount of Kenmare, county of Kerry, with remainder to his heirs male.

9th. James Talbot, esq. appointed secretary of legation at the court of St. Petersburg.

14th. John, earl of Westmoreland, appointed keeper of the privy seal, vice earl of Chatham, resigned.

— William Wentworth, earl Fitzwilliam, appointed lord-lieutenant of the west riding of the county of York, and of the city of York, and county of the same, vice duke of Norfolk, resigned.

— John Colpoys, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, created a knight of the Bath, vice sir William Gordon, deceased.

— Charles Paulet, esq. (commonly called earl of Wiltshire), to be

be lord-lieutenant and custos-rotulorum of the county of Southampton, vice commissioners (the marquis of Winchester, his father, sir W. Heathcote, bart. W. Chute, esq.)

— Dame Rose Ffrench, widow of the late sir Charles Ffrench, bart. created baroness Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, county of Galway; with remainder of the title of baron Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench aforesaid, to her heirs male by the said sir Charles Ffrench, bart.

— Right hon. John Foster, to be governor of the county of Louth, vice earl of Clanbrassil, deceased.

17th. Philip earl of Chesterfield, to be master of the horse to his majesty, vice earl of Westmoreland.

— George earl of Leicester, and William lord Auckland, to be his majesty's postmasters-general; the latter vice lord Chesterfield.

— Lieutenant.-col. Aytoune, and lieut.-col. J. Spens, colonels.

Appointments in the East-India Company's service.

— Colonels John Peckre, Thomas Brownrigg, John M'Gowan, Dugald Campbell, Thomas Trent, Thomas Prendergrast, Robert Nicholson, Alexander Hardy, Richard Tolson, Stafford William Sam. Waddington, Vere Warner Hulley, to be major-generals.

Lieutenant-colonels George Russell, sir Ewen Baillie, John Macdonald, William Palmer, Edward Clarke, William Vanas, Roger Edward Roberts, Robert Mackenzie, James Dunn, James Dickson, John Bateman, Patrick Hay, Chas. Henry White, George Mence, Christopher Green, David Woodburn, James Stevenson, John Conrad Sartorius, Francis Gowdie, Hen-

ry Malcolm, Edward Montague—to be colonels.

Majors Charles Scott, Robert Baillie, Richard Scott, Samuel Dyer, Edmund Lambert, John Rattray, James Meredith Vibart, Samuel Black, Samuel Watson, John Collins, Henry Vincent, William Denby, Robert Ogle, Robert Rayne, James Pearson, Thomas Welsh, Andrew William Hearsay, Jabez Mackenzie, John Boujonnar, Thomas Higgins, James Pringle, William Mackintosh, Henry Hyndman, Patrick Douglas, John Fenwick, Thomas Edwards, Robert Frith, Hugh Stafford, Richard Grenber, John Powell, sir John Murray, bart. James Morrice, Peregrine Powell, James Noke, Patrick Macdougall, John Hilliard, Robert Philips, Ludowick Grant, Robert Hamilton, Robert Bruce, Hamey Charles Palmer, William Scott, Robert Blair, William Kirkpatrick, Richard Macau, John Mackintyre, John Gardner, Henry De Castro, William Burn, Thomas Hawkshaw, Samuel Cox, Daniel Conyngham, Peter Murray, John Garstin, Charles Carlisle, Archibald Brown, William Flint, George Fotheringham, William Rattray, George Wahab, George Waight, Thomas Leighton, James Oliver, Francis Torrens, Carey Lalande, Cromwell Massey, Walter Anderson, David Campbell, Alexander Macpherson, James Dalrymple, John Richardson, Alexander Read, Donald Macneal, Thomas Hallcote, Thomas Parr, James Campbell, Joseph Little, William Kinsey, T. Bowser, Barry Close, James Oram, John Haliburton, Charles Smart, Lewis Grant, John Gillanders, John Hutchinson, John Guthrie, Samuel Bradshaw, George Wood, Hercules Skinner, William Clayton,

Clayton, George Ure, Jonathan Wood, John Haynes, Thomas Keenan, sir John Kennaway, bart. Joseph Burnett—to be lieutenant-colonels.

Captains John Bell, Henry Parker Lawrence, William Basset Isaacke, Thomas Fyffe, James Arthur Tanner, John Burrowes, John Capon, Charles Wittel—to be majors.

March 6th. William Lowndes, Barne Barne, Edward Meadows, Horace Hayes, and George Trenchard Goodenough, esqrs.—to be his majesty's commissioners for managing the affairs of taxes.

7th. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Crawford, of the 60th foot—to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces in Ireland, vice Handfield.

10th. Brevet col. George Prevost, of the 60th foot—to be brigadier-general in the West Indies only.—Major—M^cCreagh, of the South American rangers, to be major in the army.

Thomas Keate, esq. inspector of regimental hospitals—to be surgeon general to the forces, vice Gunning, deceased; John Rush, esq.—to be inspector of regimental hospitals, vice Keate.

14th. Thomas Strange, esquire, knighted.

19th. The earl of Ormond, and viscount Dillon, knights of St. Patrick.

24th. Lieutenant-colonel earl of Crawford, colonel.

Brooke Watton, esq. from half-pay, as late commissary-general on the continent, commissary-general of all stores, &c. to the forces at home, vice Bisset, who retires on half-pay.

Major George Smith, brigade-major-general.

General William Dalrymple, lieutenant-governor of Chelsea hospital.

Captain Charles Boycott, major of brigade.

Brevet major Robert Bisset, assistant quarter-master-general to the troops under the command of sir William Howe.

April 3d. Brevet colonel William earl Fitzwilliam, of the 1st regiment of the west riding Yorkshire militia, col. in the army, and to take rank as such so long as the said militia shall remain embodied for actual service.

Staff. Major George Vigoroux, of the late Corsican corps, major of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

4th. Field-marshal his royal highness Frederick duke of York, commander in chief of all his majesty's land forces in the kingdom of Great Britain.

7th. Sir John Morshead, of Trenant-park, county of Cornwall, bart. lord warden of the Stannaries, and chief steward of the duchy of Cornwall and Devon, vice viscount Lewisham.

17th. Staff. Capt. Nicholas Ramsay, of the 2d foot, major of brigade to the forces.—Lieutenant-colonel K. A. Howard, of the Coldstream guards, major of brigade to the foot guards.

20th. John Hay, esq. a baronet.

21st. Staff. Lieut.-colonel Alex. Smollett, of the 1st regiment of foot guards, major of brigade to the foot guards.—Lieut.—Le Breton, of the Jersey militia, major of brigade to the said militia.

25th. George Edward Henry Arthur, earl Powis, lord-lieutenant of the county of Salop, vice lord Clive.

28th. Staff. Lieut.-col. Charles Stevenson, of the 5th foot, brigade-major-general to the troops under the command of field-marshal his royal

royal highness the duke of Gloucester.

May 5th. Right hon. John William Anderson, of Mill-hill, Hendon, Middlesex, esq. lord mayor of the city of London, a baronet.

8th. Brevet lieutenant-colonel Gordon Drummond, of the 8th foot, colonel in the army.

Staff. Lieut.-col. George Frederick Koehler, of the royal artillery, assistant quarter-master-general to the forces serving under the command of major-general lord Mulgrave.—Major Robert Ross, and capt. George Laye, of the late 2d battalion of the 9th foot, majors of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

Garrison. Jacob Cuyler, esq. deputy commissary of stores and provisions to the forces in the island of Dominica, vice Finlayson, who has been absent from his duty several years.

9th. William Beechy, esq. knighted.

11th. Sir John Anstruther, knight, chief-justice of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal, a baronet.

22d. Honourable Arthur Paget, his majesty's envoy extraordinary to the Elector Palatine, and minister to the Diet of Ratisbon.

23d. Robert, viscount Belgrave, lord-lieutenant of the county of Flint.

June 5th. Staff. Lieutenant-gen. sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander of his majesty's forces in North Britain, vice lord Adam Gordon, resigned.

9th. Staff. Lieut.-colonel Brent Spencer, aide-de-camp to the king, vice Campbell, deceased.

13th. Charles, marquis Corn-

wallis, lieutenant-general and general-governor of Ireland, vice the earl Camden.

16th. His grace the duke of Rutland, colonel of the Leicestershire militia, vice Pochin, deceased.

23d. John Williams, esq. of Bedyllwyddan by St. Asaph, and John Callander, esq. of Westertown, county Stirling, and of Crichton and Preston-hall, and Elphinstone, in the counties of East and Mid-Lothian, baronets.

23d. Colonels Andrew Cowell, of the Coldstream guards; James Ferrier, of the engineers in Ireland; Joseph Dufleax, on the half-pay of the 86th foot; Colin Mackenzie, of the 15th foot; Mackay Hugh Baillie, of the Reay fencibles; John Joinour Ellis, of the 23d foot; Archibald Robertson; Bryan Blundell, of the 45th foot; John Dickson, on half-pay; Charles Jackman, of the marines; Miles Scaveley, of the royal regiment of horse guards; hon. John Knox, of the 36th foot; John Money, on half-pay of the 91st foot; Thomas Murray, on half-pay of the late 84th foot; James Edward Urquhart, of the loyal Essex fencibles; George Churchill, of the 15th light dragoons; Eyre Power Trench, of the late 102d foot; George Beckwith, of the 37th foot; William Gooday Strutt, of the 54th foot; Thomas Roberts, on half-pay of the 111th foot; hon. George James Ludlow, of the 1st foot guards; John Moore, of the 51st foot; Richard earl of Cavan, of the Coldstream guards; David Baird of the 71st foot; hon. Henry Astley Bennett, of the 1st foot-guards; hon. Frederick St. John, of the late 117th foot; sir Charles Ross, bart. of the late 116th foot; John Whitelocke, of the

the 6th West India regiment; Hav M'Dowall, of the 78th foot; lord Charles Henry Somerset, on half-pay of the 103d foot; John Despard, of the royal fuzileers; William Anne Villettes, of the 1st dragoons guards; William Wemyss; major-generals in the army.

Brevet. Col. Robert Kingscote, of the North Gloucestershire militia, and colonel B. R. De Capell Brooke, of the Northamptonshire militia, colonels in the army, and to take rank as such as long as those militias shall remain embodied for actual service.—Captain Charles Newton, of the late 134th foot, major in the army.

Staff. Captain St. John Fancourt, of the 56th foot, major of brigade to the forces.

Hospital-staff. Sir Alex. Douglas, bart. M. D. physician to the forces in North Britain.

29th. Brevet. Frederick, baron Hompesch, colonel in the army on the Irish establishment.

30th. Staff. Col. John Doyle, of the 87th foot, brigadier-general at Gibraltar only.—Philip Rogers Bearcroft, esq. late deputy-commissary of accounts at St. Domingo, commissary of accounts in the Leeward Islands, vice Dornford, deceased.—William M'Myne, esq. late of the 58th foot, paymaster at Duncannon-fort.

July 3d. Right honourable Arthur Wolfe, chief-justice of his majesty's court of king's bench, in Ireland, vice the earl of Clonmel, deceased; also created a baron of that kingdom, by the style and title of baron Kilwarden, of Newlands, county of Dublin, with remainder to his heirs male.

7th. Staff. Col. Robert Anstruther, baggage-master and inspector of the

roads in North Britain, vice sir Charles Preston, who resigns.

Hospital-staff. Dr. William Shapter, M. D. to be inspector of hospitals.

14th. Brevet. Major-general Henry Bowyer, lieutenant-general in the Leeward islands only.

Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Richard Stuart, of the 51st foot, adjutant-general to the forces serving in Portugal, vice Hadden, who resigns.—Captain Lindsay Crawford Campbell, of the 20th foot, deputy-adjutant-general to the said forces, with the rank of major in the army, vice Stuart.

16th. John Toler, esq. attorney-general of Ireland, vice Wolfe; and John Stewart, esq. solicitor-general, vice Toler.

18th. James Bontein, esq. knighted.

21st. Brevet. Lieut.-col. Charles Hallings, of the 61st foot, colonel in the army.—Col. Charles Hastings, of the 61st foot, major-general in the army.

To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service: colonel John Henry, duke of Rutland, of the Leicestershire militia; colonel John Campbell, of the 1st (or Argyleshire) militia; colonel Douglas, duke of Hamilton, of the 3d (or Lanarkshire) militia; colonel Charles, earl of Dalketh, of the 4th (or Dumfriesshire) militia; colonel James, duke of Montrose, of the 5th (or Fifehire) militia; colonel George, earl of Aboyne, of the 6th (or Aberdeenshire) militia; colonel George, earl of Glasgow, of the 7th (or Ayrshire) militia; colonel Archibald, lord Douglas, of the 8th (or Forfar) militia; colonel John, duke of Atholl, of

of the 9th (or Perthshire) militia; colonel Henry, duke of Buccleugh, of the 10th (or Edinburgh) militia.

Staff. Thomas Durell, esq. deputy-commissary-general on the continent; Christopher Bourcard, esq. assistant-commissary-general on the continent.

To be deputy-commissaries-general: Joseph Bullock, William Henry Robinson, and Henry Lannoy Hunter, esqrs.

To be assistant-commissary, Charles Wright, esq.

Hospital-staff Dr. — Grieves, M. D. from half-pay, to be inspector of hospitals in North Britain.

28th. Sir James Crauford, bart. his majesty's minister-plenipotentiary to the circle of Lower Saxony, and resident with the Hans Towns.

August 2d. John Toler, esq. and the hon. Richard Annesley, sworn of his majesty's privy-council of Ireland.

4th. Staff. James Putnam, esq. deputy-barrack-master-general of Nova Scotia, and its dependencies.

6th. Sir Robert Calder, knight, captain in the royal navy, and of Southwick, Hants, a baronet.

18th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service: colonel Joseph Holden Strutt, of the supplementary battalion of Essex militia; colonel lord Harewood, of a supplementary battalion of Essex militia; colonel lord Harewood, of a supplementary regiment of Yorkshire West-Riding militia; colonel Walter Fawkes, of ditto; colonel sir George Cooke, bart. of ditto.

Staff. James Bowie, gent. assistant-commissary of stores and provisions in the Leeward Islands.

25th. Staff. Col. Francis Fuller,

of the 59th foot, brigadier-general in the island of Newfoundland.— Captain Charles Doyle, of the 87th foot, major of brigade.— Captain Norman McLeod, of the late 95th foot, major of brigade to the forces in South Britain, vice Wood, promoted.

Sept. 1st. Brevet. Captain Claus Pell, of the 17th foot, major in the army.

11th. Staff. Capt. James Gambier, of the 1st regiment of life-guards, major of brigade.

14th. Robert Mann, esq. rear-admiral of the red, one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, vice lord Hugh Seymour, resigned.

16th. Staff. To be brigadier-generals in the Leeward Islands only, colonel Charles Green, of the 30th foot, and colonel Thomas Brady, of the royal artillery.—To be brigadier-general in Portugal only, colonel Baldwin Leighton, of the 46th foot.

19th. Brevet. Captain Edward Webber, of the late 90th foot, major in the army.—To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments shall remain embodied for actual service, colonel Robert Crowe, of the 2d North York militia, and lieutenant-colonel-commandant James Lowther, of the Westmoreland militia.

25th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments shall remain embodied for actual service, colonel Thomas Glyn, of the North Middlesex militia, and colonel John Morrison, of the South Middlesex militia.

Staff. William Whitmore, gent. assistant-commissary of stores and provisions to the forces in the Leeward Islands.

28th. William Shaw, lord Cathcart, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Oct. 6th. Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. rear-admiral of the blue, created baron Nelson, of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, county of Norfolk.

15th. John Marsh, esq. to be a commissioner of the royal navy, vice Hunt.

22d. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service; colonel Edward, lord Stanley, of the 1st regiment of the Royal Lancashire supplementary militia; colonel sir Henry Philip Hoghton, bart. of the 2d regiment of the said militia; colonel Le Gendre Pierse Starkie, of the 3d regiment of the said militia; and colonel Peter Patten, of the 4th regiment of the said militia.

Staff. Captain George Peter, of the 59th foot, major of brigade to the forces in the island of Newfoundland.

23d. Brevet. Captain Thomas Inglis, on the half-pay of the late 126th foot, major in the army.

24th. Charles, earl of Harrington, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

27th. Sir William Scott, knight, his majesty's advocate-general, judge of the high court of admiralty, vice sir James Marriott, resigned.

27th. Brevet. Colonel Lewis, lord Sondes, of the 3d regiment of Kent militia, colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said regiment of militia shall remain embodied for actual service.

Garrisons. Lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. governor of Fort George and Fort Augustus, in North Britain, vice Hodgson, deceased.—General sir William

Meadows, K. B. lieut.-governor of the Isle of Wight, vice Abercromby.

31st. Sir Wm. Scott, knt. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

— Dr. John Nicholl, his majesty's advocate-general, vice sir William Scott, knighted.

Nov. 3d. Staff. To be majors of brigade to the forces in South Britain: captain-lieutenant Frederick Hardyman, of the royal fusiliers; and hon. captain William Moleworth, of the 46th foot, vice Gordon, who resigns.

6th. Charles Lock, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general at Naples; and Lewis Drusina, esq. consul at Memel.

13th. Brevet. Lieutenant-colonel George Frederick Koehler, of the royal artillery, brigadier-general in the dominions of the grand signior only.

Staff. Colonel Edward Hewgill, of the Coldstream guards, deputy-barrack-master-general to his majesty's forces, vice Tayler, who retires.

13th. Joseph Hunt, esq. a commissioner for conducting the transport-service, and for the care and custody of prisoners of war.

— Benjamin Moodie, esq. his majesty's consul to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia.

17th. Brevet. To be majors in the dominions of the grand signior only: captain Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers; captain Robert Hope, of the royal artillery; captain-lieutenant Thomas Dodd, of the royal artillery; captain-lieutenant Robert Fead, of the royal artillery; and captain-lieutenant Richard Fletcher, of the royal engineers.—To be captains in the dominions

dominions of the grand signior only: lieutenant Thomas Lacey, of the royal engineers; and lieutenant William M. Leake, of the royal artillery.

27th. Brevet. Colonel Kynaaston Powel, of the 2d Shropshire regiment of militia, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said regiment of militia shall remain embodied for actual service. Captain sir James Buntam, of the 3d West-India regiment, to be major in the army.

Staff. Lieutenant-general Richard Grenville, to be commandant of the garrison of Plymouth, in the absence of the governor.—Lieutenant-colonel Albert Gledstanes, of the 57th foot, to be quartermaster-general to the forces in the Leeward Islands, vice Cameron, deceased.—William Harris, gentleman, to be assistant-commissary of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces serving in Portugal.—Paymasters of recruiting districts: William Disney, esq. vice Bensley, who resigns; and James William Lukin, esq. vice Laton, who resigns.

Dec. 4th. Brevet. Capt. Thomas Oldfield, of the marines, to be major in the army.

Staff, Captain John Belcomb, of the 1st dragoon-guards, to be major of brigade to the forces.

5th. Appointment of Harry Grant, esq. to be consul from the United States of America, at the port of Leith, approved by his majesty.

— Right hon. Thomas Grenville, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy-council.

8th. Captain Richard Neate, of the 57th foot, to be major in the army.

12th. Edward Berry, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

15th. Rev. Samuel Ryder Weston, B. D. recommended by the king to be elected a canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, vice Jeffreys, deceased.—Rev. Charles Morris, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Canterbury, vice Weston, resigned.

19th. Robert, viscount Castlereagh, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy-council.

20th. Right Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, bishop of Ossory, promoted to the see of Meath, vice Maxwell, deceased.

29th. Brevet Captain William Gifford, of the 26th foot, to be major in the army.—To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service; hon. colonel Thomas Onslow, of the 2d regiment of Surrey militia; and colonel John Crewe, of the 2d regiment of Cheshire militia.

DEATHS in 1798.

Jan. 6th. Sir John Sinclair, bart. of Longformiens.

8th. Sir Ralph Milbanke.

9th. John, lord Lille, of the kingdom of Ireland.

12th. Dowager lady Beauchamp Proctor.

15th. Hon. Mrs. Harley, lady of the right hon. Thomas Harley, father of the city of London.

16th. General sir John Dalling, K. B.

21st. Lady Elizabeth Bellenden, relict of John Kerr, lord Bellenden.

— Sir David Williams, bart. of Goldingtons, Hertfordshire.

26th. Sir William Gordon, K. B.
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29th. Lady Chambers, relict of sir William Chambers.

31st. Rear-admiral William Truscott, esq.

Feb. 3d. The countess of Stair.

6th. James Hamilton, earl of Clanbrassil.

7th. Lady Clinton, relict of Robert George William Trefusis, lord Clinton.

12th. Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, late king of Poland, and grand-duke of Lithuania.

—. Joseph Dormer, earl of Dorchester, viscount and baron Milton.

22th. Sir William Molesworth, bart. of Pencarrow, Cornwall.

24th. Dame Jane Riddell, widow of the late sir John Riddell, bart.

March 9th. Her serene highness the duchess dowager of Wirtemberg.

14th. Lady Tynte, widow of sir Charles Kemys Tynte, of Halfwell, Somerset.

16th. Henry, lord Calthorpe.

22d. Countess dowager of Banbury.

April 2d. Louisa lady Willoughby de Broke, daughter of Francis, earl of Guildford.

—. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, bart. of Tiffington, Derby.

—. Lady Maxwell, wife of sir W. Maxwell, bart. of Monteath.

9th. Henry Noel, sixth earl of Gainsborough, viscount Campden.

—. Sir George Allanson Winn, bart. lord Headly, in Ireland, and M. P. for Rippon.

10th. Arthur, lord viscount Harberton.

17th. Lady Robert Bertie, relict of lord Robert Bertie, uncle of the duke of Ancaster.

19th. Dame Elizabeth Dashwood, widow of sir James Dashwood, bart.

29th. Sir Robert Palk, bart. and M. P.

—. Sir Philip Houghton Clarke, bart.

May 4th. Hon. Augustus Windsor, son of the earl of Plymouth.

16th. Lady Sophia Amynta Lambert, youngest daughter of Richard, earl of Cavan.

19th. William, fifth lord Byron.

22d. Lady Emma Maria Wallop, youngest sister of the earl of Portsmouth.

—. Lady Rachel Drummond, daughter of the late earl of Perth.

—. Right hon. John Scott, earl of Clonmell, baron Earlsfort, chief justice of the king's bench, Ireland.

28th. Sir John Riggs Miller, bart.

June 4th. Lord Edw. Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster.

—. Executed at Carlow, Ireland, for rebellion, sir Edward Crosbie, bart.

5th. Luke Gardiner, lord Mountjoy.

10th. Laura, lady Southampton.

—. Sir Charles H. Talbot, bart.

14th. The earl of Errol.

16th. Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart.

18th. John, viscount O'Neill.

19th. William Jennens, esq. Acton-place, Suffolk, reckoned the most opulent subject in Great Britain.

21st. Sir James Saunderson, bart. and alderman of London.

23d. The duchess of Leinster.

24th. The archduchess Maria Christiana, of Austria.

26th. Lady Barbara Pleydell Bouverie, daughter of the earl of Radnor.

27th. Hon. Mrs. Charlotte Digby, relict of the late dean of Durham.

—. Lady Dorothy Hotham, relict of sir Charles Hotham Thompson, bart.

July

July 10th. Hon. James Bruce, son of the late earl of Elgin.

19th. Hon. John Turnour, son of the earl of Winterton

27th. Right hon. lady Mary Hore, daughter of the countess of Wicklow, and wife of the rev. Thomas Hore.

August 3d. Viscountess Downe, daughter of the late general Scott.

9th. Lady James, relict of sir William James, bart.

15th. Lady Charlotte Disbrowe, daughter of the earl of Buckinghamshire, and wife of Edward Disbrowe, esq.

18th. Hon. Richard Walpole, brother to lord Walpole.

19th. Lady Wilmot, relict of the late sir Robert Wilmot, bart.

20th. Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of the earl of Selkirk.

27th. Right hon. lady Mary Eyre, daughter of the countess of Newburgh, peeress in her own right.

29th. Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, bart.

Sept. 6th. Sir Jonathan Philips, knight.

7th. Sir Peter Soame, bart.

30th. Molineux Shouldham, lord Shouldham, and admiral of the white.

—. Hon. and right rev. Dr. Maxwell, bishop of Meath, brother to the earl of Farnham.

—. Lady Francis Bulkley, eldest daughter of the earl of Peterborough, and wife of the rev S. Bulkley.

—. Sir Charles Farnaby Radcliffe, bart. of Kepington, Kent, and M. P.

Oct. 5th. Edmund Boyle, earl of Cork and Orrery.

6th. Sir John Parker Moseley, bart. Staffordshire.

21st. Sir Adam Williamson, K. B. late governor of Jamaica.

22d. William, lord Bagot.

30th. Sir Thomas Byard, knt. captain of the Foudroyant.

—. Lady Stanley, relict of sir Thomas Stanley, bart.

Nov. 5th. John Zephaniah Howell, esq. formerly governor of Bengal.

17th. Sir Richard Reynell, bart. of the kingdom of Ireland.

29th. Lady Mary Carnegie, daughter of the earl of Northesk.

30th. Earl of Portarlington.

—. Maria, countess dowager of Carhampton.

Dec. 2d. Hon. William King, brother of lord King.

—. Lady Anderson, wife of sir Edmund Anderson, bart.

8th. Sir Edward Dering, bart. of Surrenden-Dering.

16th. Thomas Pennant, esq. the eminent naturalist and antiquary.

27th. Anne, countess of Airly.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1798.

Berkshire, Richard Palmer, of Hurst, esq.

Bedfordshire, John Fox, of Dean, esq.

Bucks, John Penn, of Stoke-Park, esq.

Cumberland, Sir Richard Hodgson, of Carlisle, knt.

Cheshire, Robert Hibbert, of Bertles, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshires, John Tharpe, of Chippenham, esq.

Devonshire, Arthur Tremaine, of Sydenham, esq.

Dorsetshire, Edward Berkely Portman, of Briansone, esq.

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Derbyshire,

Derbyshire, John Leaper Newton, of Derby, esq.

Essex, John Perry, of Moor-Hall, esq.

Gloucestershire, Thomas Vernon Dolphin, of Fyford, esq.

Hertfordshire, Felix Calvert, of Hunsdon-House, esq.

Herefordshire, John Stedman, of Bosbury, esq.

Kent, John Plantree, of Fredville, esq.

Leicestershire, Renne Payne, of Duntun-Bassett, esq.

Lincolnshire, Burton Shaw, of West Willoughby, esq.

Monmouthshire, Joshua Morgan, of Llanwenarth, esq.

Northumberland, Adam Askew, of Ellington, esq.

Northamptonshire, Tho. Reeve Thornton, of Brock-Hall, esq.

Norfolk, George Stone, of Bedenham, esq.

Nottinghamshire, Nathaniel Stubbins, of Helme Pierrepont, esq.

Oxfordshire, John Atkins Wright, of Oxford, esq.

Rutlandshire, William Sharrard, of Langham, esq.

Shropshire, Andrew Corbet, of Strawberry-park, esq.

Somersetshire, Samuel Rodbard, of Ever-Creech, esq.

Staffordshire, Richard Dyot, of Freeford, esq.

Suffolk, John Sheppard, of Campsey-Ash, esq.

County of Southampton, Richard Meyler, of Crawley, esq.

Surry, James Trotter, of Epsom, esq.

Suffex, Richard Thomas Streatfield, of Uckfield, esq.

Warwickshire, Robert Harvey Mallery, of Woodcot, esq.

Worcestershire, John Addinbrooke Addinbrooke, of Woolaston-hall, esq.

Wiltshire, John Bennett, of Pit-houte, esq.

Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Pilkington, of Cheviotte, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, John Morgan, of the Furnace, Caermarthen, esq.

Pembroke, John Tasker, of Upton-castle, esq.

Cardigan, Pryce Loveden, of Gogerthen, esq.

Glamorgan, Samuel Richardson, of Hensol, esq.

Brecon, John Lloyd, of Diniois, esq.

Radnor, John Benn Walsh, of Kevenllece, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Caernarvon, Sir Thomas Mostyn, of Gloddbenth, bart.

Anglesea, William Evans, of Glen Claw, esq.

Merioneth, Rob. Watkin Wynne, of Cwinmeer, esq.

Montgomery, Ralph Leake, of Criggion, esq.

Denbighshire, John Jones, of Penyprin, esq.

Flintshire, John Jones, of St. Asaph, esq.

SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1798.

Cornwall, James Buller, of Shillingham, esq.

APPEN-

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, May 22.

Admiralty-office.

Dispatch from Captain R. H. Popham, of his Majesty's Ship Expedition, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty.

His Majesty's Ship Expedition, Ostend-roads, May 20.

Sir,

I Beg you will do me the honour to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, in pursuance of their orders of the eighth instant, I proceeded to sea the fourteenth, with the ships and vessels named in the margin,* having on board the troops under the command of major-general Coote, for the purpose of blowing up the bastion gates and sluices of the Bruges-canal, and destroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France. On the eighteenth, P. M. I spoke the *Fairy*, when captain Horton told me he had taken a cutter from Flushing to Ostend, and he understood, from the people on board, that the transport *schuyts*, sitting at Flushing, were to go round immediately by

the canals to Dunkirk and Ostend; and although it was impossible that any information could give additional spirit to the troops forming this enterprize, or increase the energy and exertions of the officers and seamen under my command, yet it convinced major-general Coote, and myself, that it was of the greatest importance not to lose any time, but to attempt, even under an increased degree of risk, an object of such magnitude as the one in question; and as the weather appeared more favourable than it had been, I made the signal for captain Bazely, in the *Harpy*, to go a-head, with the vessels appointed to lie as beacons N. W. of the town of Ostend, and for captain Bradby, in the *Ariadne*, to keep between the Expedition and *Harpy*, that we might approach as near the coast as possible, without the chance of being discovered from the shore.

At one, A. M. we anchored; and soon afterwards the wind shifted to west, and threatened so much to blow, that the general and myself were deliberating whether it would

* To anchor to the eastward. *Hecla* bomb, J. Oughton. *Harpy*, H. Bazely. *Ariadne*, J. Bradby. Expedition, H. Popham. *Minerva*, J. M'Kellar. *Savage*, N. Thompson. *Blazer*, D. Burgess. *Lion*, S. Bevel. *Circe*, R. Winthrop. *Vestal*, C. White. *Hebe*, W. Birchall. *Druid*, C. Apthorpe. *Terrier*, T. Lowen. *Vesuve*, W. Elliott. *Furnace*, M. W. Suckling. — To keep to the westward, for the purpose of making a feint to land there. *Champion*, H. Raper. *Dart*, R. Raggett. *Wolverene*, L. M. Mortlock. *Craih*, B. M. Praid. *Boxer*, J. Gilbert. *Acute*, J. Scaver.

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not be better to go to sea and wait a more favourable opportunity, when a boat from the *Vigilant* brought a vessel alongside, which she had cut out from under the light-house battery; and the information obtained from the persons who were on board her, under separate examinations, so convinced us of the small force at Ostend, Newport, and Bruges, that major-general Coote begged he might be landed to accomplish the great object of destroying the canals, even if the surf should prevent his retreat being so successful as he could wish. I of course acceded to his spirited propositions, and ordered the troops to be landed, as fast as possible, without waiting for the regular order of debarkation. Many of the troops were on shore before we were discovered, and it was not till a quarter past four that the batteries opened on the ships, which was instantly returned in a most spirited manner by captain Mortlock of the *Wolvereene*, lieutenant Edmonds of the *Asp*, and lieutenant Norman of the *Biter*. The *Hecla* and *Tartarus* bombs very soon opened their mortars, and threw their shells with great quickness and precision. The town was on fire several times, and much damage was done to the ships in the basin. By five o'clock all the troops ordered to land, except those from the *Minerva*, were on shore, with their artillery, miners, wooden petards, tools, and gunpowder; and before six o'clock I heard from general Coote, that he had no doubt of blowing up the works. I now became very anxious for the situation of the major-general, from the state of the weather; and I ordered all the gun-boats that had anchored to

the eastward of the town, to get as near the shore as possible, to cover and assist the troops in their embarkation. The batteries of the town continued their fire on the *Wolvereene*, *Asp*, and *Biter*; and as the *Wolvereene* had received much damage, and the *Asp* had been lying near four hours within three hundred yards of the battery, I made their signal to move, and soon after directed the *Dart*, *Harpy*, and *Kite*, to take their stations, that the enemy might be prevented from turning their guns against our troops; but it being low water, they could not get so near as their commanders wished. At half past nine the *Minerva* came in, and as I thought an additional number of troops would only add to the anxiety of the general, from the little probability of being able to embark them, I sent captain Mackellar on shore to report his arrival with four light companies of the guards. In his absence, colonel Ward filled two flat boats with his officers and men, and was proceeding, with every zeal, to join the battalion of guards, without considering the danger he was exposed to in crossing the surf, when captain Bradby fortunately saw him, and advised him to return immediately to his ship. At twenty minutes past ten I had the pleasure of seeing the explosion take place; and soon after the troops assembled on the Sand Hills near the shore; but the sea ran so high, that it was impossible to embark a single man; therefore I could only make every arrangement against the wind moderated; and this morning at daylight I went on shore in the *Kite*, for the purpose of giving every assistance, but I had the mortification

tion to see our army surrounded by the enemy's troops; and, as I had no doubt the general had capitulated, ordered all the ships to anchor farther out, and sent in a flag of truce by colonel Boone, of the guards, and captain Brown, of the Kite, with a letter to the commandant, a copy of which I enclose for their lordships information. At ten this morning, the general's aide-de-camp, captain Williamson, came on board; and, though it was very painful to hear general Coote was wounded, after all his exertions, yet it was very satisfactory to learn, that, under many disadvantageous circumstances, and after performing a service of such consequence to our country, the loss, in killed and wounded, was only between fifty and sixty, officers and privates; and that the general capitulated, in consequence of being surrounded by several thousands of the national troops.

I enclose, for their lordships information, a copy of such minutes as were left me by captain Williamson, from which their lordships will see the sluice-gates and works are completely destroyed, and several vessels, intended for transports, burnt.

I this morning learnt that the canal was quite dry, and that the works, destroyed yesterday, had taken the states of Bruges five years to finish.

I hope their lordships will be satisfied that the enemy was surprized, and every thing they wished was accomplished, although the loss of the troops far exceeded any calculation, except under the particular circumstances of the wind's coming to the northward and blowing very hard. If the weather had continued fine, the troops would have been embarked by twelve, at which time

the return of killed and wounded did not exceed four rank and file.

I cannot help again noticing the particular good conduct of captain Mortlock, lieutenant Edmonds, and lieutenant Norman, and beg to recommend them to their lordships protection.

General Coote sent to inform me that he was highly pleased with the uncommon exertions of captains Winthrop and Bradby, and lieutenant Bradby, who had acted on shore as his aide-de-camp: he also noticed the assistance he had derived from captain Mackellar, after his landing.

I take the liberty of sending this dispatch by captain Winthrop, of the *Circe*, who commanded the seamen landed from the different ships; and, as he had the particular charge of getting the powder and mines up, for the destruction of the works, in which he so ably succeeded, he will be enabled to inform their lordships of every circumstance. Captain Mackellar, with the officers and men on shore, were included in the capitulation; but I have not yet been able to collect an exact return of the number of seamen taken.

I transmit you a list of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships; and I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient
Humble servant,
Home Popham.

*His Majesty's Ship Expedition,
Opend-roads, May 20.*

Sir,

I have just heard, with concern, that the British troops and seamen, under the command of major-general Coote, and captain Mackellar, of the royal navy, have capitulated to the troops of the republic, and I trust

trust they will be treated with that attention which is due to officers and men executing the orders of their sovereign.

It has been the invariable rule of the British government, to make the situation of prisoners as comfortable as possible; and I am sure, sir, in this instance, you will do the same to the troops, &c. who have fallen into your hands.

It will not be against any rule, to exchange the prisoners immediately, but, on the contrary, add to your fame, by marking it with humanity and liberality: and, I give you my word, the same number of troops, or other prisoners, shall be instantly sent from England to France, with such officers as you shall name, or as shall be named by the national convention, provided no public reason attaches against the release of any particular person.

I have sent the officers what things they left on board the ship, and I am confident you will order them to be delivered as soon as possible.

I beg you will allow the officers and men to write letters to England by this flag, as a satisfaction to their families, it being impossible for me to know who have fallen or received wounds, which I hope will be very inconsiderable, from the accounts I have received from the shore.

I beg your answer to this letter, without loss of time; and, confiding in your liberality towards the troops under capitulation to you, I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

Home Popham.

To the officer commanding
the troops of the national
convention, at Ostend.

Extract from the Minutes left on board the Expedition by Captain Williamfon, Aide-de-camp to General Coote, dated 10 A. M. May 20, Ostend-roads.

Sluice-gates destroyed in the most complete manner. Boats burned, and every thing done, and the troops ready to embark by twelve o'clock. When we found it impossible to embark, took the strongest position on the sand-hills, and about four in the morning were attacked by a column of 600 men to our left, an immense column in front, with cannon, and a very large column on the right.

The general and troops would all have been off, with the loss of not more than three or four men, if the wind had not come to the northward, soon after we landed, and made so high a sea. We have not been able to ascertain the exact number of men killed and wounded, but it is supposed they amount to about fifty or sixty.

The officers killed and wounded, are: major-general Coote, wounded; colonel Hely, 11th regiment, killed; colonel Campbell, wounded; captain Walker, of the royal artillery, wounded.

A List of killed and wounded in his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Command of Home Popham, Esq. 19th May, Ostend-roads.

Seamen, &c. of the *Wolvereene*, 1 killed, 10 wounded; 23d regiment, on board the *Wolvereene*, 1 killed, 5 wounded; *Asp*, 1 seaman killed, lieutenant Edmonds wounded.

Home Popham.

Parliament-street, May 22.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received

ceived by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-colonel Warde, of the 1st regiment of guards, dated on board the Expedition frigate, 8 o'clock, P. M. May 20.

Sir,

In consequence of the Minerva frigate (on board which were the four light infantry companies of the 1st regiment of foot guards) having unfortunately lost her situation, in the squadron under the command of captain Popham, of the royal navy, during the night of the 18th instant, the command of the remainder of the troops, from that accident, has devolved upon me; and I have the honour to transmit to you the most correct account that I have been enabled to collect.

Early on the morning of the 19th inst. the following troops, under the command of major-general Coote, viz. two companies, light infantry, Coldstream guards—two ditto, ditto, 3d guards—11th regiment of foot—23d and 49th, flank companies, with six pieces of ordnance—disembarked, and effected their landing, at three o'clock in the morning, to the eastward of Ostend, and completed the object of the expedition, by burning a number of boats destined for the invasion of England, and by so completely destroying the locks and basin-gates of the Bruges-canal, that it was this morning without a drop of water; and, as I understand all the transports fitting out at Flushing were intended to be brought to Ostend and Dunkirk by the inland navigation, to avoid our cruisers, that arrangement will be defeated, and it will be a long time before the works can be repaired, as they were five years

finishing, and were esteemed the most complete works of the kind in Europe. The troops had retreated, and were ready to re-embark by twelve o'clock the same morning, with the loss of only one rank and file killed, and one seaman wounded, but found it impossible, from the wind having increased, and the surf running so high, as intirely to prevent their regaining the boats; upon which they took up a position on the sand-hills, above the Reach, where they lay the whole of that day and night upon their arms. The enemy, taking advantage of the length of time and the night, collected in very great force, and, soon after day-break this morning, attacked them on every side, when, after a most noble and gallant defence, I am grieved to add, they were under the necessity of capitulating to a very great superiority of numbers.

I herewith enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and I have every reason to believe it correct.

Lieutenant-colonel Hely, 11th foot, killed; major-general Coote, wounded; colonel Campbell, 3d guards, wounded; major Donkin, 44th foot, wounded; capt. Walker, royal artillery, wounded; and near sixty rank and file killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Henry Warde,

Capt. and lieut. col. 1st guards.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,
June 26, 1798.*

*Whitehall, June 26.
Copy of a Dispatch from his Excellency,
the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.*

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*to his Grace, the Duke of Portland,
His Majesty's principal Secretary of
State for the Home Department.*

Dublin-Castle, June 24.

My lord,

I have the honour to transmit to your grace a dispatch received by lord viscount Castlereagh, this day, from lieutenant-general Lake, dated Wexford, the 22d instant, together with a letter from brigadier-general Moore, containing an account of his important successes.

I also enclose a copy of the proposals made by the rebels in the town of Wexford, to lieutenant-general Lake, and his answer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Cornwallis.

His grace, the duke of Portland,
&c. &c. &c.

Wexford, June 22.

My lord,

Yesterday afternoon I had the honour to dispatch a letter to your lordship, from Enniscorthy, with the transactions of the day, for his excellency the lord-lieutenant's information; and the enclosed copy of a letter from brigadier-general Moore to major-general Johnson, will account for my having entered this place without opposition. General Moore, with his usual enterprise and activity, pushed on to this town, and entered it so opportunely, as to prevent it from being laid in ashes, and the massacre of the remaining prisoners, which the rebels declared their resolution of carrying into effect the next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above seventy prisoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

Inclosed is a copy of my answer to the proposal of the inhabitants of this town, transmitted in my letter of yesterday to your lordship. The evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unnecessary. I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the subscriber of the insolent proposals, Mr. Keughe, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roach, with a few others, are in my hands, without negotiation. The rebels are reported to be in some force within five miles of this place; it is supposed for the purpose of submission, to which the event of yesterday may strengthen their inclination. I have reason to think that there are a number so disposed, and that I shall be able to secure some more of their leaders; but, should I be disappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I shall lose no time in attacking them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. Lake.

P. S. From inquiry, the numbers killed yesterday were very great indeed.

Lord viscount Castlereagh.

Camp above Wexford, June 22.

Dear general,

Agreeable to your order I took post, on the evening of the 19th, near Fook's Mills, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day, I sent a strong detachment, under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed me to join from Duncannon. The lieutenant-colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them untill three o'clock

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in the afternoon, when, despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the sixtieth regiment, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were advanced to a cross road above Goff's Bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them, under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson. The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived, at the same time, moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The sixtieth regiment, finding no farther opposition in front, had, of themselves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was, for a short time, pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes; they were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent, but they seemed to be numerous. I enclose a list* of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit; the artillery and Hompelch's cavalry were active, and seemed only to

regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight. It was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the second and twenty-ninth regiments, under lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the 21st, we were proceeding to Taghmon, where I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford with the enclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town; by which means I have perhaps saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled, upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your farther orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants. I have declined entering upon the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or general Lake.

I received your pencilled note during the action of the 20th: it was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded,

* This list was omitted.

at Enniscorthy, with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off. He has sent to lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary.

I am, &c.

John Moore.

Major-general Johnson.

P. S. It is difficult to judge of the numbers of rebels, they appear in such crowds and so little order. Information states those we beat to have been between five and six thousand.

Proposals of the Rebels.

June 21.

That capt. M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, captain M'Manus will be able to procure. Signed, by order of the inhabitants of the town of Wexford,

Matthew Keughe.

Answer.

Enniscorthy, June 22.

Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use

the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction.

To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) G. Lake.

To the inhabitants of Wexford.

London Gazette, June 30, 1798.

Whitehall.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin-Castle, June 25.

My lord,

I have the honour of inclosing to your grace the copy of a letter received this day by lord Castlereagh, from major-general sir Charles Agill, and a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the attack on Vinegar-hill and the town of Enniscorthy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Cornwallis.

His grace the duke of Portland.

*Kilkenny, June 24,
9 o'clock, P. M.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that early in the morning of the 23d inst. I received information that the rebels, amounting to several thousands, had escaped from the county of Wexford, and formed a camp at Killymount, and were proceeding to Gore's Bridge. I instantly assembled all the force I could collect, and marched towards them. I did not arrive in time to prevent their defeating a detachment at that place, and taking 24 men of the Wexford militia prisoners. They marched
off

off rapidly towards Leighlin. The troops from thence, consisting of a small party of the 9th dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Higgins, lieutenant-colonel Rochfort's, and captain Cornwall's yeomanry, killed 60 of them. Night coming on, I could not pursue them any farther. By the position they took up near Sharkill, I conceived their intentions were to form a junction with the colliers at Castlecomer. As soon as the troops were able to move, I marched with 900 men to attack them, and was sorry to find they had burnt the whole town, and forced the soldiers, who were in it, to retire before my arrival. Having cleared the town with the guns, I attacked them on all sides; about 400 were killed, the remainder fled. They were commanded by a priest called Murphy, and their numbers were said to amount to 5000. Our loss was inconsiderable. My force consisted of the Wexford and Wicklow militia, under the command of lord Loftus and the hon. colonel Howard. The dragoons were commanded by major Donaldson of the 9th dragoons, and major Barnard, of the Romney fencibles, with several yeomanry corps from this county and Carlow, who, as well as the other troops, are entitled to my warmest praise for their bravery and alertness, on this and every occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. Apgill, Maj.-gen.

London Gazette, July 3, 1798.

Whitehall.

Copies of Dispatches from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland.

VOL. XL.

Kilkenny, June 26.

My lord,

Fearing the consequences that must result from allowing the rebels who fled from Wexford to remain any length of time in this country, I preferred attacking them with a small number of men to waiting till a reinforcement arrived. My force amounted to eleven hundred men. The rebels consisted of about five thousand. I attacked them this morning, at six o'clock, in their position at Kilconnel-hill, near Gore's Bridge, and soon defeated them. Their chief, called Murphy, a priest, and upwards of one thousand men, were killed. Ten pieces of cannon and two swivels, the colours, and quantities of ammunition, arms, cattle, &c. were taken; and I have the pleasure to add, that some soldiers who were made prisoners the day before, and who were doomed to suffer death, were fortunately released by our troops.

Our loss consisted of seven men killed and wounded.—The remainder of the rebels were pursued into the county of Wexford, where they dispersed in different directions.

I feel particularly obliged to major Mathews, of the Downshire militia, who, at a short notice, and with great alacrity, marched with 400 men of his regiment, and captain Poole's and captain Gore's yeomanry corps, from Maryboro', to co-operate with me. Lord Loftus, and colonel Ram, of the Wexford militia; lieutenant-colonel Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Radcliffe, of the Wicklow; major Donaldson, of the 9th dragoons, who commanded the cavalry, as well as all the officers and privates, are entitled to my thanks for their spirited exertions.

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tions. Nor can I withhold the praises so justly due to all the yeomanry corps employed on this occasion.

I also beg leave to mention my aid-de-camp, captain Ogle, and lieutenant Higgins, of the 9th dragoons, who has acted as my brigade-major.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Cha. Asgill, major-general.
Lord viscount Castlereagh, &c.

My lord, *Dublin, June 25.*

I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that this day advices were received from lieutenant Gardner, of the Antrim militia, dated from Balinglass, the 26th instant, which state, that early on the morning of the 26th, a very large body of rebels attacked his post at Hacketstown. They were in number many thousands. Lieutenant Gardner's force consisted of 50 Upper Falbotstown, and 21 Shebagh cavalry, 50 of the Antrim regiment, 46 Hacketstown, and 30 Coolattin yeoman infantry. He at first took an advantageous situation in front of the town; but after a few shots without effect, the rebels filed off in every direction to surround him. He then retreated into the town to defend the barracks. A contest took place in the midst of flames, for near nine hours, for the rebels set fire to the town. They were at last repulsed with considerable loss: many dead were found in the streets and ditches, and 30 cart-loads of killed and wounded were carried off in their retreat.

Lieutenant Gardner speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry of his whole detachment. He particularly praises lieutenant Rowan, of the Antrim, captain Hume, of the Upper Falbotstown cavalry, captain

and lieutenant Charnley, of the Coolattin, lieutenants Saul and Thomas of the Hacketstown cavalry, and lieutenants Bradbelt and Taylor, of the Shebagh cavalry; and he strongly mentions the good conduct of serjeant Nixon, of the Antrim regiment.

He severely laments the loss of a good officer, captain Hardy, of the Hacketstown yeoman infantry, who fell early in the action. His other loss consists of 10 privates killed, and one serjeant, and 19 privates wounded.

I enclose to your grace a farther account of the action near Gore's Bridge, and a return of the killed and wounded, which has been received from major-general sir Charles Asgill. I have the honour to be, &c.

Cornwallis,

His grace the duke of Portland, &c.

Kilkenny, June 27.

My lord,

I have the honour to send you enclosed a return of the killed and wounded in the action with the rebels at Kilconnel-hill, on the 26th of June, and a return of the ordnance, ammunition, &c. &c. taken on that day. I have the pleasure to assure you, that every thing they possessed has fallen into our hands; and, from subsequent accounts, the loss they sustained was much greater than I had the honour of stating to you in my former dispatch. I have no doubt but this victory will restore the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow to peace and tranquillity.

I have the honour to be,

Cha. Asgill, major-general.
Right hon. viscount Castlereagh.
Return of Ordnance, Colours, and Ammunition taken.

One colours, five four-pounders, five one-pounders, four swivels, a few

few guns, and a number of pikes, which were destroyed as soon as taken. A number of shot of different sizes, with a quantity of lead and moulds.

Return of Stores taken :

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Black cattle . . . | 170 |
| Sheep | 100 |
| Horses | 700 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | 970 |

Also a vast quantity of bedding, blanketting, and wearing-apparel.

J. Lewis Higgins,
Lieut. 9th dragoons,
Acting brigade-major.

London Gazette, July 21, 1798.

*Parliament-street,
Copies of Dispatches, received by the
Right Honourable Henry Dundas,
one of his Majesty's principal Sec-
retaries of State, from Major-gene-
rals Coote and Burrard.*

Ostend, June 21.

Sir,

Not having had it in my power to send my dispatches by my aid-de-camp, captain Williamson, I take the opportunity by Mr. Jobernes, the staff-surgeon, who was ordered to Ostend by his royal highness the commander-in-chief.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, maj.-genl.
Rt. hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

*On a Ridge of Sand-hills,
three Miles to the East of
Ostend, May 19.*

Sir,

I have the most sincere satisfaction to acquaint you of the complete and brilliant success attending the expe-

dition entrusted, by his majesty, to the care of captain Popham, of the royal navy, and myself. The squadron reached Ostend about one o'clock this morning.

The able and judicious arrangements of captain Popham, and great exertions of himself, the officers and seamen under his command, enabled us to disembark the troops at the place from which I have the honour of dating this dispatch; and, from captain Popham's local knowledge, I gained such information as very much removed the difficulties we had to encounter on shore, and contributed greatly to the success of the enterprise.

General sir Charles Grey sent you, sir, an outline of the disposition of the troops, and of the plans, previous to our sailing from Margate; these were carried into execution, with a little alteration, which I was obliged to make, in consequence of the whole of the troops not having landed.

Soon after we disembarked, I detached major-general Burrard, with four companies of light infantry of the guards, the 25d and 49th grenadiers, and two six-pounders, to take possession of the different posts and passes that it was necessary to occupy, to enable us to carry our plan into execution. In effecting this, he met with strong opposition from a considerable body of sharpshooters, who were gallantly repulsed with some loss, and, by a rapid march, cut off from the town of Ostend.

During the time lieutenant Brownrigg, of the engineers, was employed in bringing up the powder and other materials to effect the destruction of the sluices of the English canal, the troops were posted as follows:

follows: the grenadiers of the 11th and 23d regiments, with cannon, &c. at the lower ferry, to prevent the enemy crossing from Ostend. A detachment of colonel Campbell's company of guards, under the command of captain Duff, and the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, under the command of captain lord Aylmer, at the upper ferry, for the same purpose; the remainder of colonel Campbell's, with three other companies of the guards, under the command of colonel Calcraft, at the sluices and country around, to cover the operation.

The 11th regiment on the south-east front, to secure a safe retreat for the troops, if pressed.

The light-infantry companies of the 11th and 23d regiments, under major Donkin, to cover the village of Bredin, and extend to the Blankenburg-road, near the sea, as well as to co-operate with the 11th regiment.

The greater part of the 23d regiment remained on-board the ships of war, stationed to the westward of the town, as well to divert the enemy's attention to that point as to land and spike the cannon, should an opportunity offer.

By the time the troops were properly posted, the necessary materials were brought up to the sluices, by the indefatigable exertions and extraordinary good conduct of captains Winthrop, Bradby, and M'Kellar, and lieutenant Bradby, of the royal navy, whose services on shore cannot be too highly praised. Lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, in about four hours, made all his arrangements, and completely destroyed the sluices, his mines having, in every particular, the desired effect, and the object of the

expedition thereby attained; and which, I have the satisfaction to add, was accomplished with the trifling loss of only five men killed and wounded. Several vessels, of considerable burden were also destroyed in the canal near the sluices. No danger, even for an instant, abated the ardour of the seamen and soldiers. To their unanimity, his majesty and the country are indebted for our success. No language of mine can do justice to the forces employed upon this occasion; and, as it is impossible to name each individual, I beg leave to state the great exertions of a few. To that excellent officer, major-general Burrard, I shall feel everlasting obligation; to his counsel, exertions, and ability, I am, in a great measure, to attribute the success of the enterprize. His majesty's guards, conspicuous upon all occasions, on this service have added to their former laurels. To colonel Calcraft, who commanded them; colonels Cunningham and Campbell, of the same corps; major Skinner, of the 23d regiment, commanding the grenadiers; major Donkin, of the 44th regiment, commanding the light infantry; and captain Walker, commanding the royal artillery; I feel myself much indebted for their good conduct in the various services in which I employed them. In lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, I found infinite ability and resource. His zeal and attention were eminently conspicuous; and, in my opinion, this gentleman bids fair to be of great future service to his country. I should not do justice to the zeal and spirit of lieutenant Gilham, of the Sussex militia, if I did not state to you, that, anxious to be employed in the service

service of his country, and to learn his profession, he applied to his commanding-officer, at Dover, the night before we sailed, for permission to join our force. He left Dover in a violent gale of wind, and came on-board the morning we got under weigh. I attached him to colonel Campbell's company of the battalion of guards, where he acquitted himself much to his honour. Captain Visscher, sir Charles Grey's aid-de-camp; captain Williamson, my aid-de-camp; and major of brigade, Thorley; I sent to attend the guards, light infantry, and grenadiers, in their different positions, as well to give their assistance to the respective commanding-officers as to apprise me of any circumstance that might occur, so as to require my immediate information, they being thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the expedition. They conducted themselves to my most perfect satisfaction, as did lieutenant Clifton, of the royal artillery, who attended me; captain Cumberland, of the 83d regiment; and cornet Nixon, of the 7th, light dragoons, who acted as aid-de-camp to major-general Burrard.

In my letter of the 13th instant, I had the honour to inform you of my having accepted the services of Mr. Jarvis, a surgeon of Margate. His great attention was unremitting, and his conduct, upon this occasion, is highly praiseworthy. To colonel Twiss I shall ever feel great obligation, for the able assistance he gave me, at Dover, in preparing the necessary instruments for destroying the sluice-gates, as well as for the instructions he was so kind to give lieutenant Brownrigg for this service. As a feint to cover the operation of bringing up the materials,

and of destroying the sluices, captain Popham, and myself sent a summons to the commandant of Ostend, to surrender the town, and its dependencies, to his majesty's forces, under our command, which had the desired effect. I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the summons, with the commandant's answer. By an unavoidable accident, the four light companies of the 1st guards, under command of lieutenant-colonels Warde and Boone, were not landed in the morning: I think it, however, but justice to declare, that every thing that brave men could then attempt was done, at the imminent risk of their lives, to accomplish it; and I am conscious the zeal and courage they manifested, to partake in the dangers of their brother soldiers, would have made them ample sharers in any honour to be acquired, or danger to be encountered, on shore, had they been able to reach it. I have sent a dispatch to sir Charles Grey, by his aid-de-camp, captain Visscher; and captain Williamson, my aid-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver you this. Both these gentlemen are well qualified to give you any farther information, and I beg leave to recommend them to your notice and protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, maj.-gen.
Rt. hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Copy of the Summons sent for the Town of Ostend to surrender. Dated East of the Harbour of Ostend, May 19.

Sir,

We, the officers commanding the sea and land forces of his majesty, the king of Great Britain, think it
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necessary to apprise you, that we shall be obliged to bombard and cannonade the town of Ostend, unless you, as commandant, shall immediately surrender the same, with its dependencies, troops, and military stores, belonging to the republic, to the arms of our sovereign. We leave to you to take into your serious consideration the very formidable force now lying before the town and port of Ostend, as you cannot but be responsible for the consequences of a vain and fruitless resistance. We are willing to grant half an hour for your full consideration of the above terms, and are convinced that your humanity and good sense will point out the necessary steps to be taken to accede to our proposals, as, in default thereof, we shall be under the necessity of immediately commencing hostilities.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, maj.-gen.

Home Popham, capt. R. N.

To his excellency the commandant of Ostend.

Translation of the Commandant of Ostend's Answer to the Summons.

Liberty—Equality.

Garrison of Ostend, 30th Floreal, 6th Year of the Republic.

Muscar, Commandant of the Garrison of Ostend, to the Commander-in-chief of the Troops of his Britannic Majesty.

General,

The council of war was sitting when I received the honour of your letter; we have unanimously resolved not to surrender this place until we shall have been buried under its ruins.

(Signed) Muscar,

Commandant of the garrison.

Ostend, May 20.

Sir,

Major-general Coote, in his dispatch of yesterday, had the honour to inform you of the brilliant success of the enterprize of which he had the command, as far as related to the destruction of the gates and sluices of the canal of Bruges. The general having been severely wounded this morning, I have the painful task of detailing our unavoidable surrender soon after. On our return yesterday to the beach, at 11 o'clock, A. M. where we had disembarked, we found, that, from an increase of wind and surf, our communication with the fleet was nearly cut off, and that it was impossible to re-embark the troops. The general, well aware of the risk we ran in staying in an enemy's country, naturally exasperated against us for the damage we had recently done them, attempted to get off some companies; but the boat soon filled with water, and it was with extreme difficulty the lives of the men were saved. It then became necessary to examine carefully the ground we were likely to fight upon; and such a choice was made as might have ensured us success, had any thing like an equal force presented itself. Major-general Coote took every precaution the evening and the night afforded, to make our post, among the sand-hills upon the shore, as tenable as possible, by directing lieutenant Browning, of the royal engineers, to make small entrenchments where it was necessary, and, by planting the few field-pieces and the howitzer we had on the most favourable spots, to annoy the enemy in their approach to attack us. In momentary expectation of them, we impatiently looked for a favourable

able opportunity to get into our boats, but unfortunately it never presented itself. About four o'clock this morning (the wind and surf having increased during the night), we perceived plainly two strong columns of the enemy advancing on our front, and soon after we found several other columns upon our flanks.

The action began by a cannonade from their horse-artillery, which was answered from our field-pieces and howitzer with great animation. Our artillery was served admirably; and had not the enemy soon after turned our flanks, which, from their very great numbers, could not be prevented, they would have paid dear indeed for any advantage their superiority of numbers gave them. The force they employed, we have since found, was assembled from Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk; and general Coote and myself were very soon convinced that our case was desperate: and that we had no choice left but to defend our post, such as it was, for the honour of his majesty's arms, as long as we were able. We maintained this very severe and unequal conflict for nearly two hours, in which, extreme hot fire was interchanged; particularly on our left flank, which, as well as our right, was now completely turned. Willing, however, to make one strong effort, major-general Coote ordered major Donkin, of the 44th regiment, on the left, with a company of light infantry, to endeavour to turn that flank of the enemy which had made most impression upon us, and colonel Campbell, with his own light company of the guards, to effect the same purpose, by a concealed and rapid march round the sand-hills. The uncommon exertions of these two invaluable officers, when the

signal was made for them to advance, are above all praise; their companies in the attempt were much cut down, and col. Campbell and major Donkin, with one subaltern (captain Duff), were wounded. About this time, major-general Coote perceived that part of the 11th regiment, towards our left, had given way, and was likely to distress the other parts of the front nearest to it. At the moment he was endeavouring to rally them, and had put himself at their head, to regain the lost and advantageous ground from which they had retreated, at that most critical period, when most conspicuous for gallantry and conduct, he received a very severe wound in his thigh; and, being unable to go on, he sent for me from the right, where I was stationed.

We both found that our front was broken, and our flanks completely turned, the enemy pouring in upon us on all sides, and several valuable officers and many of our best men killed and wounded. It was evident we could not hold out for ten minutes longer; and therefore we thought it more our duty to preserve the lives of the brave men we commanded, than to sacrifice them to what, we conceived, was a mistaken point of honour. Had we acted differently, it is probable that, in less time than what I have just mentioned, their fate would have been decided by the bayonet. Major-general Coote, by whose bed I am writing, has enjoined me to repeat the praises (and I am witness he has justly bestowed them) on the officers and men which he had the honour to mention in his dispatch of yesterday. And we hope, that, although we have not been

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finally

finally successful in re-embarking, our conduct and exertions, in having effected the object of the enterprise, will be deemed honourable by his majesty and our country; and we rely upon his gracious acceptance of our endeavours and zeal in the attempt to extricate the troops entrusted to our charge from difficulties both unavoidable and insurmountable.

Major-general Coote and myself would willingly bestow praise where it is due; but, among many competitors, it is difficult to select without appearing to overlook others well deserving. We have, sir, however, the honour of mentioning to you, colonel Campbell, of the 3d guards light infantry, and major Donkin, of the 44th, whose conduct, if any thing could have protracted our fate, had been equal to the difficulty of effecting it. Captain Walker, commanding the royal artillery, captains Wilton and Godfrey, and lieutenants Simpson, Hughes, and Holcroft, all of the same distinguished corps, after having done every thing which men could do, spiked their guns, and threw them over the banks, at the moment the enemy were possessing themselves of them. The latter gentleman, lieutenant Holcroft, when all his men were wounded except one, remained at his gun doing duty with it to the best of his ability. Captain Gibbs, of the 11th, and captain Halkett, of the 23d light infantry, eminently distinguished themselves by their cool, intrepid conduct during the whole time. All the gentlemen of the staff conducted themselves much to the satisfaction of major-general Coote and myself. To captain Cumberland, of the 83d, and cornet Nixon, of the 7th light

dragoons, who flatteringly offered to accompany me, and who acted as my aid-de-camp, I am much indebted; their attention and activity I found of most material service. Mr. Lowen, volunteer, attached to the 23d light infantry, was twice wounded, and was particularly conspicuous, and remarked as a promising soldier. We think it but justice to the enemy to say, that our wounded are treated with humanity; many of them are in the hospital of this town, and are well attended by their surgeons. Our numbers on shore were about 1000 men, of which we are afraid there are from 100 to 150 killed and wounded. The enemy, by all accounts, have lost about the same number; but it is impossible to give any just return of the number we have lost till we hear from Bruges, where the prisoners were sent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Harry Burrard,
major-general.

Right hon. H. Dundas, &c.

P. S. A return of the killed and wounded is now more regularly transmitted by major-general Coote.

(Signed) Eyre Coote,
major-general.

Ostend, June 17.

Return of Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Rank and File, and Seamen, killed, wounded, and missing, on the Sand Hills, near Ostend, 20th May.

Total, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 serjeant, 31 rank and file, 11 seamen, killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 59 rank and file, 3 seamen, wounded; 2 drummers, 45 rank and file, missing.

Names

Names and Rank of Officers killed and wounded.

Major-general Coote badly wounded; colonel Campbell, 3d guards, badly wounded (since dead); colonel Hely, 11th regiment of foot, killed; major Donkin, commanding battalion of light infantry, wounded slightly; captain Walker, commanding royal artillery, wounded (since dead); captain Duff, 3d guards, slightly wounded; volunteer Lowen, attached to the 23d light infantry, wounded severely.—Royal navy, Mr. Wisdom, Mr. Belding, master's mates of his majesty's ship, *Circe*, killed.

From the best accounts.

M. Thorley,
major of brigade.

Ostend, July 10.

Return of Officers, Non-commissioned, and Rank and File, under the command of Major-general Coote, surrendered Prisoners of War on the Sand Hills, near Ostend, May 20.

Total, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 14 captains, 30 lieutenants, 1 second lieutenant, 4 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 3 surgeons, 77 serjeants, 33 drummers, 966 rank and file.

From the best accounts,

M. Thorley,
major of brigade.

Ostend, May 27.

Sir,

It is with inexpressible concern that I am to acquaint you, that colonel Campbell, of the 3d guards, died this morning, of the wounds he received in the action of the 20th instant. The loss of this invaluable officer to the service is irreparable, and by his country ever to be lamented. Major-general Burrard,

with all the officers (three or four excepted, that were left with me) and soldiers, are removed to Lisle, where I expect to be sent as soon as I am sufficiently recovered of my wounds.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Eyre Coote, M. G.
Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

The following are the official Notes respecting the Arrival, &c. of the French Troops in Ireland.

Whitehall, August 27.

My lord,

I think it right to inform your lordship, that by official accounts received this morning from the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, it appears, that three French frigates, unaccompanied by any transports, appeared in the bay of Killala, on the evening of the 22d instant, and landed about seven hundred men, who immediately took possession of the town of Killala, and made a small party of the prince of Wales's fencible regiment, consisting of an officer and twenty men, and some yeomen, prisoners: a large force was collected from different quarters, and every necessary preparation making for attacking the enemy.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Portland.

To the right hon. the lord mayor.

(A true copy, for Lloyd's)

(Signed) Anderson, mayor.

Dublin-castle, August 29, 1798.

Sir,

In the absence of my lord-lieutenant, I beg leave to acquaint you,
for

for the information of his grace the duke of Portland, that early on the 27th instant, the French attacked lieutenant-general Lake, in a position he had taken at Castlebar, before his forces were collected, and compelled him to retire. The lieutenant-general reports, that his loss of men is not considerable, but that he was obliged to leave behind him six pieces of cannon. It appears, by a letter I have received this day from my lord-lieutenant, that the French have advanced upon Tuam. His excellency was assembling forces at Athlone. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Castlereagh,
William Wickham, esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Whitchull, August 30, 1798.

My lord,

I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that dispatches have been received at Dublin-castle, from major-general Hutchinson, dated Castlebar, the 25th instant, which state, that the French troops who disembarked at Killala, had not attempted to march into the country, nor had they been joined by any number of the inhabitants; and that the major-general was proceeding to act against the enemy with the king's troops, who were receiving every assistance from the people of the country.

Before the arrival of the major-general's dispatches, the lord-lieutenant had left Dublin, and proceeded to take the command of the army.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Portland.
To the right hon. the lord mayor.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,
September 14, 1798.*

*Whitchull, September 14.
Copy of a Dispatch from the Lord-
Lieutenant of Ireland, to his Grace
the Duke of Portland.*

*Camp, near St. John's Town,
Sept. 8.*

My lord,

When I wrote to your grace on the 5th, I had every reason to believe, from the enemy's movement to Drumahain, that it was their intention to march to the north; and it was natural to suppose, that they might hope that a French force would get into some of the bays in that part of the country; without a succour of which kind every point of direction for their march seemed equally desperate.

I received, however, very early in the morning of the 7th, accounts from lieutenant-general Lake, that they had turned to their right to Drumkeirn, and that he had reason to believe that it was their intention to go to Boyle, or Carrick on Shannon; in consequence of which I hastened the march of the troops, under my immediate command, in order to arrive before the enemy at Carrick, and directed major-general Moore, who was at Tubercurry, to be prepared, in the event of the enemy's movement to Boyle.

On my arrival at Carrick, I found that the enemy had passed the Shannon, at Balintra, where they attempted to destroy the bridge; but lieutenant-general Lake followed them so closely, that they were not able to effect it.

Under these circumstances, I felt pretty confident that one more march would bring this disagreeable warfare

warfare to a conclusion; and having obtained satisfactory information, that the enemy had halted for the night at Cloone, I moved with the troops at Carrick, at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th, to Mohill, and directed lieutenant-general Lake to proceed at the same time to Cloone, which is about three miles from Mohill; by which movement I should be able either to join with lieutenant-general Lake in the attack of the enemy, if they should remain at Cloone, or to intercept their retreat, if they should (as it was most probable) retire on the approach of our army.

On my arrival at Mohill, soon after daybreak, I found that the enemy had begun to move towards Granard; I therefore proceeded with all possible expedition to this place, through which I was assured, on account of a broken bridge, that the enemy must pass in their way to Granard, and directed lieutenant-general Lake to attack the enemy's rear, and impede their march as much as possible, without bringing the whole of his corps into action. Lieutenant-general Lake performed this service with his usual attention and ability; and the enclosed letter, which I have just received from him, will explain the circumstances which produced the immediate surrender of the enemy's army.

The copy of my orders, which I enclose, will shew how much reason I have to be satisfied with the exertions of the troops; and I request that your grace will be pleased to inform his majesty, that I have received the greatest assistance from the general and staff officers who have served with the army.

I have the honour to be, &c.
Cornwallis.

P. S. I am sorry to find that the wounds of lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers, are more dangerous than they had been reported.
His grace the duke of Portland, &c

Letter from Lieutenant-General Lake, to Captain Taylor, private Secretary to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, dated Camp, near Dallingamuck, September 8.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the lord-lieutenant, that finding, upon my arrival at Ballaghy, that the French army had passed that place from Castlebar, I immediately followed them, to watch their motions. Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, who commanded my advanced corps, composed of detachments of Hompesch's and the first seneible cavalry, by great vigilance and activity, hung so close upon their rear, that they could not escape from me, although they drove the country, and carried with them all the horses.

After four days and nights most severe marching, my column, consisting of the carabineers, detachments of the 23d light dragoons, the first seneible light dragoons, and the Roxburgh seneible dragoons, under the command of colonel sir Thomas Chapman, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, earl of Roden, and captain Kerr, the third battalion of light infantry, the Armagh, and part of the Kerry militia, the Reay, Northampton, and prince of Wales's seneible regiment of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, of the 64th regiment, lord viscount Gosford, earl of Glandore,

Glandore, major Ross, lieutenant-colonel Bulkeley, and lieutenant-colonel Macartney, arrived at Cloone about seven o'clock this morning, where, having received directions to follow the enemy on the same line, whilst his excellency moved by the lower road, to intercept them, I advanced, having previously detached the Monaghan light company, mounted behind dragoons, to harass their rear.

Lieutenant-colonel Crawfurd, on coming up with the French rear guard, summoned them to surrender; but as they did not attend to his summons, he attacked them, upon which upwards of 200 French infantry threw down their arms: under the idea that the rest of the corps would do the same thing, captain Packenham, lieutenant-general of ordnance, and major-general Craddock, rode up to them. The enemy, however, instantly commenced a fire of cannon and musketry, which wounded general Craddock; upon which I ordered up the third battalion of light infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, and commenced the attack upon the enemy's position. The action lasted upwards of half an hour, when the remainder of the column making its appearance, the French surrendered at discretion. The rebels, who fled in all directions, suffered severely.

The conduct of the cavalry was highly conspicuous. The third light battalion, and part of the Armagh militia (the only infantry that were engaged), behaved most gallantly, and deserve my warmest praise. Lieutenant-colonel Innes's spirit and judgement contributed much to our success.

To brigadier-general Taylor I have to return my most sincere thanks, for his great exertions and assistance, particularly on this day; also to lord Roden, sir Thomas Chapman, major Kerr, and captain Ferguson, whose example contributed much to animate the troops. I ought not to omit mentioning lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, major Packenham, and captain Kerr, whose conduct was equally meritorious; and I feel infinitely thankful to all the commanding officers of corps, who, during so fatiguing a march, encouraged their men to bear it with unremitting perseverance.

To captain Packenham, lieutenant-colonel Clinton (who came to me with orders from lord Cornwallis), and major-general Craddock (who joined me in the morning), I am highly indebted for their spirited support; the latter, though early wounded, would not retire from the field during the action.

I acknowledge, with gratitude, the zeal and activity displayed, on all occasions, by lieutenant-colonel Meade, major Hardy (assistant-quarter-master-general), captains Taylor and Eustace, of the engineers, captain Nicholson, and my other aides-de-camp.

I cannot conclude my letter without expressing how much our success is to be attributed to the spirit and activity of lieutenant-colonel Crawfurd; and I beg leave to recommend him as a most deserving officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. LAKE.

General

General Orders.

*Head-quarters, near St. John's Town,
September 9.*

Lord Cornwallis cannot too much applaud the zeal and spirit which have been manifested by the army from the commencement of the operations against the invading enemy, until the surrender of the French forces.

The perseverance with which the soldiers supported the extraordinary marches, which were necessary to stop the progress of the very active enemy, does them the greatest credit; and lord Cornwallis heartily congratulates them on the happy issue of their meritorious exertions.

The corps of yeomanry, in the whole country through which the army has passed, have rendered the greatest services, and are peculiarly entitled to the acknowledgements of the lord-lieutenant, from their not having tarnished that courage and loyalty which they displayed in the cause of their king and country, by any acts of wanton cruelty towards their deluded fellow-subjects.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the King's Forces at the Battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8.

Officers, 1 wounded; privates, 2 killed, 12 wounded, 3 missing; horses, 11 killed, 1 wounded, 8 missing.

Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition taken.

3 light French 4-pounders; 5 ditto ammunition-waggons, nearly full of made-up ammunition; 1 ditto tumbril, 700 stand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes.

Officer wounded, lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers.

Return of the French Army taken Prisoners, at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| General and other officers | - | 96 |
| Non-commissioned officers and soldiers | - | 746 |
| Horses, about | - | 100 |

N. B. Ninety-six rebels taken, three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling.

* * The enemy, in their retreat before the troops under my command, were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his majesty's forces.

G. Lake, lieut.-gen.

Names of the principal Officers of the French Force, taken at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

Humbert—general en chef.
Sarazin—general de division.
Fontaine—general de brigade.
Lalere—chef de brigade attaché à l'état major.
Dufour—ditto.
Aulry—chef de battalion.
Demanche—ditto.
Toussaint—ditto.
Babin—ditto.
Silbermon—ditto.
Menou—commisnaire ordonnateur.
Brillier—commisnaire de guerre.
Thibault—payeur.
Puton—aid-de-camp.
Framair—ditto.
Moreau—capitaine vague-mestre-general.
Ardouin—chef de brigade.
Serve—chef de battalion.
Hais—ditto.
Mauchaud—ditto.
Brand, } officiers de l'arté.
Maisonnet, }

Recapitulation.

Recapitulation.

| | | | |
|---------------|---|---|-----|
| Sous officers | - | - | 96 |
| Grenadiers | - | - | 78 |
| Fusiliers | - | - | 440 |
| Carabinieri | - | - | 33 |
| Chasseurs | - | - | 60 |
| Cannoniers | - | - | 41 |
| | | | — |
| Total | | | 748 |
| Officers | | | 96 |
| | | | — |
| | | | 844 |

Certifié par le chef de brigade,
P. Armand

London Gazette Extraordinary,
October 2, 1793.

Admiralty-Office.

The honourable captain Capel, of his majesty's sloop *Mutine*, arrived this morning with dispatches from rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies.

Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,
August 7.

Sir,

Herewith I have the honour to transmit you a copy of my letter to the earl of St. Vincent, together with a line of battle of the English and French squadrons, also a list of killed and wounded. I have the pleasure to inform you, that eight of our ships have already top-gallant yards across, and ready for any service; the others, with the prizes, will soon be ready for sea. In an event of this importance, I have thought it right to send captain Capel, with a copy of my letter (to the commander-in-chief), over land, which I hope their lordships will approve; and beg leave to refer them to captain Capel, who is a

most excellent officer, and fully able to give every information; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Horatio Nelson.

Evan Nepean, esq.

P. S. The island I have taken possession of, and brought off the two thirteen-inch mortars, all the brass guns, and destroyed the iron ones.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, August 8.

My lord,

Almighty God has blessed his majesty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, when I attacked at sunset on the 1st of August, off the Mouth of the Nile. The enemy were moored in a strong line of battle, for defending the entrance of the bay (of shoals), flanked by numerous gunboats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars, on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you; and with the judgement of the captains, together with their valour and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible.

Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleasure; but that is impossible.

I have to regret the loss of captain Westcott, of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your lordship's pleasure is known.

The

The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape: nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it; but I had no ship in a condition to support the Zealous, and I was obliged to call her in.

The support and assistance I have received from captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer you, for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the L'Orient.

Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Horatio Nelson,

Admiral the earl of St. Vincent.

Line of Battle.

1, Culloden, T. Troubridge, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 2, Theseus, R. W. Miller, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 3, Alexander, Alexander J. Ball, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 4, Vanguard, rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. Edward Berry, captain, 74 guns, 595 men; 5, Minotaur, Thomas Louis, captain, 74 guns, 640 men; 6, Leander, T. B. Thompson, captain, 50 guns, 343 men; 7, Swiftsure, B. Hallowell, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 8, Au-

dacious, Davidge Gould, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 9, Defence, John Peyton, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 10, Zealous, Samuel Hood, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 11, Orion, sir James Saumarez, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 12, Goliath, Thomas Foley, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 13, Majestic, George B. Westcott, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; 14, Bellerophon, Henry D. E. Darby, captain, 74 guns, 590 men; La Mutine brig.

Horatio Nelson.

*Vanguard, off the Mouth of
the Nile, August 3.*

French Line of Battle.

1, Le Guerrier, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 2, Le Conquerant, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 3, Le Spartiate, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 4, L'Aquilon, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 5, Le Souverain Peuple, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 6, Le Franklin, Blanquet, 1st contre amiral, 80 guns, 800 men, taken; 7, L'Orient, Brueys, admiral and commander-in-chief, 120 guns, 1010 men, burnt; 8, Le Tonant, 80 guns, 800 men, taken; 9, L'Heureux, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 10, Le Timoleon, 74 guns, 700 men, burnt; 11, Le Mercure, 74 guns, 700 men, taken; 12, Le Guillaume Tell, Villeneuve, 2d contre amiral, 80 guns, 800 men, escaped; 13, Le Genereux, 74 guns, 700 men, escaped.

Frigates.

14, La Diane, 48 guns, 300 men, escaped; 15, La Justice, 44 guns, 300 men, escaped; 16, L'Artemise, 36 guns, 250 men, burnt; 17, La Serieuse, 36 guns, 250 men, dismasted and sunk.

Horatio Nelson.

*Vanguard, off the Mouth of
the Nile, August 3.*

Names

Names of the Officers killed.

Vanguard, captain Taddy, marines; Mr. Thomas Seymonr, Mr. John G. Taylor, midshipmen—Alexander, Mr. John Collins, lieutenant—Orion, Mr. Baird, captain's clerk—Goliath, Mr. William Davies, master's mate; Mr. Andrew Brown, midshipman — Majestic, George B. Westcott, captain; Mr. Zebedee Ford, midshipman; Mr. Andrew Gilmore, boatswain—Bellerophon, Mr. R. Savage Daniel, Mr. Ph. W. Launder, Mr. George Joliffe, lieutenants; Mr. Thomas Ellifon, master's mate—Minotaur, lieutenant J. S. Kirchner, master; Mr. Peter Walters, master's mate.
Horatio Nelson.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,
October 21, 1798.*

Admiralty-Office.

Lieutenant Waterhouse arrived here late last night, with the duplicate of a dispatch from sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. captain of his majesty's ship Canada, to vice-admiral Kingmill, of which the following is a copy.

*Canada, Lough Swilly, Ireland,
16th October.*

Sir,

In pursuance of the orders and instructions I received by the Kangaroo, I proceeded with the ships, named in the margin,* off Achill Head; and, on the 10th inst. I was joined by his majesty's ships Melampus and Doris, the latter of which I directed to look out for the enemy, off Tory Island and the Rosses. In the evening of the same day, the Amelia appeared in the

offing, when captain Herbert informed me he had parted with the Ethalion, Anson, and Sylph, who, with great attention, had continued to observe the French Squadron, since their sailing on the 17th ult. In the morning of the 11th, however, these two ships also fell in with us, and, at noon, the enemy were discovered in the N.W. quarter, consisting of one ship of eighty guns, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig. I immediately made the signal for a general chase, and to form in succession, as each ship arrived up with the enemy, who, from their great distance to windward, and a hollow sea, it was impossible to come up with, before the 12th.

The chase was continued, in very bad and boisterous weather, all day of the 11th, and the following night, when, at half past five, A. M. they were seen at a little distance, to windward, the line-of-battle-ship having lost her main-topmast.

The enemy bore down, and formed their line, in close order, upon the starboard tack; and, from the length of the chase, and our ships being spread, it was impossible to close with them before seven A. M. when I made the Robust's signal to lead, which was obeyed with much alacrity, and the rest of the ships to form, in succession, in the rear of the van.

The action commenced at twenty minutes past seven o'clock, A. M. the Rosses bearing S. S. W. five leagues, and at eleven, the Hoche, after a gallant defence, struck; and the frigates made sail from us. The signal to pursue the enemy was

* Canada, Robust, Foudroyant, and Magnanime.

made immediately, and, in five hours afterwards, three of the frigates hauled down their colours also; but they, as well as the Hoche, were obstinately defended, all of them being heavy frigates, and, as well as the ship of the line, intirely new, full of troops and stores, with every necessary for the establishment of their views and plans in Ireland.

I am happy to say, that the efforts and conduct of every officer and man in the squadron seemed to have been actuated by the same spirit, zeal, and unanimity, in their king and country's cause; and I feel myself under great obligations to them, as well as to the officers and men of this ship, for their exertions upon this occasion, which will, I hope, recommend them to their lordships favour.

I left captain Thornborough, after the action, with the Magnanime, Ethalion, and Amelia, with the prizes; and am sorry to find he is not arrived, but trust they will soon make their appearance. I have the honour to remain, sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

John B. Warren.

P. S. The ships, with us in the action, were, the Canada, Robust, Fondroyant, Magnanime, Ethalion, Malampus, and Amelia.

The Anson joined us in the latter part of the action, having lost her mizen-mast in chase the day before.

I have sent my first lieutenant, Turquand, to take the command of the Hoche.

By a letter from lord viscount Castlereagh, to Mr. Wickham, under-secretary of state for the home

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department, dated Dublin-castle, the 18th instant, it appears that the Melampus had arrived off Lough Swilly, with another French frigate in tow, in pursuit of which she had been sent.

The following is the copy of an official bulletin published in Dublin:

Dublin-Castle, October 18.

Extract of a Letter received this Morning from sir John Borlase Warren, to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated from his Majesty's Ship the Canada, in Lough Swilly, the 16th inst.

My lord,

I take the liberty of communicating to you, for the information of his excellency the lord-lieutenant, that I fell in with the enemy's squadron, on the 12th inst. the Rosies bearing S. S. W. five leagues; and, after an action which continued most of the day, four of their ships struck their colours.

I believe a brig, with Napper Tandy on board, was in company, as she left the French at the commencement of the business. The enemy's ships had numbers of troops on board, arms, stores, and ammunition; and large quantities of papers were torn and thrown overboard, after they had struck.

I am of opinion that few of the frigates, which escaped, will arrive in France, as they had received much damage in their masts and rigging; and from the violent gales that followed the next day, they must be in a crippled state, and may, in all probability, be picked up by some of the squadrons on the coast of France, or by admiral Kingmill's cruizers. They had thrown every thing overboard, boats, spars, arm-chests, &c.

L

I left

I left the prizes with the Robust, Magnanime, Ethalion, and Amelia. The Hoche, of eighty-four guns, was one of the ships taken.

I am, &c.

J. B. Warren.

It appears, by a letter from major-general the earl of Cavan, of a later date, that the Ethalion had arrived off Lough Swilly, with another frigate in tow, which she had been sent in pursuit of; so that the number of prizes amount to seven.

London Gazette, Nov. 20, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. &c. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on-board the Canada, Plymouth-Dock, 18th November.

Sir,

I have been waiting with great anxiety the arrival of the Robust and La Hoche at this port, to enable me to make a return of the killed and wounded in the different ships under my orders upon the 12th October last; but, as I understand, those ships may be still farther detained by repairs at Lough Swilly, I send the inclosed, which it was impossible for me to obtain before the present moment, as the whole squadron was separated in chase of the flying enemy, and have successively arrived at this port; it was impracticable, therefore, to communicate the particulars to their lordships sooner, or to state the very gallant conduct of captains Thornborough and De Courcy, in the Robust and Magnanime, who, from their position in the van on that day, were enabled to close

with the enemy early in the action, and were zealously and bravely seconded by every other ship of the squadron, as well as by the intrepidity displayed by the Anson in the evening, in obeying my signal to harass the enemy, and in beating off their frigates. For farther particulars I refer their lordships to the letters they may have received from captains Countess and Moore, of the Ethalion and Melampus.

I am happy in reflecting that so many advantages to his majesty's arms have been purchased with so inconsiderable a loss in the ships of the squadron.

I have the honour to remain, sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

J. B. Warren.

Here follows a Return of the killed and wounded on board the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships under the Orders of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B. in the Action with a Squadron of French Ships, on the 12th October.

Canada, 1 seaman wounded (since dead); Foudroyant, 9 seamen wounded; Robust, (no return) but I understand the first lieutenant, Mr. McCoy, lost his arm, and one marine officer was killed; Magnanime, 7 seamen wounded; Ethalion, 1 seaman killed, 4 seamen wounded; Melampus, 1 seaman wounded; Amelia, no return; Anson, 2 seamen killed; 2 petty officers, 8 seamen, 3 marines, wounded; total, 3 seamen killed; 2 petty officers, 30 seamen, 3 marines, wounded.

(Signed) John B. Warren.

A List of a Squadron of the French Republic in the Engagement of the 12th

12th of October, on the Coast of Ireland, with a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, under the Orders of Captain Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B.

La Hoche, 84 guns, (no return) commodore Bompard, Monsieur Hardi, commander-in-chief of the army, Monsieur Simon, adjutant-general—taken by Sir John Borlase Warren's Squadron; La Coquille, 40 guns, 580 men, captain Deperon—taken by ditto; L'Ambuscade, 36 guns, 559 men, captain Clement La Kontienr—taken by ditto; La Resolue, 36 guns, 510 men, captain Berjeat—taken by ditto; La Bellone, 40 guns, 240 seamen, 340 troops, captain Jacob—taken by ditto; L'Immortalité, 40 guns, 580 men, captain Le Grand; general of brigade, Monsieur Menage—taken by the Fishguard; La Romaine, 40 guns, captain Berquiere—escaped; La Loire, 44 guns (no return), captain Second—taken by the Ardon; La Semillante, 36 guns, captain La Costune—escaped; La Biche, 8 guns (schooner)—escaped.

Killed and wounded on board the French Ships.

La Coquille, 18 killed, 31 wounded; L'Ambuscade, 15 killed, 26 wounded; La Resolue, 1 killed, 16 wounded; La Bellone, 20 killed, 45 wounded; total, 68 killed, 118 wounded.

John B. Warren,
Evan Nepean, esq. &c.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,
Dec. 21, 1798.*

Downing-street, Dec. 23.

Captain Gifford, first aid-de-camp to general the hon. Charles Stuart, arrived this afternoon at the office

of the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, with a dispatch from the general, of which the following is a copy:

Ciudadella, Nov. 18.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that his majesty's forces are in possession of the island of Minorca, without having sustained the loss of a single man.

As neither commodore Duckworth or myself could procure any useful information relative to the object of the expedition at Gibraltar, it was judged advisable to dispatch the Peterell sloop of war to cruize off the harbour of Mahon for intelligence; where, after remaining a few days, she joined the fleet near the Colombrites, without having made any essential discovery. So circumstanced, it was agreed to attempt a descent in the bay of Addaya; and the wind proving favourable on the seventh instant, a feint was made by the line-of-battle ships at Fornelles, and boats were assembled for that purpose, under the direction of captain Bowen, captain Polden, and captain Prissland. Previous to the landing of the troops, a small battery, at the entrance of the bay, was evacuated, the magazine blown up, the guns spiked, and shortly after the first division, consisting of eight hundred men, was on shore. A considerable explosion to the westward indicated that the Spaniards had also abandoned the works at Fornelles. Nearly at the same moment two thousand of the enemy's troops approached in several different directions, and threatened to surround this inconsiderable force, but were repulsed with some loss.

loss on the left, while the guns of the *Argo* checked a similar attempt on the right flank; and the post was maintained until the debarkation of the different divisions afforded the means of establishing a position, from whence the enemy's troops would have been attacked with considerable advantage, had they not retired in the beginning of the night.

The strength of the ground, the passes, and the badness of the roads in Minorca, are scarcely to be equalled in the most mountainous parts of Europe; and what increased the difficulty of advancing upon this occasion was the dearth of intelligence; for although near one hundred deserters had come in from the Swiss regiments, and affirmed, that the remaining force, upon the island, exceeded four thousand men, no particular account of the enemy's movements was obtained. Under this uncertainty it was for a few minutes doubtful what measures to pursue, but as quickly determined to proceed, by a forced march, to Mercadal, and thereby separate the enemy's force, by possessing that essential pass, in the first instance, and from thence advancing upon his principal communications to either extremity of the island, justly depending upon commodore Duckworth's zeal and exertions to forward, from Addaya and Fornelles, such supplies of provisions and ordnance stores as might favour subsequent operations.

To effect this object, colonel Graham was sent with six hundred men, and, by great exertion, arrived at Mercadal, a very few hours after the main force of the enemy had march-

ed towards Ciudadella, making several officers and soldiers prisoners, seizing various small magazines, and establishing his corps in front of the village.

The persevering labour of two hundred and fifty seamen, under the direction of lieutenant Buchannan, during the night, having greatly assisted the artillery, in forwarding the battalion guns, the army arrived at Mercadal on the ninth, where, learning that Mahon was nearly evacuated, a disposition was instantly made to operate with the whole force in that direction, and colonel Paget was detached under this movement with three hundred men, to take possession of the town; upon his arrival, he summoned Fort Charles to surrender, and made the lieutenant-governor of the island, a colonel of artillery, and one hundred and sixty men, prisoners of war, removed the boom obstructing the entrance of the harbour, and gave free passage to the *Cormorant* and *Aurora* frigates, which were previously sent by commodore Duckworth to make a diversion off that port. But these were not the only advantages immediately resulting from this movement; it favoured desertion, intercepted all stragglers, and enabled the departments of the army to procure beasts of burden for the farther progress of his majesty's arms.

Having ascertained that the enemy's troops were throwing up works, and intrenching themselves in front of Ciudadella, it was resolved to force their position on the night of the thirteenth instant; and, preparatory to this attempt, colonel Paget, with two hundred men, was withdrawn from Mahon; colonel

colonel Moncrief sent forward with a detachment to Ferarias; three light twelve pounders, and five and a half inch howitzers, and ninety marines landed from the fleet; when, in consequence of its having been communicated to commodore Duckworth, that four ships, supposed of the line, were seen between Majorca and Minorca, steering towards the last-mentioned island; he decided to pursue them, requested that the seamen and marines might re-embark, and signified his determination of proceeding, with all the armed transports, to sea; but weighing the serious consequences which would result to the army from the smallest delay on the one hand, and the advantages to be reasonably expected from a spirited attack on the other, it was thought advisable to retain them with the army; and, on the twelfth instant, the whole force marched to Alpiuz, and from thence proceeded, on the thirteenth, to Jupet, colonel Moncrief's detachment moving in a parallel line on the Ferarias road to Mala Garaba. These precautions, and the appearance of two columns approaching the town, induced the enemy to retire from their half-constructed defences within the walls of Ciudadella; and in the evening of the same day, a small detachment, under captain Muter, was sent to take possession of the Torré den Quart, whereby the army was enabled to advance on the fourteenth, apparently in three columns, upon Kane's, the Ferarias, and Fornelles roads, to the investment of the town at daybreak, occupying ground covered by the position the enemy had relinquished: thus stationed, in want of heavy artillery, and

every article necessary for a siege, it was judged expedient to summon the governor of Minorca to surrender; and the preliminary articles were immediately considered; but doubts arising on the part of the enemy, whether the investing force was superior in number to the garrison, two batteries of three twelve pounders, and three five and a half inch howitzers, were erected in the course of the following night, within eight hundred yards of the place, and at daybreak, the main body of the troops formed in order of battle, considerably to the right of Kane's road, leaving the picquets to communicate between them and colonel Moncrief's post. This line, partly real and partly imaginary, extended four miles in front of the enemy's batteries, from whence two eighteen pound shot were immediately fired at the troops; but a timely parley, and the distant appearance of the squadron, occasioned a cessation of hostilities, and renewed a negotiation, which, through the address of major-general sir James St. Clair Erskine, terminated in the annexed capitulation.

Four weeks salt provisions for the garrison, besides the enclosed list of ordnance stores, were found in the town of Ciudadella.

The assistance received from commodore Duckworth, in forwarding the light artillery and provisions, greatly facilitated the rapid movements of the army; and I am happy in the opportunity of declaring my obligations to lord Mark Kerr and captain Caulfield for the supplies they sent from Mahon, and their exertions to land two mortars, which, in the event of farther resistance, might have proved of the ut-

most importance in securing the army, or compelling the enemy to surrender.

The support I have experienced from major-general Sir James St. Clair Erskine, brigadiers-general Stuart and Oakes, the exertions of lieutenant-colonel Steward, my adjutant-general, the zeal, spirit, and perseverance of both the officers and men of the different regiments under my command, have eminently contributed to the success of the expedition, and authorize me to represent their services as highly deserving his majesty's most gracious approbation.

Captain Gifford, my first aid-de-camp, who is perfectly acquainted with every circumstance concerning the capitulation of Ciudadella, and the reduction of the island of Minorca, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Charles Stuart.
Right hon. Henry Dundas.

Terms of Capitulation demanded for the Surrender of the Fortress of Ciudadella to the Arms of his Britannic Majesty.

I. The garrison shall not be considered as prisoners of war, but shall march out free, with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, with twelve rounds of cartridge per man.

Answer.—The town and fortress of Ciudadella, and the fort of St. Nicholas, together with all artillery, ammunition, stores, provisions, or effects, the property of his most Catholic majesty, shall be surrendered to his Britannic majesty's arms; and the gate of Mahon, and the fort of St. Nicholas, shall be delivered up to the British army tomorrow at noon.

II. They shall be preceded by four brass four pounders, and two two-inch howitzers, with lighted matches, and twelve rounds for each.

Answer. The garrison shall march out as proposed in the first and second articles, but the guns must be left with the artillery.

III. The said garrison shall be sent, with all due convenience, to Spain, at the expence of his Britannic majesty, to one of the nearest ports of the peninsula, except the first battalion of the Swiss regiment of Yan, and the detachment of the dragoons of Numancia, with their horses and furniture, who shall be sent to Majorca, as belonging to corps which garrison that island.

Answer.—The garrison shall be conveyed to the nearest port of his most Catholic majesty.

IV. The officers in this island and fortress shall keep their arms, horses, and equipage, with the funds of their regiments, and shall be permitted to go to Mahon, for the purpose of bringing away their families, and removing or disposing of their property there.

Answer.—Admitted, they paying their just debts; and the officers who have occasion to go to Mahon to bring away their families, or dispose of their property, will have passports, on applying to the British commander-in-chief.

V. The officers of the war-department, the revenue, and marine, together with the persons employed in every branch thereof, shall be permitted to follow the garrison, and are to be included in the articles III. IV. and V.

Answer.—Admitted.

VI. Whatever officers and troops have been made prisoners in Mahon,

hon, or other parts of the island, since the seventh instant, are comprehended in the above five articles.

Answer.—People who have already surrendered cannot be included in the above capitulation.

VII. The deserters from this army, who have given themselves up to the protection of his Britannic majesty since the said seventh instant, shall be restored to our army.

Answer.—Refused.

VIII. Beasts of burden, both great and small, shall be granted at the ordinary prices, for those who may be desirous of going to Mahon.

Answer.—Admitted.

IX. During the time the garrison may remain in this island, their necessary wants shall be supplied at the expence of Spain.

Answer.—There will be no obstacle to the garrison's being supplied with provisions by its own officers, while it remains, which will be as short a time as possible, and be regulated by the commander-in-chief.

X. The sick and wounded shall remain in the hospitals, and their treatment be at the expence of their regiments.

Answer.—Admitted.

XI. The inhabitants of this island shall be allowed to continue in the free exercise of their religion, enjoying peaceably the revenues, property, and privileges which they possess and enjoy at present.

XII. The episcopal see of the island shall remain established in it, according to the bull for its new creation, enjoying the honours, authority, and rents, belonging to the bishoprick, and subsisting with its ecclesiastical chapter and as suffragan of the archbishop of Valencia.

XIII. The universities (or corporations) of the island shall be maintained in the enjoyment of the particular privileges and franchises which have been granted to them by the ancient kings of Spain, as they now possess them, and as they have been allowed to them in the treaties which have taken place as often as this island has passed from one dominion to another.

Answer.—XI. XII. and XIII. are articles which do not properly belong to this capitulation; but of course due care will be taken to secure the peaceable inhabitants in the enjoyment of their religion and property.

XIV. The merchant-ship named *Experiencia*, which is in Mahon, coming from Smyrna, and belonging to the consulate of Cadiz, and its cargo, shall remain free, and a passport be granted for its safe conduct to Spain.

Answer.—Refused.

XV. Commissioners will be appointed on both sides to settle the detail of the execution of this treaty, and to deliver and receive all stores, &c. the property of his most catholic majesty.

(Signed) Charles Stuart,

General and commander-in-chief,

J. T. Duckworth,

Commodore and naval commander-in-chief.

Juan Nepomuceno De Quesada.
Ciudadella, 15th Nov.

*Return of Ordnance taken in the
Island of Minorca.*

Camp, opposite Ciudadella, Nov. 18.

Ciudadella and Fort St. Nicola—
5 brals 3½ inch howitzers; brals
ordnance, four 4-pounders, mounted;
iron ordnance, six 18, ten
L 4 12,

12, eight 9, and two 6 pounders, mounted.

Mahon—One 13 inch, 3 brads 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, mortars; 3 brads 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers; iron ordnance, fifteen 32, twelve 18, seventeen 12, and three 6-pounders, mounted; 3 brads 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers; brads ordnance, three 24, four 12 pounders; iron ordnance, two 24, one 18, and five 12 pounders, dismounted.

Lower Musquito—iron ordnance, one 6 pounder, mounted; Upper Musquito—iron ordnance, three 9, two 6 pounders, mounted; Calaucolins—iron ordnance, four 12-pounders, mounted; St. Teresa—brads ordnance, four 12-pounders, mounted; Fornelles—iron ordnance, fourteen 18-pounders, mounted; Pointa Prima—iron ordnance, four 12-pounders mounted; Calacoufa—iron ordnance, four 12-pounders, mounted; total—one 13, three 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch mortars; three 8 $\frac{1}{2}$, three 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, five 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers; fifteen 32, five 24, thirty-three 18, fifty-two 12, eleven 9, eight 6, four 4 pounders.

Return of the Ammunition and Stores taken in the Island of Minorca.

Fifty 13, one hundred 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, one hundred and eighty 8 $\frac{1}{2}$, seventy-eight 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch shells.

One thousand nine hundred and eighty 32, three thousand one hundred and thirty-one 18, four thousand four hundred and sixty 12, one thousand four hundred and forty 9, one thousand four hundred and thirty-three 6, seven hundred and sixty-four 4 pound round shot.

Sixty-eight 32, three hundred and twenty 12-pound grape shot.

Forty-seven 32, sixty 18, one hundred and sixty-eight 12, six 9, forty-eight 6-pound double-headed shot.

Ninety-nine 4-pound round shot, fixed ammunition.

One hundred and forty-four hand grenades.

Two hundred and seventy thousand musket-ball cartridges.

Two thousand flints.

Six hundred and ninety-eight 18, one thousand and ten 12, one hundred and sixty 9, two hundred and thirteen 6-pound cartridges, filled.

Eight hundred and twenty-one whole, and three half barrels of gunpowder.

Haylord Flamingham,
Captain, commanding the
Royal Artillery.

His excellency-general the hon.
Charles Stuart, commander-in-chief.

Copy of an Embarkation-return delivered by his excellency Don Juan Nepomufenu de Quesada, to his excellency general the honourable Charles Stuart, Commander-in-chief of the British Forces in the Island of Minorca.

Fortress of Ciudadella, in the Island of Minorca.

General State of the Spanish Troops who are to embark for the Evacuation of this Island.

153 officers; 3528 serjeants, drummers, and rank and file; 56 horses.

General staff 16, including 1 governor, 1 lieutenant-governor, 1 major-general, &c.

(Signed)

Pedro Quadrado, major-general.
Ciudadella, Nov. 17.

I certify the above to be a true copy; and that since the landing of the British forces, and previous to the surrender of Ciudadella, on the 16th instant, nearly 300 deserters have come over to the British army.

Rd. Stewart, Adjt.-general.
N. B.

N. B. The corps composing the Spanish force in this island are as follows—viz. regiment of Valencia, 3 battalions; Swiss regiment of Kattiman, 2 battalions; Swiss regiment of Yann, 1 battalion; a detachment of the dragoons of Numancia; and a detachment of artillery.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 23.

Lieutenant Jones, of his majesty's ship *Leviathan*, arrived here this afternoon, with a dispatch from admiral the earl of St. Vincent to Mr. Nepean, of which the following is a copy:

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, Dec. 6.

Sir,

I inclose the copy of a letter from commodore Duckworth, with other documents relating to the conquest of the island of Minorca; upon which important event I request you will congratulate the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

Lieutenant Jones, first of the *Leviathan*, is the bearer of this dispatch, who, from the report of commodore Duckworth, and my own observation, while my flag was on board that ship, is highly deserving their lordships favour and protection.

I am, sir, &c.

St. Vincent.

*Leviathan, off Fournelles, Minorca,
19th Nov.*

My lord,

In pursuance of your lordship's instructions to me of the 18th and 20th of October, I proceeded with the ships under my orders, and the troops under the command of the honourable general Charles Stuart, to the rendezvous off the Colombettes; and after having been

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joined by his majesty's sloop *Peterell*, and the arrangements for landing had been completed, on the 5th in the afternoon I stood for Minorca; but in consequence of light winds, I did not make that island till day-break on the 7th, then within five miles of the port of Fournelles, where finding the wind directly out of that harbour, and the enemy prepared for our reception I (having previously consulted the general) made the signal for captain Bowen, of the *Argo*, accompanied by the *Cormorant* and *Aurora*, to assist in covering the landing, to lead into the creek of Addaya, there not being water or space enough for the line-of-battle ships, which he executed in a most officer-like and judicious manner; and in hauling round the northern point, a battery of four 12-pounders fired one gun, but on seeing the broadside, the enemy left it, blowing up their magazines, and spiking the guns, when the transports were got in without damage, though there was scarcely room for stowing them in tiers. During this service, which was rapidly executed, the *Leviathan* and *Centaur* plied on and off Fournelles, to divert the attention of the enemy; but knowing an expeditious landing to be our greatest object, as soon as I observed the transports were nearly in the creek, I bore away, and anchored with the *Leviathan* and *Centaur* off its entrance, to see that service performed. One battalion was put on shore by eleven o'clock, and directly took the height, which proved fortunate, as the enemy very quickly appeared in two divisions, one of which was marching down towards the battery before-mentioned, when I ordered the covering ships to commence a cannonade,

nonade, which effectually checked their progress, and the general kept them at bay with the troops he had; and by six o'clock in the afternoon the whole were on shore, with eight 6-pounders, field-pieces, and eight days provisions, as also two howitzers. On the same evening, after ordering the Cormorant and Aurora to proceed off Port Mahon, with seven transports, to form a diversion, I got under weigh with the Leviathan and Centaur, and turned up to Fournelles, with an intent to force the harbour; but on my entering the passage, I found the enemy had evacuated the forts, and the wind throwing out caused me to anchor, when I made the Centaur's signal (which was following me) to haul off, landed the marines of the Leviathan, took possession of two forts of four guns each, and one of six; but soon after the general requesting I would not enter this port, I ordered captain Digby to embark the marines, and to put to sea, and cruise under the command of captain Markham, who was employed in covering the port of Fournelles and Addaya, and preventing succour being thrown in, whilst my pennant was hoisted on board the Argo, where I continued two days, aiding and directing the necessary supplies for the army. In this I was ably assisted by captain Bowen. During these two days, I visited head-quarters, to consult with the general, when it was decided, as the anchorage at Addaya was extremely hazardous, and the transports in hourly risk of being lost, to remove them to Fournelles, which was executed under cover of the Leviathan and Centaur. On the 11th I ordered the Centaur off Ciudadella, to prevent reinforce-

ments being thrown in, and anchored the Leviathan at Fournelles, landed some 12-pounder field-pieces, and howitzers, the sailors drawing them up to the army, shifted my pennant to the Leviathan, and left the Argo at Addaya, ordering captain Bowen to continue there till all the depots were re-embarked and removed, which was effected that day. Late that evening I received information from the general, that four ships, supposed to be of the line, were seen between Minorca and Majorca. In the middle of the night the general sent me another corroborating report from the look-out man, of the four ships seen being of the line. I instantly put to sea (though one-fifth of the crews were on shore) with two ships of the line, a forty-four, and three armed transports, and stood towards Ciudadella; when, at daylight the next morning, that place bearing S. E. by S. eight or nine miles, five ships were seen from the mast-head standing directly down for Ciudadella. I instantly made signal for a general chase, when I soon observed the enemy haul their wind for Majorca; but I continued the pursuit, to prevent the possibility of their throwing in succour to Minorca; and at noon I discovered the enemy, from the fore-yard, to be four large frigates and a sloop of war; this latter keeping her wind, I made the Argo's signal to haul after her; and captain Bowen, by his letter of the 15th, informs me he took her at half past three that afternoon, and proved to be his majesty's sloop Peterell, which had been captured the preceding forenoon by the squadron of frigates I was in chase of. For farther particulars on that head, I shall refer you to captain Bowen's letter,

letter, where I am convinced you will observe, with great concern, the very harsh treatment the officers and crew of the *Peterell* met with when captured; and he has since added, that one man, who resisted the Spaniards plundering him of forty guineas, was murdered and thrown overboard.

I continued the chase till eleven o'clock that night, when I was within three miles of the sternmost frigate; but finding the wind become light, I feared it would draw me too far from the island of Minorca; I therefore hailed the *Centaur*, and directing captain Markham to pursue the enemy, steered directly for Ciudadella, which I made the subsequent afternoon (the 14th) with the *Calcutta* and *Ulysses*. The next morning (the 15th) at day-break, the *Argo* joined us off Ciudadella. Having had no communication from the general, I sent the first lieutenant, Mr. Jones, though a very hazardous night, in the ship's cutter, with a letter to the general, proposing to cannonade Ciudadella, if it would facilitate his operations. In the morning of the 16th, lieutenant Jones returned with duplicates of two letters I had previously received by captain Gifford, the general's aid-de-camp, acquainting me that he had summoned the town on the 14th, and that terms of capitulation were agreed upon on the 15th to surrender to his majesty's arms. When I went on shore, I signed the capitulation the general had made, on which fortunate event I most truly congratulate your lordship. The *Centaur* joined, not having been so fortunate as to capture either of the Spanish frigates, though within four miles of the sternmost, captain Markham being apprehen-

sive the continuance of the chase would carry him to a great distance from more essential service.

From the 10th in the morning, when Fort Charles was put into our possession, and lord Mark Kerr in the *Cormorant*, with the *Aurora*, captain Caulfield, entered the port, those ships have been employed for the defence of the harbour, guarding the prisoners; and I have the pleasure to assure your lordship, in the performance of the various services incident to the movements I have stated, I cannot pass too high encomiums on the captains, officers, and seamen under my command. From captains Polden and Pressland, agents of transports, I received every possible assistance in their departments; and when it was necessary I should proceed to sea, to bring to action a reputed superior force, they showed great spirit, and used every exertion to accompany me in their armed transports, as did lieutenant Simmonds, the other agent, in his. I must now beg leave to mention my first lieutenant, Mr. George Jones, who, in the various and hazardous services he had to undergo, during the attack of the island, has proved highly deserving my praise; I have therefore put him to act as commander of the *Peterell*, which ship I have presumed to recommission, to convey present dispatches. There is also high merit due to my second lieutenant, Mr. William Buchanan, whom I landed as second in command under captain Bowen, with more than 250 seamen: there were likewise the *Leviathan's* and *Centaur's* marines with the army, to the number of 100; but other essential service calling captain Bowen on board his ship, the command of the seamen

seamen devolved on lieutenant Buchannan; and, as will appear by the strongest accompanying testimony, given him from the commander-in-chief of the army, he performed the services with the army with the greatest ability and exertion.

I should feel myself remiss was I to close this without noticing to your lordship the particular exertions, activity, and correctness, of lieutenant Whiston, of the Constitution cutter, in the various services and messages he had to execute.

The general having signified his wish, that his dispatches should be sent without delay, I have not yet been able to visit the port of Mahon, to obtain a return of the state of the dock-yard, or vessels captured in that place; but I understand, from captain lord Robert Mark Kerr, that there are no ships of war, and only one merchant-ship of value; the particulars of which I will transmit by the earliest opportunity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

Earl St. Vincent.

Argo, at Sea, 15th Nov,

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that at half past three P. M. on the 13th instant, I had the good fortune to come up with the ship that I hauled the wind after, round cape Rouge, conformable to your signal: she proved to be his majesty's ship Peterell, in possession of Don Antonio Franco Gandrada, second captain of the Spanish frigate Flora, who, in company with the three others named in the margin,* captured her the day before.

These frigates had come from Carthagena, had touched at Barcelona, sailed from thence on Saturday last, bound to Mahon, with eight millions of rials, to pay the troops.

Deeming it absolutely necessary to make the Peterell useful, until your return, I took all the Spaniards out (72 in number), and gave her in charge to my first lieutenant, Mr. Lynne, with a mate, two midshipmen, 30 seamen, and 12 marines, directing them to land an officer and guide at Fournelles, with a letter for general Stuart, and to return here immediately.

I am sorry to inform you the Spaniards behaved very ill to the officers and seamen of the Peterell, having robbed and plundered them of every thing. Great part of the captain's and officers clothes I have recovered. I returned off this place yesterday, but, being calm, I could not get near the shore.

I have, &c.

J. Bowen.

Commodore Duckworth.

Before Ciudadella, Nov. 18,

Sir,

I have the honour to return you, and the gentlemen employed on shore under your command, my sincere thanks, for your activity, zeal, and assistance, in forwarding the light artillery of the army; neither can too much praise be given to the seamen, for their friendly and cheerful exertions under very hard labour; exertions which were accompanied with a propriety of behaviour which I greatly attribute to your management, and which will ever merit my acknowledgements,

* Casilda, of 40 guns; Pomona, of 40; and Proserpine, of 40.

and affords me the satisfaction of assuring you that I am, with sincere regard,

Yours, &c.

Charles Stuart.

Lieutenant Buchannan.

A List of Stores found in the Arsenal at Port Mahon.

The keel and stern-frame for a man-of-war brig, on the stocks, with all the timbers, and part of the clothing, all the rigging, &c.; 14 gun-boats, hauled up, with all their rigging, in good order, but the boats very old; 13 boats, from 36 to 20 feet in length, all their rigging in good order, and fit for service; 2 cables of 17 inch; 2 cables of 9 inch; 2 cables of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch; rope of 5 inch, 400 fathoms; rope of 3 inch, 400 fathoms; rope of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 600 fathoms; rope of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 400 fathoms; rope of 1 inch, 300 fathoms; rope of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 400 fathoms; old junk, 6,000 pounds; 6 anchors, from 14 to 17 hundred weight; 7 grapnels, of seven hundred weight; a large quantity of all sorts of iron-work; a brass mortar, of 13 inch; 3 ditto, of 12 ditto; some shells, of 13 inch and of 8 inch; 2 topmasts for 74-gun ships; 3 lesser ones; several caps and spars; 1000 fir planks; several knees, and some oak plank; 20 tons of nails, of all sorts; 30 bolts of new, and about 400 yards of old canvas; 14 Spanish pennants; blocks for the sheers and heaving ships down of all descriptions, with various other small articles.

(Signed) J. Wooldridge,

Lieut. of the Cormorant.

November 18.

List of Ships and Vessels found at Port Mahon, and taken Possession of.

One ship of 540 tons, partly laden with cotton, gum, and drugs; one ship of 200 tons, in ballast; a zebee of 60 tons, laden with horn; and four small tartans.

(Signed) J. Wooldridge,

Lieut. of the Cormorant.

November 18.

London Gazette, December 25, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Earl St. Vincent, K. B. Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board Le Souverain, Gibraltar, November 27.

Herewith you will receive the copy of a letter from rear-admiral lord Nelson, inclosing one from captain Ball, of his majesty's ship Alexander, with the capitulation of the island of Goza.

Vanguard, at Sea, Nov. 1.

My lord,

I have the honour to transmit you a letter received from captain Ball, dated October 30, together with the capitulation of the castle of Goza, and a list of ordnance, &c. found in it; the prisoners are now embarked in the Vanguard and Minotaur, till I can get a vessel, to send them to France. Captain Ball, with three sail of the line, a frigate, and fire-ship, is entrusted with the blockade of Malta, in which are two sail of the line and three frigates, ready for sea; and, from the experience I have had of captain Ball's zeal, activity, and ability, I have no doubt but

but that, in due time, I shall have the honour of sending you a good account of the French in the town of Valetti. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your lordship's

Most obedient servant,

Horatio Nelson.

Admiral earl St. Vincent.

Alexander, off Malta, Oct. 30.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the commandant of the French troops, in the castle of Goza, signed the capitulation the 28th inst. which you had approved. I ordered captain Creswell, of the marines, to take possession of it in the name of his Britannic majesty, and his majesty's colours were hoisted. The next day, the place was delivered up in form to the deputies of the island, his Sicilian majesty's colours hoisted, and he acknowledged their lawful sovereign.

I embarked, yesterday, all the French officers and men who were on the island of Goza, amounting to 217.

I inclose the articles of capitulation, and an inventory of the arms and ammunition found in the castle, part of which I directed to be sent to the assistance of the Maltese, who are in arms against the French.— There were 3,200 sacks of corn in the castle, which will be a great relief to the inhabitants, who are much in want of that article.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Alex. John Ball,

Rear-admiral sir H. Nelson.

Articles of Capitulation between Alexander John Ball, Esq. Captain of his Britannic Majesty's Ship Alexander, appointed to conduct the

Blockade of Malta, under Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. on the Part of Great Britain, and Lieutenant Colonel Lochey, Aju. de Batt. Commander of the French Troops in the Castle of Goza.

I. The French troops shall march out of the castle of Goza with the honours of war, and shall lay down their arms as they get out of the gate.

II. The castle of Goza, with all the military implements and stores, shall be delivered up to the British officer appointed to take charge of them.

III. The French officers and troops shall be protected in their persons and effects, and the officers allowed to retain their side-arms; they shall be embarked immediately on board his Britannic majesty's ships, and sent to France, in transports, at the expence of the French government. They are not to serve against his Britannic majesty, or his allies, during the war, until regularly exchanged.

Rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. has entered into articles with the inhabitants of Goza, that, if the French surrender to the British, they shall be considered as under their protection, and they will not offer them the smallest insult or molestation.

Signed, 28th of October, 1798,

Alex. John Ball, capt. of his Britannic majesty's ship Alexander.

Lochey, Aju. de Battailon.

Approved, Horatio Nelson.

Extract of Articles found in the Castle of Goza, the 28th October.

50 barrels of powder; 9000 ball-cartridges; 1000 musket-cartridges, with.

without ball; 1700 flints; 38 eighteen-pound cartridges, filled; 140 twelve-pound ditto; 450 six-pound ditto; 268 four-pound ditto; 25 three-pound ditto; 88 two-pound ditto; 18 eighteen-pounder guns, good, and 200 shot; 2 twelve-pounder guns, good, and 900 shot; 4 six-pounder guns, good, and 2985 shot; 400 hand-granades, filled; 90 pikes, and 90 halberts; 3200 sacks of corn.

N. B. No small-arms, except those laid down by the French troops.

Abstract of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons, in Ireland, presented to the House, July 17th, 1798, by the Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh,

This report, which occupied in the reading full two hours, commences with a general view of the conspiracy carried on by the society of United Irishmen, from its original formation to its intimate connection with a foreign enemy.—The report then refers to the report of the lords committee in 1793, and that of both houses in 1797, which it states “to have been fully confirmed by the evidence of some principal leaders in the society.” The first objects of this society, at its formation in 1791, were alleged to be Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; but from the original scheme, as developed in a letter from the founder, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the true objects appear to have been to separate Ireland from Great Britain, to overturn the present constitution, and establish a democratical republic in this country.

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To forward these views, the public mind was prepared by the frequent circulation of seditious writings, in particular those of Thomas Paine; but the real objects of the society were not disclosed publicly until the year 1795, when the test of the society, which had previously bound its members to seek ‘a reform in the common-house of parliament,’ was changed by the substitution of the words following—‘a more equal representation of *all* the people of Ireland;’ and it had appeared to the committee, upon the testimony of one of the executive committee of that society, that this alteration was made, in order to forward the plan of a separate republic.

The report then goes on to state, that great numbers of persons in the north of Ireland having been induced to enter into the views of the union, an immediate and direct communication was opened with the enemy.

Upon the establishment of the yeomanry in the autumn of 1796, the union found it necessary to assume a military character, in order to counter-act the efforts of government; and so far had they advanced in this system, that, from the papers seized in Belfast, in April, 1797, it appeared that the number of men arrayed for military purposes was not less than one hundred thousand; that arms in great abundance, pikes, cannon and ammunition, had been provided; and that nothing had been neglected to prepare the members of the union to rise, upon either the arrival of a foreign enemy, or the orders of the superior officers whom they were bound by oath to obey.

Beside

Beside these military preparations, every exertion was made to defeat the ordinary operations of justice. Witnesses, magistrates, and prosecutors were murdered, or if not murdered, pursued with the most violent injuries; attacked in their professions, their business, their characters, and their property; every inducement of hope, and every menace of danger, was employed to increase their numbers; and, from the fear of ruin, multitudes were daily obliged to join the ranks of the disaffected.

To disarm the loyal became as serious an object as to arm themselves, and, in consequence of incessant outrages, and continued murders, the loyal inhabitants of many parts of Ulster were stripped of their arms, and driven from their houses.

Government, as it was its duty, resorted to the best means in its power of suppressing these outrages, and the legislature, in 1796, having passed the law, commonly called the Insurrection-Act, that law was enforced in many parts of Ulster, with considerable advantage to the quiet of the country.

In October, 1796, parliament having sanctioned the establishment of the yeomanry, that body of men, the original estimate of whom was twenty thousand, soon amounted to thirty-seven thousand; and during the late rebellion their numbers exceeded fifty-thousand men, sharing all the dangers, and performing all the duties, of his majesty's regular and militia forces.

Notwithstanding these measures, the numbers and confidence of the union increased: to give encouragement to their followers in the province of Ulster, a sort of mili-

tary parade was adopted and frequently practised. In autumn, 1796, and the spring of 1797, great multitudes of these persons were used to assemble, under pretence of digging or planting potatoes, &c. but really with design to exhibit their numbers, and strike terror into their opponents. To suppress this practice, general Lake issued a proclamation, which, for that time, had the desired effect; many of the lower orders, giving up their arms, taking the oath of allegiance, and receiving certificates of protection.

In the month of May, 1797, immediately before an intended insurrection, which was to have taken place in June, a proclamation was issued, bearing date the 17th of May, offering pardon and protection to those who should renounce their treasons and surrender themselves; this proclamation produced some degree of effect; but a general insurrection was determined on, and a partial one took place, which, by the vigorous exertions of his majesty's troops was speedily suppressed.

The industry of Ulster, which had been destroyed during the commotions preceding, was, upon this suppression, immediately restored, and so much was the general tranquillity of the country re-established, that the authority of the civil magistrates became fully adequate to support the laws; the inferior orders of united Irishmen betook themselves to their ordinary business, and only a few of the higher committees continued to prosecute their plans of treason; but, so completely had their followers been dispirited, that until the province of Leinster was actually ready to rise, in May last, no inducement could

could prevail on the Northerners to rise; and, when a partial insurrection did take place, it was speedily suppressed by the valour of the king's troops and yeomanry, and the unremitting zeal of the loyalists of Ulster.

The report then states that the union having perceived, during the invasion of 1796, the loyalty of the common people of Munster and Connaught, every effort was made to extend their principles into those provinces; that the consequences of their labours soon appeared, in the plundering of arms and murders of the loyal, in the summer and autumn of 1798; that, the midland and southern counties became soon distinguished in barbarity, resorting, in addition to murder and robbery, to the ancient practices of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of those against whom their rage was directed.

The means employed to excite the lower orders in these counties, who are chiefly Roman catholics, were promises of the abolition of tythes, and the fabrication of the most abominable tests, falsely said to have been taken by his majesty's protestant subjects, for the extermination of Roman catholics; these fabrications, monstrous and extravagant as they were, were the chief incentives by which the deluded and ignorant peasantry were engaged to enter into the plans of the union.

In farther prosecution of their plans, an infamous periodical paper was published, in Dublin, called the Union Star, recommending by name the assassination of such persons as had, in the capacity of magistrates, jurors, or witnesses, impeded the designs of the society.

With the same view, the paper

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called the Press was established, which was latterly printed in the name of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, who, in his examination before the committee, admitted himself to have been a member of the executive directory, and an active leader in the society.—The objects of this paper, which was even more licentious than a former instrument of the union, (the Northern Star) were to impede the course of justice, by reviling all judicial proceedings; to aggravate the power of the union; and to forward all its plans; by continual exertions to prejudice the public mind in their favour, by continued misrepresentations of the conduct of the loyal, and unceasing publications in support of the designs of the union.

By these different means, the southern counties were prepared for insurrection; the county of Kildare, in particular, was so forward as to have manufactured 12,000 pikes; and the whole number of arms, in the kingdom, amounted, at the close of 1797, to 129,000, of different descriptions.

No art was omitted which could tend to embarrass government and promote the cause of the union; from the authentic reports of their officers, and the confession of their chiefs, a large fund appeared to have been collected, by almost universal subscription, to forward the objects of the society; out of this fund, all persons acting under their orders were defended when prosecuted; witnesses bought off; lawyers hired to undertake, in the gross, the cause of all persons accused of treason; under-sheriffs bribed to return partial pannels; and goalers paid to favour the escape of the persons accused.

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Still farther to embarrass the king's government, the use of spirits was decried by the union, avowedly in order to injure the revenue; the circulation of bank-paper was impeded by a variety of contrivances; and the value of public securities was attacked and depreciated by a studied system of misrepresentation.

The report then proceeds to state, that, so early as the year 1796, the society, (as it appeared by the evidence of Dr. M'Nevin, who confesses himself to be a member of the executive directory) despairing of success in the project of producing a democratic republic, by the acquisition of what was styled 'reform,' had applied its labours to effect a revolution by arms; that, in consequence of the representations made by them to France, the government of that country resolved to send a force to this country, and made an offer to that purpose, which was accepted by the leaders of the union, and M'Nevin was sent to France with instructions to state the disposition of the people of this country, which he did, and received assurances of speedy assistance; that Arthur O'Connor and the late lord Edward Fitzgerald also proceeded, upon the same errand, to Hamburgh and Switzerland, but did not enter France, lest the government of this country should receive intimation of their so doing; that, at Frankfort, they had an interview with general Hoche, where they settled the intended descent, which, it was agreed, should take place in December; that, in December, the society received from France several contradictory accounts of the number embarked for the invasion, and therefore, doubting all of them, took no pains to prepare the people in

the south for the French, which occasioned the peasantry to act with such loyalty in the winter of 1796.

It is then given as the opinion of the committee, that no formal communication between the union and France took place until this of 1796, although it appeared, by the trial of doctor Jackson, found guilty of treason, in 1795, that the agents of France had been employed in this country; and from the statement drawn up for the French government, and proved upon that trial, that the leaders of the union were the persons then considered as the friends of a French connection.

That statement appears to have been the joint production of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the society, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, one of its chief leaders; now both fugitives for high treason.

In order to keep up the spirit of the union, the leaders assured their followers of the certainty of French aid in the spring of 1797; and, in order to expedite this aid, found it necessary to dispatch a confidential person, named Lewines, to press the directory for assistance; which person proceeded, in May or June last, to Paris, and has since remained there, the accredited minister of the Irish union to the French directory.

Another most confidential person was also dispatched, in the course of the last summer, to France; this was Dr. M'Nevin, heretofore secretary to the executive committee; he went to Hamburgh, and presented himself to the French minister there, in order to obtain a passport; finding some difficulty in this, he drew up and presented to the same minister a memoir on the circumstances of Ireland, in which

he stated, with great exaggeration, the resources of the union, made promises of repayment to France, both for the expected aid and the expedition which had failed, the fund for which was to be raised by the sale of the church-lands and the confiscated property of those who should not join the union.

Dr. M'Nevin was also commissioned to apply to France for an immediate loan of half a million, or 300,000*l.* to be repaid from the same fund; and, if France were unable to raise so much, he was empowered to apply to the court of Spain for the purpose.

From all the evidence, it had appeared, to the committee, that France had been, at all times, disinclined to sending any force into this country, which should not be sufficient to secure and retain Ireland to herself as a French conquest; and the disposition in the French government was illustrated by a letter from Lewines to lord Edward Fitzgerald, dated from Paris, and communicating to him, under the usual cloke of mercantile correspondence, the result of his negotiation. The letter mentioned that "the trustees (the French directory) had refused to advance the 5,000*l.* (for 5,000 men), or make any payment short of the higher sum (send fewer than their own proposal of a large army), and that not in less than four months.

Through the same agents, attempts were made to induce Irish officers of high rank in the several foreign services to enter into their projected invasion; but, from the over-caution of the agents, these attempts were unproductive.

A second memoir was presented to the French minister, to urge

the promised assistance; in this it was stated, that the delusions of reform and emancipation were beginning to fail, from the delay; that the true republicans would be abandoned and discouraged, and the cause utterly lost. The French government, anxious to discover the facts, sent a confidential agent, with orders to proceed to Ireland; this person, having arrived in London, found a difficulty in getting a passport to Ireland, and the late lord Edward Fitzgerald was dispatched to meet him in London. In consequence of the representations made to him, the directory gave every encouragement to the Irish agent at Paris; great preparations were made in Holland; the fleet, afterwards happily defeated, on the glorious 11th of October, 1797, by the gallant lord Duncan, was fitted out for the invasion; the troops had been actually on-board, under command of general Daendells, but disembarked, when the Dutch admiral was ordered out, by the French commissioner, against his own desire, to fight the English fleet.

Upon this failure, promises were made of new succours, in April, 1798; but, notwithstanding the encouragement and temptation given, by the late Irish rebellion, nothing was done.

Here the report observes, that these circumstances are all fully proved by the admission and confession of the principal leaders of the union.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the chiefs of the union, fearing that the zeal of their followers would abate, and that government might take still stronger measures to put down their designs, before

French aid should arrive, had seriously discussed a plan for a general insurrection; but this plan was received so ill by the Leinster delegates, that the project was dropped, and a considerable degree of coolness ensued between them and the northern leaders, and a design for seizing the castle, and trusting to the mere mob of Dublin for assistance, was actually in the contemplation of the Ulster delegates in this city, and only abandoned on account of the military precautions adopted by government at that period; and, in the latter end of May, in the same year, orders were issued for a general rising in Ulster, which was frustrated by the energy of general Lake, and many of the leaders obliged to fly the country. These fugitives, arriving at Hamburg, obtained passports to France, (where they were very lately) and still held communication with the disaffected in this country.

It had appeared, in evidence, to be the general policy of the union, to discountenance any premature insurrection; and the late rebellion was obliged to break out so soon as it did, by the well-timed measures of government, subsequent to the month of March, 1798; the apprehension of the provincial committee of Leinster, on the 12th of that month, having so broken the order of the union, it was apprehended, by the remaining leaders, that, if a rising did not speedily take place the cause must be speedily abandoned. Reports were therefore ordered to be made, by the officers, of all the military circumstances of the country; of the several roads, rivers, mountains, fastnesses, defiles, and other kinds of knowledge necessary to the carrying on a war. Orders

were also given to have the proper means of announcing the approach of the enemy (the king's troops) put in practice; and that the several departments of military duty should be strictly attended to.

On the 26th of February last, it appears, that so perfect was the military organization of the union, that, by a resolution of that day, thanks were formally given to the different colonels for the zeal and diligence with which they had perfected their several regiments in discipline, and they were recommended to exhort their troops to bear the shackles of tyranny but a short time longer, when the universal organization of Ireland would be able to burst forth, and overwhelm their oppressors!

The same system of terror which had nearly succeeded in the north, was adopted in the midland and southern counties; not a night passed without new and horrible murders—the country was almost deserted from the continued outrages which disgraced it: witnesses, jurors, magistrates, were all pursued with the same savage rancour; and to such a degree did the insolence of the disaffected rise, that, in the month of March last, in the county of Tipperary, a body of three hundred armed and mounted insurgents entered the large and populous town of Cahier, in the open day, searched it deliberately for arms, and, having committed some acts of outrage, rode off with the plunder, without any opposition.

Lord Camden, upon this and other acts of treason, did, by a proclamation, dated the 30th of March, 1798, give, to the several generals commanding his majesty's troops, full power and authority to put down

down this rebellion by military force, at the same time, holding out, to the peaceable and repentant, offers of protection and forgiveness. This proclamation was sent into the several counties, and the commander-in-chief dispatched to give the necessary directions, and full notice of the consequence of disobedience. And here the report observes, that, in all cases where the power of the state has been obliged to act for its preservation, during this period of time, full time and sufficient notice for repentance and submission have been always given. By this proclamation, and the consequent measures, tranquillity was greatly restored; the lower orders of the union began to acknowledge their crimes, to give up their arms, to solicit and obtain pardon and protection, to betake themselves to their industry, and renounce the practices of outrage; their delusion was fast yielding before the measures of government, and the cause of the union was rapidly losing ground.

No alternative now remained to the union but an insurrection, or an abandonment of their design.

An insurrection was determined upon; the castle of Dublin, the camp at Lehaunstown, and the artillery at Chappel-izod, were to be seized at the same time; the north and south were to rise in arms, and the signal for their insurrection was to be, the detention of the mail-coaches from Dublin. This plan, which was given in evidence on the trial of Henry and John Sheares, since executed for treason, was also proved before this committee.

The sanguinary views of the union, had this attempt proved successful, are faithfully detailed in a

draught of a proclamation, proved, upon the same trial, to be in the hand-writing of John Sheares, who, as it appeared, in evidence, to the committee, had been elected a member of the executive directory, in the room of one of the persons apprehended on the 12th of March.

The insurrection was fixed for the night of the 23d of May. On the 19th, several of the chiefs of the union were apprehended. On the 23d, the mail-coaches were stopped and destroyed; but such was the vigilance of government, that the intended movements in the capitol were completely frustrated.

Every exertion was, however, made in other parts of the country, and the events of the atrocious rebellion which followed are too fresh in our memories to require detail.

On the 24th, the lord-lieutenant published another proclamation, by which he delegated to the several military officers, the power of trying crimes connected with rebellion by martial law; and to this seasonable exertion of a constitutional power for the public safety, the report ascribes the suppression of the rebellion, not less than to the loyalty and courage of the regular, militia, and yeomanry corps.

The report then proceeds to give as a general opinion, upon the system of the united Irishmen, that it originated not in a desire to obtain reform or emancipation, but was devised for the subversion of the present constitution, the separation of Ireland from the British empire, the setting up a democratic republic, the abolition of rank, and the overthrow of every present establishment in church and state.

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That the means by which this system was forwarded, were the propagation of doctrines which flattered the passions of the ignorant and vulgar, by promises to the southern peasantry of an abolition of tythes; and to the northern manufacturers, of political power; by seditious publications, and perpetual falsehoods and misrepresentations.

It ascribes the speedy suppression of the rebellion to the rashness of the attempt, and the vigilance of government in disconcerting the plans agreed upon.

The facts thus proved, by the concurring testimony of some of the most active leaders of the union, are supposed, by the report, to be sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that the mask of reform and emancipation were only assumed, in order to impose upon the public mind, and conceal and advance the real design of separation from Great Britain, and establishing a republic, if not subject to, at least, in alliance with, France.

The committee then observe, that the means already employed, and intended to be farther employed by the society, in case of success, were exactly those by which the happiness and honour of the French nation have been already destroyed: and which, wherever they have been practised, have blasted the country which they have invaded with all the curses of anarchy and desolation.

The report then refers to an appendix, containing some of the depositions upon which the committee formed these opinions.

The first of these is the examination, upon oath, of Dr. M'Nevin which is given at large, and of which the following is the substance:

Having confessed himself an united Irishman, he thus described the several gradations of committees, each chosen by delegation from that immediately below it in rank—the baronial from the original societies, the district from baronial, the county from district, and the provincial from county committees. He swears, “that the executive committee was chosen by the four provincial meetings, who having ballotted for five names, the secretary of the executive reported the event of the election to the persons chosen, but did not communicate the result to the electors, who were thus excluded from any knowledge of the persons by whom the union was directed.”

He says, “that the words *reform in parliament* were struck out of the test, and a *representation of all the people* inserted, because the idea of reform was given up, and the establishment of a republic determined on. The society became a military body in 1795; the delegates of the different societies were usually the military officers; those from the societies of twelve each were serjeants; those of the baronial meetings usually captains; and so to the rank of colonels, who were county members; each battalion consisting of 600 men. The staff-officers were elected by the colonels giving three names to the executive, who appointed from them a general of the county. He knows of a plan to procure Irish officers from the continent which did not succeed; he does not know that any of the French emigrant-officers in Ireland were ever applied to; he knows that attempts have been made to seduce the soldiery to the party of the union, but those attempts have not

not been generally successful; he knows that a fund was formed to defend the persons accused of crimes committed under the union, and to procure arms, and that those arms were to be employed in effecting a revolution, and establishing a republic: that emissaries, supported by this general fund, have been sent not only through this country and Great Britain, but into France. He has read the reports made in parliament in 1793 and 1797, and except that the numbers of men associated in the union, were under-rated, he believes those reports to have been well-founded. The people had long been inclined to rise, but it was thought absurd to do so while their enemies were on their guard. He knows that the military organization of Leinster and Munster began in 1797.

“ The connection between the union and the societies in England and Scotland was very slight—it was scarcely more than what passed between the members, as individuals.

“ In April 1797, an insurrection was planned, but the writing which contained the project was afterwards destroyed, and the idea given up.

“ He knows that part of the system was to decry the use of spirits and the circulation of bank-notes; it was also recommended not to aid public credit by the purchase of quit rents; an exhortation to this purpose was circulated by the executive.

“ Communications were made from the union to the French directory, in 1796; a promise was then made of invading Ireland to support the designs of the union, and it was agreed on the part of Ireland to de-

fray the expences of the armament.

“ About October, 1797, a special messenger arrived to say that these succours were ready to the number of 8,000. These troops were to be landed in Bantry-bay. An insurrection was to have taken place in the north, had these troops been landed when they arrived. A conference was had with Hoche, at Frankfort, to settle the plan of this invasion.

“ Witness knows, that until the the month of February last, an accredited minister from Ireland resided at Paris; since that time witness (having been apprehended in March) knows nothing of him. He knows that a memoir was given to the French minister at Hamburgh upon the affairs of the union; that memoir was in English. It stated “ that the Bantry-bay expedition had given confidence to the republicans; that the next landing in the south should be attempted at Oyflerhaven, especially as government had fortified Bantry, and taken military precautions at Bandon and Fermoy; that the south was now completely organized, and Bandon become a second Belfast; that 103,000 men were ready in the north, but from the quantity of arms surrendered to government in consequence of its measures, a large supply of them would be wanting; that in the north the peninsula of Donegal was organized, and Lough Foyle would be a proper place for landing, as the garrison of Derry was weak, and one regiment there disaffected. It also recommended a diversion to be made at Sligo, and represented the bay of Galway as very easy to enter, but very difficult to get out of. It farther mentioned, that the catholic priests throughout the kingdom

dom had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies against the French with respect to their conduct to their priests, and were become active in the cause, and promised that France should be fully reimbursed for the expences of this and the former unsuccessful attempt, provided the number of troops did not exceed ten, or fall short of five thousand men, provided with a sufficient train of artillery, engineers, &c.

"It was also recommended that the Irish seamen, prisoners of war, should be separated from the English, in order to induce them to join in the expedition; that the French should, upon their landing, publish a proclamation that they came as allies to deliver, and not as enemies to conquer Ireland; and it was urged that France should in the negotiations at Lisle insist upon the independence of Ireland as a preliminary article; and as a future inducement to France, assured the directory that the Irish militia would join the union."

The writer of this memoir went afterwards to Paris, and was at Lisle during the last negotiation for peace. He understood that the directory did not think the English ministry sincere, but that if what France had a right to expect had been offered, peace would have been made. After the rupture of the negotiation, new assurances were given, that speedy succour should be sent, to deliver Ireland.

"Has heard that three several accounts have been received from Paris since February last, promising that in April a descent should be made.

"Witness was himself a member of the executive directory of the union. The memoir he has men-

tioned was delivered to the French minister at Hamburg.

"The Irish minister at Paris was supported from the general fund; he took money with him, and has been since supplied with remittances.

"Witness knows that a resolution was entered into by the provincial committee in February last, not to be diverted from their object by any concession of parliament; he knows that this resolution was communicated to the executive, and approved by them, as a democratic house of commons, and the overthrow of the ecclesiastical establishment, were their chief objects. A loan of half a million was attempted to be negotiated in 1797, in France, but it did not succeed. Witness believes that disability alone prevents France from carrying her promise into effect, of invading Ireland. He does not think the common people of Ireland care one farthing about reform or emancipation; he believes all they wish is exemption from the payment of tithes."

The testimony of Arthur O'Connor states—"that he was a member of the executive directory; he has been an united Irishman from 1796, and a member of the directory until January, 1798; began his communications with France in the year 1796. He knows of no connection with the English and Scotch societies; the Irish union always wished to keep clear of them."

The remainder of O'Connor's testimony is nearly the same with that of M'Nevin.

Samuel Nelson deposes that in May, 1795, the civil organization of the union was complete in Ulster, and that the military organization was settled in August, 1796. The witness

witness was taken up on a charge of treason, and falling into sickness, was liberated last January, by government, on condition of his not engaging in treasonable projects; but when Bond was arrested, he came forward and gave his advice and assistance to the union. He was acquainted with a design of attacking Newgate on the night of the 23d of May last, which was frustrated by government; he was also acquainted with a design of attacking Kilmainham Gaol, but he dissuaded his friends from the attempt. He thinks Ulster is by no means so well organized, or so hearty in the cause, as it was twelve months ago, the most active leaders having been arrested and obliged to fly; the plans of the union were so well prepared and concealed, that until last March he did not think government had been well informed of their proceedings. He then corroborated M'Nevin and O'Connor's evidence, and detailed the connection with France, &c.

Thomas Addie Emmet, barrister-at-law, in addition to the testimony in which he detailed the same facts as the other witnesses, confessed, "that he was a member of the executive directory of the union, being appointed in January, 1797, and continued till May in the same year; and afterwards, from his being re-elected in January, 1798, until the time of his arrest. The first communication with France, which came to his immediate knowledge, was in April, 1797, when, in order to establish a constant intercourse with the French directory, an agent was sent from Ireland to reside in France, where he still continues. He knows that France sent to this country assurances of her assistance, &c; that

it became necessary to apply to France for a larger quantity of arms than were promised at first, in order to supply those given up to government. He is certain that France gave assurances that the armament in the Texel, in the summer of 1797, was intended to come to Ireland; and that a farther promise of assistance, in April, 1798, was made by the directory.

"He accounts for the loyalty of the lower orders in Munster, during the Bantry-bay invasion, by the union having taken no pains to prepare their minds for the French, as they had been amused with contradictory accounts from France; and it was also determined to avoid an insurrection until the French should come, had not the severe measures adopted in Kildare, by the king's ministers urged the alternative of rising or yielding up the cause. He believes, had they waited until the French came, the rising would have been more general and formidable.

It was intended to raise a general fund for the service of the union, by the confiscation of the church property, and that of all of those who did not join them; the persons of the latter, if they did not actively oppose the union, were to be only held as hostages until it would be convenient to transport them; and their wives, if they were not hostile to the new order of things, were to be supported by a stipend out of their husband's property—the rest to belong to the republic.

"He is persuaded that the bulk of the people do not care about, or understand reform and emancipation, but that they are become anxious for them, having been told that they led to the abolition of tythes.

It

It was determined to have no ecclesiastical establishment whatever, nor any distinction of rank."

Witness being asked as to the practicability of Ireland being a separate state from Great Britain, when she had not means to build a navy, and must be dependent on England for the mere article of coals? he replied "that he thought Ireland fully able to stand alone as an independent republic; her wealth and population had infinitely increased within the last century, and though she might and would for ten or twelve years be much crippled by the fleets and power of England, yet the strength of the British navy would soon fail when Ireland ceased to act with Great Britain; and as to the article of fuel, the extension of inland navigation would soon remove the necessity of importation."

It appeared by the concurrent testimony of all these witnesses, that as every individual concealed his own arms, no depot or collection of arms for the union existed.

Articles agreed upon for the Exchange of Prisoners, between the British and French Commissioners.

I. An exchange of prisoners of war shall immediately take place between the two countries, man for man, and rank for rank: and the French government shall begin, by sending over to England, in a French cartel vessel, a number of British prisoners, with the proportion of five officers to one hundred men; upon the arrival of whom in England, the British government will cause an equal number, of the same ranks, of French prisoners, to be

sent, in an English cartel vessel, to France. The British government shall then cause to be sent to France, in an English cartel vessel, a number of French prisoners, with the same proportion of officers, as above-mentioned, for whom the French government shall return, by a French cartel vessel, the same number and ranks of British prisoners. The exchange shall be continued according to the same alternate plan, until one or the other of the two governments shall think proper to put a stop thereto; and, in that case, the party so discontinuing is to return, without delay, whatever number of prisoners may appear to be against it on the balance of the exchanges that may to that time have taken place in consequence of this cartel.

II. In order to prevent any difficulties that might otherwise arise from the diversity of ranks of officers in the service of the two countries, it is hereby agreed that the table hereto annexed, of corresponding ranks in the English and French services, shall uniformly be attended to by both parties, and that officers, on either side, of ranks of which there shall be no corresponding officer or officers in possession of the other power, shall be exchanged for their equivalent, according to the scale of value in men specified in the said table.

III. All the prisoners on both sides to be exchanged by this cartel shall be selected, according to their ranks, by the respective agents of the countries to which they belong, residing at Paris or in London, without any interference whatever on the part of the government in whose possession they may be.

IV. It being stipulated, that the British prisoners shall be sent to England

land in French vessels, and the French prisoners conveyed to France in British vessels, it is hereby agreed, that the whole expence attending such vessels shall be defrayed by the respective countries by which they may be employed; and that the prisoners, during their passage, shall be furnished with the following daily allowances, *viz.*

| <i>British Prisoners.</i> | | <i>lb.</i> |
|---------------------------------|---|------------|
| Bread | — | 1 |
| Beef | — | 1 |
| Beer 2 quarts, or wine 1 quart. | | |
| <i>French Prisoners.</i> | | <i>lb.</i> |
| Bread | — | 1½ |
| Beef | — | ¾ |
| Beer 2 quarts. | | |

A table of which allowances is to be affixed to the mast of each cartel vessel.

V. All prisoners on both sides, not being officers, who, from wounds, age, or infirmities, are rendered incapable of farther service, and also all boys, under twelve years of age, shall be forthwith returned to their respective countries, without regard to their numbers or equality of exchange; but the selection of persons, of the descriptions mentioned in this article, is to be left entirely to the agents and surgeons of the government of the country in which they are detained.

VI. All surgeons, surgeons' mates, purfers (or aides-commissaires), purfers' stewards (or commis aux-vivres), secretaries, chaplains, and schoolmasters, being the classes comprehended under the denomination of *non-combatants*; and also passengers not of the sea or land service, in whatever ships taken, shall not be considered as prisoners, but shall be immediately set at liberty, to return to their respective countries,

without being placed to the account of exchange.

VII. All officers bearing authentic commissions in the land-service, and those belonging to the sea-service of the following ranks, *viz.* admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, commodores, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, masters, mates (or pilotes), midshipmen (or aspirants), and also masters and mates, or second captains, of merchant vessels, exceeding the burthen of eighty tons, together with the captain, and in the proportion of three other officers to each hundred men, of privateers of fourteen carriage-guns and upwards, shall either be permitted to return to their respective countries on parole, not to serve until regularly exchanged, or shall have the usual indulgence of parole granted to them in the country in which they are detained. And it is agreed, that whatever officers may, by virtue of this article, return to their respective countries, shall be suffered to depart from their present places of confinement, to Dover or Gravelines, as soon as conveniently may be after the signing of the present cartel; and also that all officers residing on parole in their own countries, shall signify to the agent of the country to which they are prisoners, their respective places of residence, which they are on no account to change, without first intimating their intention to the said agent; and they are, moreover, at the expiration of every two months, to transmit, to the said agent, a certificate of the particular places where they may reside, signed by the magistrates or municipal officers of such places.

VIII. The settlement of the balance now existing on the account of such

such exchanges of prisoners of war of both countries, as have taken place from the commencement of hostilities to the day of the date hereof, shall be deferred until the determination of the present war; but it is clearly understood, that all officers on both sides, who have been released, and permitted to return to their respective countries on parole, since the commencement of the war, and who have not hitherto

been regularly exchanged, are not to serve in any capacity, either civil or military, until they shall have been duly exchanged for prisoners of equal ranks, according to their original engagements.

Done at the transport-office,
London, the 13th day of
September, 1798.

Rupert George, John Schank.
Ambrose Serle, John Marth.
Niou.

Table of the corresponding Ranks in the English and French Service, with their Value in Men.

| <i>Ranks in the Navy.</i> | | <i>Value in Men.</i> |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| <i>French.</i> | <i>English.</i> | |
| Vice-admiral commanding in chief, having the temporary rank of admiral. | Admiral commanding in chief, | 60 |
| Vice-admiral. | Admiral carrying his flag at the main: vice-admiral, | 40 |
| Rear-admiral. | Rear-admiral, — | 30 |
| Chief of a squadron. | Commodore, — | 20 |
| Captain of a ship of the line. | Post-captain of three years stand- ing, whose rank answers to that of colonel. Ditto, having rank of lieutenant-colonel, | 15 |
| Captain of a frigate. | Masters and commanders, or captains not post, having rank of major, amongst whom are included captains of fire-ships, who are masters and com- manders, — | 8 |
| Lieutenant of a ship of the line. | Lieutenant, without distinction, | 6 |
| Ensign of a ship of the line. | Lieutenant, when all the French shall be exchanged, and, in default of English lieutenants, midshipmen, — | 4 |
| Midshipman, master of a merchant vessel, and captain of a privateer. | Midshipman, master of a merchant vessel, and captain of a pri- vateer, — | 3 |
| Lieutenant of a merchant vessel or privateer, and all petty officers. | Mates, and all petty officers, | 2 |
| Seamen, volunteers, and others, being considered as common sea- men. | Seamen, volunteers, and others, being considered as common seamen, — | 1 |
| | | <i>Ranks</i> |

Ranks in the Land-Service.

| <i>French.</i> | <i>English</i> | <i>Value in Men.</i> |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| General of division, commanding in chief | Captain-general, or field-marshal, | 60 |
| General of division. | General, | 40 |
| General of brigade. | Lieutenant-general, | 30 |
| Inferior to the preceding ; superior to the following. | Major-general | 20 |
| Chief of brigade. | Brigadier-general, | 15 |
| Chief of battalion of squadron. | Colonel, | 8 |
| Captain. | Captain, | 6 |
| Lieutenant. | Lieutenant, | 4 |
| Sous-lieutenant. | Ensign, | 3 |
| Non-commissioned officers, down to the rank of corporal, inclusive. | Non-commissioned officers, down to the rank of corporal, inclusive, | 2 |
| Soldiers. | Soldiers, | 1 |
| | Rupert George, John Schank, Ambrose Serle. John Marsh, Niou. | |

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Lords of the Treasury, on the Matters referred to their Consideration by Parliament, relative to the proposed Alterations and economical Arrangements in the public Offices.

Customs.

The first office to which their attention has been turned, is that of the customs, in which various alterations and modifications are proposed to take place, the most material of which are the following : 1st. The abolition of many of the fees taken at present, particularly on out-door business. 2d. The entire abolition of holidays in that office. 3d. The regular weekly transmission of moneys from Scotland to the hands of the receiver-general of the customs of England.

For some of these beneficial pur-

poses instructions are given to the solicitor to prepare a bill for the inspection of Parliament. Recompense is, however, to be made to the present incumbents, for any loss that may be sustained by the alteration.

Excise.

The second object is the office of excise. Here the primary consideration is the great expence of law charges, particularly those incurred for the last year, which, according to accounts produced, amounted to upwards of 12,000*l.* the solicitor's emoluments on which are stated at 5,826*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* To this article of expenditure, particular attention is, in future, to be paid. In this department, likewise, much dissatisfaction is expressed, from the detention of the remittances from Scotland, together with some particular modes for the prevention of the

the like in future. Respecting the abolition of holidays in this office, nothing is yet recommended.

Stamp-Office.

The first object of their lordships' attention in this office, appears to be the great increase of incidental expences, particularly for Scotland. The next appears to be an order from their lordships, that in future all persons accepting places in this office, shall do their duty personally. To which are to be added, various economical variations respecting the emoluments of stamp distributors. In short, it is recommended that a complete alteration shall take place in the management of this branch of revenue; a bill for which purpose is to be brought into parliament.

Post-Office.

The next object to which their lordships have turned their attention, is the post-office, in which a great number of alterations are proposed, particularly respecting the receipts, disbursements, &c. more especially under the foreign department, packet-hire, insurance, &c. These being, from their nature, very complex, a proper idea of the proposed retrenchments cannot at present be exhibited.

Tax-Office.

The investigation respecting the tax-office, which comes next under consideration, is principally confined to the poundage allowance made to the various country receivers.

The Salt-Office

Is to be totally abolished, and its duties transferred to the excise,

agreeably to the recommendation of the finance committee.

The Hawkers and Pedlars, and the Hackney-Coach-Offices are likewise proposed to be abolished, and placed under the commissioners for taxes,

Pension-Duties.

Some alterations are proposed to be made in the receipt of the pension-duties, to prevent the retention of those duties so long a time in the hands of the receivers as at present.

Treasury-Office.

The only alteration in this office, is the total abolition of the new year's gifts in future; positive orders to which effect have been issued by the commissioners.

The offices of the Secretary of State, and the Admiralty, are to be brought under the consideration of parliament at an early period.

Transport-Office.

One source of emolument, namely, a percentage on a ship's final settlement of her accounts, is ordered to be abolished.

The arrangements in the War-Office are postponed till the meeting of parliament, as are those of the Ordnance.

The Exchequer.

In this office various modifications are proposed, especially for the purpose of bringing public accountants forward, and for the recovery of balances in their hands.

List of the several Offices, which, being useless, are proposed to be abolished as they become vacant; with the Amount of the Annual Income of

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of each, after the Deduction of Taxes, in the Year, 1788.

PORT of LONDON.

| | Income, including Fees. | | |
|---|----------------------------|----|----|
| | £. | s. | d. |
| Inspector of prosecutions - - | 1,800 | 3 | 3 |
| Register of seizures | 414 | 8 | 6 |
| Inspector of the exchequer - books in the out ports - | 223 | 0 | 0 |
| Surveyor-general - | 2,351 | 17 | 7 |
| Surveyor of subsidies and petty customs | 2,104 | 0 | 2 |
| Register of warrants | 251 | 6 | 5 |
| Total | 7,144 | 15 | 11 |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|----|---|
| Collector inwards | £ 2,733 | 4 | 6 |
| Collector outwards | 2,103 | 2 | 3 |
| Usher in the long room | 596 | 16 | 4 |
| Nineteen king's waiters - - | 2,678 | 12 | 1 |
| Chief searcher - | 766 | 14 | 0 |
| Five under-searchers | 4,946 | 0 | 0 |
| Two searchers at Gravesend - | 1,233 | 15 | 7 |

Total London 18,879 5 4

OUT PORTS.

| | | | |
|---|--------|---|---|
| Twenty-three customers, twenty comptrollers, twenty searchers, four king's waiters at Bristol | 24,569 | 6 | 2 |
|---|--------|---|---|

Total London and out-ports - 43,448 11 6

A List of the several Offices, which, on Vacancies, are to be abolished, as Patent Offices; but the Duties of which, being necessary, are proposed to be executed, either by the Deputies to the Persons who held the Patents, or by other Officers of the Revenue; together with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, in the Year 1788, after Deduction of Taxes.

PORT of LONDON.

| | Income, including fees. | | |
|--|----------------------------|----|----|
| | £. | s. | d. |
| Supervisor of the receiver-general's receipts and payments - | 542 | 16 | 8 |
| Register-general of all trading ships belonging to Great Britain - | 602 | 18 | 0 |
| Inspector-general of imports and exports - | 914 | 0 | 9 |
| Comptroller inwards and outwards | 1,761 | 5 | 2 |

| | Income, including fees. | | |
|--|----------------------------|----|----|
| | £. | s. | d. |
| Receiver of fines and forfeitures for London - | 402 | 4 | 8 |
| Receiver of fines and forfeitures remitted from the out-ports | 515 | 0 | 0 |
| Comptroller of fines and forfeitures remitted from the out-ports - | 259 | 6 | 9 |
| Accountant of petty receipts - | 501 | 10 | 0 |
| Surveyor of the out-port accounts - | 194 | 9 | 11 |

Four

A List of the several Offices which are proposed to be either abolished, consolidated, or regulated; with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, after Deduction of Taxes, in the Year 1788.

PORT of LONDON.

| | £. | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-------|----|----|---|-----|----|----|
| Four examiners of out- port collectors quar- ter books - - - | 474 | 8 | 0 | fively, in consideration of his having removed from Nova - Scotia, where he was em- ployed in the southern whale fishery, and set- tled with his family at Milford - Haven, dur- ing the term of their natural lives - - | 169 | 0 | 0 |
| Customer of cloth and petty customs, out- wards - - - | 69 | 10 | 3 | May 21, 1793.—Timo- thy Folger and his wife Abigail Folger, ditto - - - | 169 | 0 | 0 |
| Collector of the petty customs, inwards - | 288 | 11 | 11 | June 18, 1793.—Sarah Hawkins, widow of Pennel Hawkins, esq. (expired) during plea- sure - - - | 393 | 0 | 0 |
| Comptroller of cloth and petty customs, inwards and out- wards - - - | 182 | 18 | 8 | June 25, 1793.—James Hayes, ditto - - - | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Collector of the great customs on wool and leather exported - | 220 | 11 | 11 | July 6, 1793. — Betty Clerk Chamberlayne, and the survivor of them, ditto - - | 66 | 15 | 4 |
| Comptroller of the great customs on wool and leather exported - - - | 61 | 17 | 3 | July 17, 1793.—William Frazer and lieut. col. Frazer, in trust for Mary Frazer, ditto | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 3,170 | 9 | 4 | July 20, 1793. — Ed- mund Antrobus and Coutts Trotter, in trust for Eleanor Mol- leson, ditto - - | 300 | 0 | 0 |

*List of Pensions granted since the 1st
Day of January, 1792: together
with the Names of the Persons to
whom, or in Trust for whom, the
said Pensions have been granted,
and the Amount of the same.*

| | | | | | | |
|--|-----|----|----|----|----|---|
| Feb. 4, 1792.—Arabella Dorothea Lockman, during pleasure | £. | s. | d. | 33 | 10 | 0 |
| Oct. 2, 1792.—William Morland, esq. for the life of his daughter, Harriet Bernard, wife of Scrope Bernard, esq. | 554 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Nov. 6, 1792.—Lady Elianor Butler, during pleasure | 100 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| March 13, 1793.—Geo. Burghall, esq. ditto | 300 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| May 21, 1793.—Samuel Starbuck and his wife Abigail Starbuck respectively and succes- | | | | | | |
| July 20, 1793.—Benedict Arnold and Thomas Morrison, esqrs. in trust for the following children, viz Edward Shippen Arnold, James Robertson Arnold, Sophia Matilda Arnold, and George Arnold, 100/ each | 400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| July 20, 1793.—Sir John Call, bart. and John Roberts, esq. in trust for Sarah Bates, ditto | 500 | 0 | 0 | | | |

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| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-------|--------------------------|------|-------|
| July 20, 1793.—Pene- | £ | s. d. | Sneyd, in considera- | £ | s. d. |
| lope Ann Cooke, ditto | 150 | 0 0 | tion of his long and | | |
| July 20, 1793.—Eliza- | | | faithful services in the | | |
| beth Cooke, ditto | 175 | 0 0 | office of his majesty's | | |
| July 20, 1793.—Maria | | | secretary of state for | | |
| Cooke, ditto | 175 | 0 0 | foreign affairs, during | | |
| July 20, 1793.—Eliza- | | | pleasure | 336 | 0 0 |
| beth Davy, ditto | 32 | 10 0 | Sept. 18, 1793.—Eliza- | | |
| July 20, 1793.—John | | | beth Sneyd, wife of | | |
| Fordyce and William | | | ditto, ditto | 336 | 0 0 |
| Fullarton, in trust for | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Marg. | | |
| Geo. Hamilton Gor- | | | Wolters, during plea- | | |
| don, ditto | 200 | 0 0 | sure | 248 | 0 0 |
| July 20, 1793.—William | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Catha- | | |
| Augustus Miles, esq. | | | rine Gertrude Robin- | | |
| ditto | 300 | 0 0 | son, ditto | 600 | 0 0 |
| July 20, 1793.—Sir Geo. | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Lewis | | |
| Osborne, bart. and | | | Ernest Hake (expired) | | |
| John Ley, esq. in trust | | | ditto | 248 | 0 0 |
| for Jane Wraxall, | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Lack- | | |
| ditto | 400 | 0 0 | ford Hart, ditto | 100 | 0 0 |
| July 20, 1793.—William | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Ann | | |
| Smith and John Far- | | | Flint, widow, ditto | 66 | 0 0 |
| hill, in trust for Anna | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Ditto, in | | |
| Craufurd, ditto | 400 | 0 0 | trust for the two eldest | | |
| July 20, 1793.—The | | | of her eight children, | | |
| hon. Thomas Wal- | | | during pleasure | 66 | 0 0 |
| pole, ditto | 500 | 0 0 | Oct. 9, 1793.—Frances | | |
| July 20, 1793.—Caleb | | | Francis, ditto | 60 | 0 0 |
| Whitefoord, esq. ditto | 200 | 0 0 | Oct. 9, 1793.—Eliza- | | |
| Sept. 2, 1793.—Robert | | | beth Francis, ditto | 60 | 0 0 |
| Halifax, and Catha- | | | Oct. 9, 1793.—Catha- | | |
| rine Halifax, widow | | | rine Callow, ditto | 50 | 0 0 |
| of the late bishop of | | | Jan, 20, 1794.—Capt. | | |
| St. Asaph, in trust for | | | Evelyn Sutton, ditto | 250 | 0 0 |
| the following child- | | | April 16, 1794.—Ann | | |
| ren, viz. Gertrude, | | | Christie, ditto | 18 | 11 0 |
| Charlotte, Marianne, | | | April 21, 1794.—James | | |
| Caroline, Catharine, | | | Rivers, esq. ditto | 446 | 0 0 |
| and Elizabeth Hali- | | | July 1, 1794.—Samuel | | |
| fax, 60 <i>l.</i> each, ditto | 360 | 0 0 | Rose, in trust for | | |
| Sept. 6, 1793.—Wil- | | | Wm. Cowper, during | | |
| liam Fawkener, esq. | | | pleasure | 300 | 0 0 |
| in addition to a pen- | | | July 1, 1794.—Lady | | |
| sion of 200 <i>l.</i> per ann. | | | Albina Cumberland, | | |
| granted to him in | | | ditto | 400 | 0 0 |
| 1763, during pleasure | 100 | 0 0 | July 1, 1794.—Henry | | |
| Sept. 18, 1793.—Jeremy | | | Hobart and Richard | | |
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| | | | | Cum- | |

| | | | | | |
|---|-------|-----------|--|-------|-----------|
| Dec. 22, 1795.—John and Andrew Hollingfworth, in trust for Sarah Adams, ditto | £ 300 | s. d. 0 0 | messengers in ordinary, ditto | £ 100 | s. d. 0 0 |
| July 1, 1796.—Sir Jas. Bland Burgess, bart. ditto | 1200 | 0 0 | <i>Contingent Pensions.</i> | | |
| July 27, 1796.—Thomas Coutts, esq. in trust for lady Augusta Murray, ditto | 1200 | 0 0 | June 5, 1792. — Right hon. lord Grenville and Chas. Moss, clk. in trust for Harriet Margaret King, wife of John King, esq. one of the under-secretaries of state, during her natural life, to commence at the death of Mr. King, or whenever he shall cease to hold the office of under-secretary of state, or any other office or offices, salary or salaries, from or under government, to the clear annual value of 400 <i>l.</i> with a provision, that if Mr. King shall in future be in possession of any offices or salaries of the clear annual value of 400 <i>l.</i> as before-mentioned, then, during such time as he shall be in the enjoyment of the same, the said pension, granted as afore-said, to determine and cease to be paid | 554 | 0 0 |
| Sept. 8, 1796.—Sir Robert Ainslie, kn. during the joint lives of his majesty and himself | 1000 | 0 0 | Oct. 2, 1792. — William Pollock and Frederick Booth, esq. in trust for Marg. Nepean, wife of Evan Nepean, esq. one of the under-secretaries of state, during her natural life, to commence upon the death of the said Evan Nepean, or | | |
| Sept. 28, 1796. — Sir John Hart, bart. for services as consul-general at Lisbon, during pleasure | 1000 | 0 0 | | | |
| March 29, 1797.—Peggy Edgcombe, widow, ditto | 196 | 0 0 | | | |
| July 11, 1797.—Mary Henrietta Erskine, ditto | 400 | 0 0 | | | |
| July 19, 1797.—Rev. Geo. Hooten Hyde, continuation of a grant from king William and queen Mary to his family, for services, ditto | 50 | 0 0 | | | |
| Sept. 2, 1797.—Lady Mary Mordaunt, ditto | 400 | 0 0 | | | |
| Sept. 2, 1797.—Lady Frances Bulkeley, ditto | 200 | 0 0 | | | |
| Nov. 17, 1797.—Jas. Tyrrell Ross, esq. | 250 | 0 0 | | | |
| Jan. 13, 1798.—Thomas Mudge, ditto | 130 | 0 0 | | | |
| Feb. 7, 1798.—Harriet Ann Maclaine, ditto | 200 | 0 0 | | | |
| March 20, 1798.—Lydia Brooks, widow of the late Sam. Brooks, one of his majesty's | | | | | |

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| | | £ s. d. | | <i>Pensions to late Ministers at foreign Courts.</i> | |
|--|--|---------|-----|--|-----------------|
| when he shall cease to hold the said office of under-secretary of state - - - | | 643 | 0 0 | Nov. 13, 1793.—Wm. Lindsay, esq. late resident at Venice; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty (expired) - | £ s. d. 600 0 0 |
| July 1, 1796. — Jane Aust, wife of George Aust, esq. late one of the under-secretaries of state, to commence from the death of the said George Aust, and to continue during pleasure - - - | | 717 | 6 0 | May 17, 1793.—Lord viscount Torrington, late minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Brussels; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty - - - | 1684 0 0 |
| Sept. 14, 1797.—Sarah Anne Wilmot, wife of John Wilmot, esq. to commence from the death of the said John Wilmot, and to continue during pleasure; granted in consequence of Mr. Wilmot's services in executing the provisions of the act of the 30th year of his present majesty, for giving relief to such persons as have suffered in their rights and properties during the late unhappy dissensions in America - - - | | 400 | 0 0 | June 26, 1793.—Chas. Keene, esq. late chargé d'affaires at Stockholm; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty - | 250 0 0 |
| Nov. 7, 1797.—Elizabeth Hayter, wife of the rev. John Hayter, and to Sophia Hayter, their daughter, respectively and successively, to commence from the death of the said John Hayter, and to continue during pleasure - - - | | 131 | 0 0 | Oct. 4, 1793.—William Barnier, esq. late chargé d'affaires at Peterburgh; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty - | 250 0 0 |
| None of the above pensions have yet taken effect. | | | | Oct. 23, 1793.—Sir Robert Murray Keith, late envoy-extraordinary at Vienna; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|----|---|-----|----|----|
| or until determined by warrant from his majesty (expired) | £ | s. | d. | mas Walpole, esq. late envoy extraordinary to the elector palatine; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty | £. | s. | d. |
| May 30, 1794.—Cha. Logie, esq. late agent and consul-general at Algiers; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty | 2250 | 0 | 0 | Feb. 7, 1798.—Major-general Gardiner, late minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| Aug. 26, 1794.—Lord Hervey, late envoy-extraordinary at Florence; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty (expired) | 400 | 0 | 0 | Feb. 7, 1798.—Francis Drake, esq. late minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Genoa; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| Jan. 28, 1797.—Lord Malmesbury, late ambassador extraordinary to the states-general of the United Provinces; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty | 1500 | 0 | 0 | <i>Contingent Pensions to late Ministers.</i> | | | |
| Jan. 28, 1797.—Lord St. Helens, late ambassador extraordinary to the states-general of the United Provinces; to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from his majesty | 2300 | 0 | 0 | Sept. 6, 1793.—William Fawkener, esq. late envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the most faithful queen, for negotiating commercial arrangements, and to the empress of Russia, for assisting in certain negotiations in that court; to commence when he shall cease to hold his present office of one of the clerks of the privy council, and not be in possession | | | |
| June 26, 1797.—Tho- | | | | N 3 | | | |

of any other office, or place of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal sign manual - 1000 0 0

Feb. 26, 1795.—Lord Auckland, employed in several missions to France, Spain, and Holland, to continue until otherwise provided for in his majesty's service: to be suspended nevertheless when and from the time his son William Elliot Eden becomes possessed of the office of one of the four tellers of the exchequer, and to continue to be suspended as long as his said son shall continue in the possession of the said office, (suspended) 1900 0 0

Jan. 12, 1798.—George Hammond, esq. late minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America; to commence when he shall cease to hold his present office of under secretary of state, and not be in possession of any other office, or place, of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal sign manual - 1200 0 0

None of the above pensions have yet taken effect, except lord Auckland's, which is suspended.

Charles Long.

Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
April 4, 1798.

Circular Letter, addressed from the War-Office, to the Commanders of Dragoon Guards, Dragoons, and Infantry of the Line, on pay of Field-Officers, &c.

" Sir,

" I have received his majesty's commands to acquaint you, that, in those corps wherein the new system regarding pay-masters has been established, the field-officers and captains will not be held generally responsible, as such, for the future regimental accounts of their respective corps.

" The establishment of the said system has enabled his majesty, with safety to the public, to shew a farther assistance of his royal consideration for the field-officers and captains above-mentioned, by ordering that their whole pay shall in future be issued monthly, instead of being divided into subsistence and arrears, and be subject only to the usual deduction on account of poundage, hospital, and agency.

" You will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of making known these marks of his majesty's gracious attention to the field-officers and captains of the regiment under your command; and of acquainting them with the respective rates of their pay, as it is hereafter to be issued by his majesty's order according to the annexed state; in which you will observe that the surgeon is also comprehended: these daily rates have been calculated upon the total amount per annum of the sums which the officers have heretofore received under the denomination of subsistence and nett arrears; excluding minute fractions, which would have greatly tended to complicate the general accounts of the regiments, as well as the

the particular accounts of the officers themselves.

"I am to add, that, in the issue of pay to be made by the Pay-Office on the 24th of next month, the difference between the old and new rates for the two preceding months (viz. from the 25th of December, 1797, to the 23d of February, 1798) will be included.

"W. Windham."

The same letter, with the exception of the words in *Italics*, has been addressed to the commanding-officers of the fencibles and the militia.

Rates of pay to be issued to the Field-Officers and Captains of the Dragoon-Guards, Dragoons, fencible Cavalry, Infantry of the Line, Militia, and fencible Infantry; and to the Surgeons of Dragoon Guards, Dragoons, and Infantry of the Line; commencing from the 25th of Dec. 1797:

| <i>Dragoon-guards, dragoons and fencible cavalry.</i> | <i>Per diem.</i> | | | <i>For 365 D.</i> | | |
|--|------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| Colonel - | 1 | 12 | 10 | 599 | 4 | 2 |
| Lieut.-Colonel | 1 | 3 | 0 | 419 | 15 | 0 |
| Major - | 0 | 19 | 3 | 351 | 6 | 3 |
| Captain - | 0 | 14 | 7 | 266 | 2 | 11 |
| Surgeon of dragoon guards and dragoons. | 0 | 11 | 4 | 266 | 16 | 8 |
| <i>Infantry of the line, militia, and fencible infantry.</i> | | | | | | |
| Colonel - | 1 | 2 | 6 | 410 | 12 | 6 |
| Lieut.-Colonel | 0 | 15 | 11 | 290 | 9 | 7 |
| Major - | 0 | 14 | 1 | 257 | 0 | 5 |
| Captain - | 0 | 9 | 5 | 171 | 17 | 1 |
| Surgeon of the line | 0 | 9 | 5 | 171 | 17 | 1 |

By his majesty's command.

W. Windham.

Circular Letter from Mr. Dundas to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, accompanied with the subsequent Plans.

It directs them immediately to determine on the places of depot to which the live and dead stock are to

be removed; the manner in which they are to be taken care of at such depots; the routs which they are to take, and those which they are to avoid, in order not to interfere with the movements of the military; the allotment of yeomanry, or other efforts, for their protection, or for enforcing the regulations established respecting them; the necessary arrangements for removing infirm persons, women, and children, and next to them such articles of property as are most valuable; the precautions to be taken for destroying the remainder, and for obtaining, by previous estimates, agreeable to the provisions of the act, some grounds by which the amount of compensation to be made to owners of property so destroyed may be ascertained; the separate place of rendezvous to which every description of persons, whether connected with the armed force or otherwise, should repair, on the signals of alarm being made; the arrangement of those signals, &c.

No volunteer to be admitted into the armed association, whose habitual occupation and place of residence is not within the division of the county to which the association may extend. Those who prefer cavalry may be received into the nearest troop, or formed in separate troops, of not less than 40 or more than 80 men. The officers to be recommended by the lord-lieutenant, and entitled to yeomanry cavalry allowance and assistance. To be trained for six hours, once a week, and, in case of invasion, serve within the military district to which they belong.

The armed infantry to consist of companies, from 60 to 120 men, armed as the volunteer corps of towns, or a certain proportion with

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pikes,

pikes, with uniform clothing, or a fair allowance for the same, and to be commanded by proper officers, resident and having not less than 50*l.* income in land within the county, or renting land in the same to the amount of 100*l.* The sons of persons so qualified, or persons having previously held some military commission, rendering them eligible for such a situation, are exempted from these restrictions.—Persons accustomed to military service, on half pay or not, will be preferred, and allowed full pay. To be trained six hours once a week, and serve within the limits above.

Every man of the volunteer corps, who thinks proper to claim it, will be entitled to 1*s.* per week, paid by government. A depot for the arms to be provided at a safe place within the county. None but known and respectable housekeepers, or persons who can bring at least two such housekeepers to answer for their good behaviour, will be admitted.

Mr. Dundas concludes by strongly recommending to every description of persons, to lay aside all untimely and misplaced jealousy respecting the military power, with which every arrangement must be concerted.

I have the honour to be, my lord,
Your lordship's most obedient

Humble servant,

(Signed) Henry Dundas.

Schedule, No. 1. contains columns for the total of men between the age of fifteen and sixty. Infirm, or incapable of active service. Serving in volunteer corps or armed associations. Aliens. Quakers. Persons who, from age, infancy, or other cause, may probably be incapable of removing themselves.

Schedule, No. 2. contains co-

lumns of the oxen, cows, young cattle and colts. Sheep and goats. Pigs, horses, waggon, carts, corn-mills. Quantity of corn they can grind in a week. Ovens. Amount of bread the same could bake in 24 hours. Quarters of wheat, oats, barley, beans and pease. Loads of hay and straw. Sacks of potatoes. flour, or other meal. Quarters of malt.

Schedule, No. 3. refers to the returns to be made of the number of persons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to serve, and in what capacity; whether on horseback or on foot. The cavalry to be armed with swords and pistols. The infantry, with firelocks and pikes. To the number of persons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as pioneers or labourers. To the implements they can bring; such as felling-axes, pick-axes, spades, shovels, bill-hooks, saws. To the number of persons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as servants with cattle. To the number of persons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as servants with teams. To the number of persons between the ages of 15 and 60, willing to act as guides.

A Plan for driving the Live Stock off such Parts of the Country as may become exposed to the Inroads of the Enemy in case of an Invasion, &c.

If an enemy should land upon our shores, every possible exertion should be made immediately to deprive him of the means of subsistence.

The navy will soon cut off his communication with the sea; the army will confine him on shore in such a way as to make it impossible for him to draw any supplies from the adjacent country. In this situation,

tion, he will be forced to lay down his arms, or to give battle on such disadvantageous terms, as can leave no doubt of his being defeated.

But if unforeseen and improbable circumstances should enable him to make some progress at first, a steady perseverance to the same system will increase his difficulties at every step; sooner or later he must inevitably pay the forfeit of his temerity.

How much the accomplishment of this object will be facilitated by driving away the live stock, and consuming, or, in case of absolute necessity, destroying all other means of subsistence, in those parts of the country which may be in imminent danger of falling into his possession, is too evident to need any discussion.

The only question is, how to effect this purpose with the greatest celerity and order, and with the least possible injury to individuals. To this end, a well digested plan is obviously indispensable.

In clearing the country likely to be in this situation, the first principle is an indemnification from the community at large to the individuals, for the value of all stock which may be removed in consequence of invasion, if not restored to the respective owners; as also for whatever moveable property may be destroyed by our own arms, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, provided the proprietor comes forward and enters into such arrangements as may be proposed to preserve it, either by personal attendance at the time, or otherwise, in some mode of service, at the moment of invasion. It must at the same time be very clearly understood, that no indemnification whatever can be allowed, for any property destroyed either by our own

arms, or by the enemy, if it should appear that no previous preparation or exertion had been made use of to remove it; and that all property left in this state is to be destroyed, if necessary, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. Upon these grounds, the following preparatory arrangements are proposed for immediate consideration:

1st. The inhabitants of every parish, hundred, or other division of the county, of convenient size, should forthwith agree among themselves, upon proper places of rendezvous, at which their cattle, waggon, and carts might be collected, in case of an order to drive the country, being received from the general commanding in the district, or any competent person authorized by him to give such an order, or in case of any signal he or they may have appointed for this purpose being made; proper march-routes should be fixed upon for driving them away to certain places of security in the interior of the country, taking care to choose bye-roads for that purpose; that the great turnpike-roads may remain entirely free for the marching of troops and artillery; and where it may be unavoidable to pass over one or more of the great roads, it should be done in such a manner that they may only be crossed, and occupied during the shortest space of time possible. If a column of troops, artillery, or army supplies, should happen to be moving on the great road at the place of crossing, the stock may easily be stopped in its progress, until the military shall have passed the same; every arrangement for these purposes must be concerted with the general commanding in the district, or submitted to his approbation.

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on foot, consisting of those who are best acquainted with the roads, lanes, foot-paths, bridges, creeks, rivers, fording-places, and other communications, in the several parts of the country, should be selected in the maritime counties, and their names and places of abode be communicated to the general, commanding in the district to which such counties respectively belong.

5th. The unarmed inhabitants will have an opportunity of rendering services equally necessary and important, by forming themselves into companies of pioneers, under the direction of leaders, to be appointed by the civil authority of the county.

A numerous body of pioneers is so essential to the movements of an army, and to the obstruction of the progress of the enemy, that, it is intended, in case of their being called into actual service, to make a competent daily allowance to all who may offer to come forward in the capacity of pioneers.

In that case, these pioneers should, if possible, come provided with tools, of the following description, *viz.* six pick-axes, six spades, six shovels, three bill-hooks, and four felling-axes, to every twenty-five men.

The duty of the pioneers will generally consist in repairing and opening such roads, bridges, and communications, as may facilitate the movements of our own army, and in breaking up or obstructing such as it may be necessary to render impassable to the enemy.

[Here follow the allowances to be made to the pioneers, and the forms of the papers to be subscribed by those who enter into the views of this plan.]

A Plan for the Association of the Nobility, Gentry, and Yeomanry, residing in the several Counties, to supply such a Number of Waggons, Carts, and Horses, in Aid of the Provisions made by the Mutiny-Act, as may be necessary for carrying on his Majesty's Service; as also to contribute to the Supply of his Majesty's Forces, with Flour, Wheat, Oats, Hay, Straw, and Fuel, in case of an Invasion.

The necessity of being prepared to repel an invasion, in the present state of public affairs, is too obvious to require discussion. The only question is, how to form all necessary arrangements at the least possible expence. The country abounds in supplies of all kinds, to a degree which renders the laying in of extensive magazines unnecessary. Small depots for a few days consumption are sufficient, provided means can be found to bring forward the resources of the country at a short notice. Depots of this description have accordingly been formed at different places, pursuant to orders given by his royal highness field-marshal the duke of York. The means of transporting them, and of obtaining and transporting such farther quantities, as may be necessary, in cases of emergency, remain to be devised. The establishment of a waggon-train, of sufficient force to supply an army, would entail a very heavy expence upon the public, and take away a very considerable number of horses and men from the ordinary pursuits of agriculture. Both may be avoided by means equally simple and certain. The spirit of the country will do it most effectually; nor need that spirit be

be wasted to the detriment of individuals; it need only be roused at the moment of actual danger, when all is at stake, when all must give way to the primary object of self-preservation.

Such of the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry of the county as may approve of the measure, should be requested to subscribe a paper, expressing, opposite to their names, the number of waggons and carts provided with tilts, and the number of horses, drivers, and conductors, which they propose to furnish respectively.

The waggons, carts, &c. subscribed for, or such part as may be required from time to time, ought to march as soon as possible, and, at latest, on the next morning after notice received to that effect.

The waggons, carts, &c. marching in conformity to such notice, to continue at the disposal and under the orders of the king's officers, as the service may require.

The said waggons and carts to travel at the rate of five miles in every two hours; twenty-five miles when loaded, and thirty miles when empty, in every twenty-four hours.

One or more discreet and intelligent persons, besides the drivers, should accompany each detachment of ten waggons or carts, and upwards. These persons should be styled waggon-conductors, and their duty should consist in superintending the drivers, that there may be regularity and dispatch upon the road.

The commissary-general to pay to the persons, who may be appointed agreeable to this and the second article, for their trouble and expences at the following rates, viz.

For every empty waggon procured, in consequence of notice given, 1s.; for every empty cart, 9d.; for every sack of flour, of 250 lb. nett, loaded agreeable to the twelfth article, 2d.; for every sack of oats, of four bushels, loaded as above, 1d.; for every ton of hay, straw, or fuel, loaded as above, 20d.: but no charge to be made for procuring the waggons and carts respectively, unless they go empty.

A Plan for insuring a regular Supply of Bread to his Majesty's Forces, in case of an Invasion.

The establishment of flour magazines, and of a field-bakery, of sufficient force to supply an army, would entail a very heavy expence upon the public, which can only be avoided by ascertaining, under this head, the resources of the country, and the means of bringing them forward, in case of emergency, without previously making any expensive preparations. Returns have been procured of the bakers and ovens at most of the considerable places in several counties, from which it appears that they are capable, on any emergency, of baking for four times, nay, many of them six times, the number of their inhabitants and troops now in garrison; and that, with the help of additional journeymen-bakers, they can supply double that quantity. All other counties may, without risk of error, be supposed equally capable with those above alluded to. Grain and mills abound every where. The result is, that an army of 30,000 men may, without difficulty, be supplied with bread, in any situation, at four or five days notice,

notice, and even two or three times that number, at a longer notice, provided such preparatory arrangements are concerted with the millers and bakers as will enable the country to do justice to itself.

[Here follow directions to the miller or baker.]

General Orders issued by Sir Charles Grey.

Barham-Court, May 6.

General sir Charles Grey, judging it necessary to announce to the troops he has the honour to command, in the southern district, that, from the vicinity of the coasts of Essex, Kent, and Sussex, to that of France, and the very great preparations the enemy are said to be making to carry their long-threatened invasion of this kingdom into execution, which though he cannot bring himself to believe, from the impossibility of its success, yet it is not impossible but they may be mad and desperate enough to try the experiment, to make a little confusion without a hope: he is therefore persuaded of being more successful, should the daring attempt be made on the coasts of the district, namely, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, in which he is most immediately concerned; and he does not hesitate to say, that it is an event more desirable than not, from the reception he is convinced they will meet from the troops under his command, seconded by the loyalty, zeal, and spirit, of all ranks of the community, in defence of their king and country, their lives and properties, dearest interests and attachments; and, whom he doubts not, will, with the usual spirit of Britons, unite hand and heart in

repelling, and severely chastising, the insolent foe, who come for the declared purpose of striking at their dearest rights and privileges, by the overthrow of their happy constitution.

And although general sir Charles Grey will pledge himself for the result being most brilliant, honourable, and glorious, for England, yet it would be unwise not to be prepared at all points, as we are; but, nevertheless, and to guard against accidents, the general apprizes the troops, that, in case a landing should be made by the enemy, after escaping the vigilance of our well-conducted and numerous navy, to the eastward in Essex, or to the westward in Kent or Sussex, and which are certainly more immediately threatened, it may be necessary to embark a part of the troops, to make a successful landing behind the enemy, whilst an army is acting on their front, in which situation their communication would be cut off; and their flanks and rear being acted upon, it would not be a contest of many hours duration, before the invaders would feel the fatal effects of their temerity, by being ignominiously driven back into the water, killed, or made prisoners.

In case of this event happening, and sudden orders given for embarkation, general sir Charles Grey positively orders, that every regiment and corps, of all descriptions, included in the orders for embarkation, leave the whole of their heavy baggage behind, under a proper guard, composed of the worst and weakest men, commanded by an officer, the soldiers carrying only a change in necessaries, their blankets, haversacks, and canteens; and

and not one woman, on this occasion, must accompany the soldiers. The officers commanding regiments and corps will see them, and be responsible for their being, strictly complied with.

General Sir Charles Grey pledges himself that every attention shall be paid by him to the care of the soldiers wives, and in having them conveyed to their respective regiments should their absence be of any length, and they not return to the quarters from whence they embarked, which is by no means likely to happen, but, on the contrary they will quickly return.

The general is sure that every thinking good soldier will readily see the convenience to themselves, and propriety, of this order, and cheerfully submit to a short separation.

(Signed) John Vischer,
A.D.C.

Letters addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester to their respective Clergy.

To the Reverend the Clergy of the Diocese and the Peculiars of the See of Canterbury.

April 29.

Reverend Brother,

In the present situation of the country, expecting, without undue alarm, but not without just anxiety, the appearance of a desperate and malignant enemy on our coasts; there is, perhaps, no circumstance, singly taken, on which more may depend, with regard to the interests of religion, the credit of our order, and the public safety, than the dis-

cretion with which the conduct of the clergy ought to be distinguished in these moments of general and necessary exertion; when all good men are called upon to come forward and to repel the attempts of an enemy, breathing revenge against this kingdom in general; revenge, not for wrongs on our part done, but for wrongs on their part by us resisted, and fraught, with particular malice, against our holy religion and its ministers. Under this persuasion, I have thought it my duty to call a meeting of the bishops, in order to consider in what way the parochial clergy may most effectually promote the common cause without neglecting the proper duties of our holy calling, of which we never must lose sight, and least of all in times of public danger.

The meeting consisted of the two archbishops and eleven bishops, the occasion being thought too pressing to wait the arrival of others from the remote dioceses. The two resolutions which I now transmit to you were agreed upon unanimously. In them we warn you not to abandon the proper business of your profession, in order to take up the soldier's occupation, in which your actual service can be but very limited, and, at last, may not be wanted. We assure ourselves you will, in all circumstances, naturally wish to make your exertions in those services of which you feel yourselves the most capable; and those will generally be such as will the least interfere with your sacred functions. But, if the danger should be realized, and the enemy set his foot upon our shores, our hand, with that of every man, must, in every way, be against those who come for purposes of rapine and desolation, the avowed champions

champions of anarchy and irreligion, defying the living God. We are the servants of God; and God's servants in God's cause must take an equal share with their fellow-subjects, in such an emergency, against the blasphemers of his holy name. But one service in particular, amongst many others, for which the country, amidst the din of arms, will naturally look to the wisdom and piety of the clergy, will be, that, by your persuasion, your exhortations, and your good example, you will be the instruments of maintaining internal harmony and subordination, in a crisis when harmony and subordination, even with the best general disposition of the people, are most difficult to be maintained.

I commend you to God's high and holy protection, with good hope and confidence of your discretion and zeal in this time of trial.

I am, your affectionate brother,
J. Cantuar.

April 28. At a meeting of the two archbishops and eleven bishops, on this day, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

“Resolved, That it would not conduce, in any considerable degree, to the defence and safety of the kingdom, and would interfere with the proper duties of the profession, if the clergy were to accept commissions in the army, be enrolled in any military corps, or be trained to the use of arms.

“Resolved farther, That, in the case of actual invasion, or dangerous insurrection, it will be the duty of every clergyman to give his assistance in repelling both, in any way that the urgency of the case may require.”

Westminster, May 1.

Rev. Brother,

I have observed, with much satisfaction, the zeal which is displayed by the clergy of my diocese, in common with our brethren in all parts of the kingdom, to take an active part in defence of the country, against an enemy who threatens to come with a prodigious army, to depose our king, to plunder our property, to enslave our persons, and to overturn our altars; instigated, in addition to the common motives of ambition and revenge, which have ordinarily inflamed the animosities of contending nations, by that desperate malignity against the faith he has abandoned, which, in all ages, has marked the horrible character of the vile apostate. The readiness of the clergy, to unite in the defence of objects so dear to all, against such a foe, is highly laudable, and consistent with that character of rational piety, which hath ever distinguished the true sons of the church of England.

It is, however, to be remembered, that the offices of religion never are of more importance, than in times of public danger; when our people most need the consolations of religion and the advice of their pastors; and when our prayers for God's merciful protection of our country should be offered up with unremitting assiduity and redoubled ardour. It becomes, therefore, a question of considerable importance, in what manner the parochial clergy may, with propriety, co-operate with the preparations, at this time carried on, for the reception of the enemy. It is certain, that no class of men in the community is more deeply interested in the common cause, and, upon that account, they may be expected

pected to take a principal share, either of toil or danger; yet they must not abandon the regular exercise of their sacred function, unless they should be driven from their stations (which God avert!) by hostile force; and there are various ways, in which, without interruption of their ordinary duties, the clergy may render the most essential service to their country.

Our venerable primate, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, with that vigilant attention to the interests of religion and of the established church, which hath ever been conspicuous in his conduct, no less than it belongs to his station, conceiving that the clergy of the whole kingdom, in this difficult and momentous crisis, might expect and need the counsel of their diocesans, hath thought good to assemble the bishops, to take the matter into their serious consideration. The meeting held the 28th ult. was numerous; and, upon the most mature deliberation, we agreed unanimously in two resolutions, which I transmit to you *verbatim*.

These two resolutions contain, as is conceived, the best general principles for the regulation of the conduct of the parochial clergy, in the present stage, and in the probable progress, of the public danger. On the one hand, the disorders and scandals that would arise, if the clergy in general were to accept military commissions, or submit to be drilled in the ranks, are too numerous and too obvious to be mentioned. On the other hand, in the case of actual invasion or treasonable insurrection, it will be a duty of indispensable obligation upon every clergyman to give his utmost assistance, in the resistance and annoy-

ance of the foreign invader, or domestic traitor, in that particular way, in which, from local or other circumstances, his services may be the most effectual. Upon this point I mean to speak out my mind very plainly; and I desire to be clearly and fully understood.

Wars and fightings unquestionably have their origin in the bad passions of men.* Nevertheless, the world being as it is, it must needs be that wars and fightings, with other offences, come. War, therefore, in the general, is to be reckoned among the sinful practices of mankind: but, in every individual instance, the guilt lies principally at the aggressor's door,—“woe to him by whom the offence cometh;” and it is little else than a calumny upon the Christian religion, to pretend, as some have pretended, that defensive war is either contrary to the general spirit of the morality of the Gospel, or forbidden by any particular precept, or discouraged by the example of the first Christians. The notorious fact is, that they scrupled not to serve in the armies even of their Heathen sovereigns. It would be still more injurious to the Gospel to maintain, that foreign attack, or domestic treason, are of the sort of ill usage which Christians, either laity or clergy, are commanded not to oppose by force. It is true, that, even under the urgency of that extreme necessity of invasion or insurrection, there will be many ways in which a clergyman may be useful, besides that of actual military service: in directing, for instance, and superintending the removal of the women and children, and of the old and infirm, to places of safety; in advising the method and pointing the route

* St. James, iv. 1.

route of driving off the live-stock; in overseeing the destruction of such things as cannot be removed, and would be serviceable to the enemy if they were left to fall into their hands; and in many other very important, though indirect and collateral, operations of defence, which it is impossible to enumerate. Many of these services are of a kind to be better performed by a clergyman, than by another person, who, from the ordinary habits of his life, may be likely to be more useful, than the clergyman would be, in the field. Whenever this moment of jeopardy and peril shall arrive, every clergyman must judge for himself, in what way he may be most useful, according to the circumstances in which he may be placed. Of different ways of being useful, actual fight will often be the last that he will choose: not from any superstitious apprehension, that to mingle in the combat would, in such circumstances, and at such a season, derogate from his character; much less from a dastardly concern for his own personal safety; but because battle is the particular service, for which, in most cases, he will be the least qualified, and in which, of consequence, he would be of the least use. When the case shall be otherwise, as often no doubt it will, he must not, with a safe conscience he cannot, decline his share in the common danger. But the particular rules of his conduct he must take from the occasion itself, when it arrives. It is impossible beforehand to lay down any other than this most general rule: that his country, in that crisis, will have a right to his best services, in any and in every way, even if the best service to be performed by him should be (as

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in many instances it will happen) to level the musquet, or trail the pike. Nor let him fear, that the sanctity of his character shall contract aught of stain, even in the mortal strife against the enemies of his king and of his God. Gird yourselves, therefore, without scruple for the battle, in this holy cause, when the occasion shall call; nothing doubting, but that the God, whom we serve, and our enemies defy, will teach the hands of his servants to war, and their fingers to fight. Offering our earnest prayers to God, to give us all grace, in the hour of trial, which seems to be coming upon the Christian world, to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, and to do and suffer valiantly whatever we may be ordained to do and suffer for his sake; we remain, your loving brother,

Samuel Roffens.

Public Acts passed in the Second Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 30, 1797.

Act for raising a certain sum of money by loans on exchequer-bills for the service of the year 1798.

For continuing the additional duties on distilleries in the highlands of Scotland.

For the regulation of his majesty's marine forces when on shore.

For regulating the exportation and carrying coastwise of wheat and rye, &c.

To continue the act relating to the admission of certain articles of merchandize in neutral ships, and for making regulations respecting

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the

the trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

Annual indemnity act for persons holding places and neglecting to qualify.

Act to enlarge the time for raising a militia in Scotland.

Jan. 12, 1798.

Act for granting to his majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecuting of the war.

For allowing a certain proportion of the militia to enlist into his majesty's other forces.

Feb. 20.

Act to enable his majesty to order out a certain proportion of supplementary militia, and to provide for the necessary augmentation of men in the several companies of militia, by incorporating the supplementary militia therewith.

March 9.

Act for raising a farther sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills for the service of the year 1798.

The mutiny-act.

For repealing the duties on gold and silver watch-cases.

To permit the importation of salt from Portugal in neutral ships.

For rectifying mistakes in the land-tax act.

April 5.

Act for reviving and continuing the duties on distilleries in the high-lands of Scotland.

For providing for the defence of the realm, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose.

For disallowing the bounty on sail-cloth or canvas, the manufacture of Great Britain, exported to Ireland.

For continue the laws respecting the bounties on British and Irish

linens, and for regulating the duties on tobacco-pipe clay, rape-seed, Greenland fisheries, manufactures of flax and cotton, &c.

For reviving an act, authorizing his majesty to permit the exportation of wheat, &c. to Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney.

To prevent, during the war, persons residing in Great Britain from advancing money or effects for the purchase, or on the credit of debts owing to the government of the United Provinces, without licence, and for extending the act to prevent traitorous correspondence with the said provinces.

For the regulation of quarantine, and goods removed from one ship to another.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid by inn-keepers, and others, on quartering soldiers.

April 21.

Act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as are suspected of conspiring against his person and government.

May 7.

Act for raising the sum of 17,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

For enlarging the time of appealing in prize-causes.

For amending the act relative to the importation and exportation of certain goods in Jamaica, Grenada, Dominica, and New Providence.

May 10.

For granting additional duties on salt.

For granting additional duties of excise on tea.

For repealing the duties on houses, windows and lights, inhabited houses, clocks and watches, and granting other duties on all these, except clocks and watches.

For

For repealing the duties upon male servants, carriages, &c. and granting other duties in lieu of the same.

To prevent commercial connection with Switzerland, without licence.

To enable his majesty to call out a part of the militia of Scotland.

May 26.

Act for altering and amending the land-tax act, as far as relates to the qualifications of commissioners.

For more effectually and speedily manning the navy.

June 1.

Act to continue the alien-act.

To regulate the trial of causes, indictments, and other proceedings, within the counties of certain cities and towns corporate.

For authorizing the billeting of such troops of yeomanry cavalry as may be desirous of assembling for the purpose of being trained together, and for exempting from the payment of certain duties persons providing horses for the said yeomanry cavalry.

June 21.

Act for the redemption of the land-tax.

For raising money by lottery.

For a duty on armorial bearings.

For regulating the duties on spices.

For enabling his majesty to accept the services of such militia as may offer to serve in Ireland.

For regulating the drawbacks and bounty on sugar.

To amend the laws of excise relating to coach-makers, auctioneers, beer, cider, and certain stamps on hides and skins, drawbacks on wine and sweets.

To revive and continue the act which prohibits the importation of

light silver coin of this realm from foreign countries into Great Britain and Ireland.

For allowing gold wares to be manufactured at a standard lower than is now allowed by law.

To prevent the exportation of base coin to the West Indies.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of England.

To continue the act for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries.

For amending an act to prevent frauds in weighing and packing butter.

For amending an act for the due making of bread, and to regulate the assize thereof in the city and liberties, and within ten miles of the Royal Exchange.

For preventing the depasturing of forests, commons, and open fields, with sheep infected with the scab or mange.

June 28.

Act for the better protection of the trade of the kingdom, and for granting additional duties of customs.

For raising an additional sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills.

To authorize exchequer-bills to be issued on the credit of the loan of 17 millions.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer-bills on the credit of the money raised by contribution.

For regulating the salt-duties.

For the better execution of the act granting his majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war.

For extending the duties of vellum, parchment, and paper stamps, to all other materials.

Q 2

For

For abolishing certain offices in the customs.

For preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing newspapers, and papers of a like nature, by persons not known, and for regulating the printing, &c. of such papers in other respects.

To prevent his majesty's subjects from going to, or remaining in, France, or carrying on correspondence there.

To amend the act respecting aliens.

For regulating the shipping, and carrying of slaves in British vessels from Africa.

June 29.

For raising the sum of three millions by loans or exchequer-bills.

For reviving and continuing the duties on distilleries in the highlands of Scotland, until April 10, 1799.

For ascertaining the duty payable on taxed carts.

For the regulation of the provisional cavalry.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

FROM DECEMBER 12, 1797, to DECEMBER 11, 1798.

Christened { Males 9497 } 17927. Buried { Males 8964 } 18155.
 { Females 8430 } { Females 9191 }

Increased in the burials this year 228.

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------|-----------|--------|------------|-------|-----|-----|
| Died under 2 years | - 5728 | 30 and 40 | - 1678 | 70 and 80 | - 919 | 102 | - 1 |
| Between 2 and 5 | - 2129 | 40 and 50 | - 1722 | 80 and 90 | - 353 | 105 | - 1 |
| 5 and 10 | - 802 | 50 and 60 | - 1566 | 90 and 100 | - 41 | 108 | - 1 |
| 10 and 20 | - 573 | 60 and 70 | - 1292 | 100 - - - | 0 | 117 | - 1 |
| 20 and 30 | - 1280 | | | | | | |

| DISEASES. | | Dropfy | | Palpitation of the heart | | Burnt | |
|--|------|---|------|----------------------------|------|--|-----|
| A Abortive and still born | 594 | Dropfy on the brain | 784 | Palsy | 86 | Dropped down dead | 0 |
| Abscess | 26 | Evil | 4 | Pleurisy | 15 | Drowned | 103 |
| Aged | 1117 | Falling sickness | | Quinsey | 5 | Excessive drinking | 5 |
| Ague | 8 | Fevers of all kinds | 1754 | Rheumatism | 3 | Executed* | 8 |
| Amputation | | Fistula | 3 | Rickets | 1 | Found dead | 11 |
| Apoplexy and sudden-ly | 224 | Flux | 12 | Scurvy | 4 | Fractured | 1 |
| Asthma and Phthi- sic | 421 | French pox | 36 | Small pox | 2237 | Frighted | 0 |
| Bedridden | 2 | Cout | 111 | Sore throat | 12 | Frozen | 0 |
| Bleeding | 22 | Gravel, stone, and strangury | 16 | Sores and ulcers | 11 | Kill'd by falls and se-veral other acci- dents | 52 |
| Brain-fever | | Grief | 7 | Spasm | 1 | Killed by a cow | 0 |
| Burthen and rup- ture | 18 | Head-ach | c | St. Anthony's fire | 4 | Killed by fighting | 0 |
| Cancer | 71 | Headmouldshot, horse- shoehead, and wa- ter in the head | 67 | Stoppage in the stom- mach | 4 | Killed themselves | 27 |
| Childbed | 144 | Jaundice | 69 | Swelling | | Murdered | 3 |
| Colds | 4 | Jaw locked | 2 | Swine pox | | Poisoned | 3 |
| Colick, gripes, and twisting of the guts | 13 | Infammation | 384 | Teeth | 370 | Scalded | 6 |
| Consumption | 4533 | Influenza | c | Thrush | 49 | Shot | 2 |
| Convulsions | 3663 | Itch | 1 | Tumor in the womb | 0 | Smothered | 1 |
| Cough and hooping- cough | 418 | Lethargy | 1 | Vomiting and loose- nefs | | Starved | 0 |
| Croup | 14 | Livergrown | 7 | Worms | 8 | Sprain | 0 |
| Diabetes | 1 | Lunatic | 83 | | | Strangled | 0 |
| | | Measles | 196 | CASUALTIES. | | Suffocated | 2 |
| | | Miscarriage | 2 | B It by a mad dog | 0 | Tooth-ach | 0 |
| | | Mortification | 262 | Broken limbs | 1 | | |
| | | | | Bruised | 3 | | |
| | | | | | | Total | 274 |

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 24; of which number 8 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

O 3

AVERAGE

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1798.

| | Wheat | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. |
|-----------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|
| | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| January . . . | 6 4 | 3 7 | 2 2 | 3 7 |
| February . . . | 6 2 | 3 5 | 2 1 | 3 5 |
| March . . . | 6 3 | 3 4 | 2 1 | 3 4 |
| April . . . | 6 5 | 3 6 | 2 4 | 3 5 |
| May . . . | 6 5 | 3 8 | 2 6 | 3 7 |
| June . . . | 6 4 | 3 8 | 2 8 | 3 8 |
| July . . . | 6 4 | 3 8 | 2 10 | 3 10 |
| August . . . | 6 4 | 3 5 | 2 10 | 3 11 |
| September . . . | 6 2 | 3 9 | 2 7 | 3 11 |
| October . . . | 6 2 | 3 8 | 2 5 | 3 11 |
| November . . . | 5 11 | 3 7 | 2 5 | 3 11 |
| December . . . | 6 0 | 3 8 | 2 5 | 4 0 |
| General Average | 6 2½ | 3 7 | 2 5 | 3 9 |

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1798.

| | Thermometer. | | | Barometer. | | | Hygrometer. | | | Rain. |
|------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|--------|
| | Greatest Height. | Least Height. | Mean Height. | Greatest Height. | Least Height. | Mean Height. | Greatest Height. | Least Height. | Mean Height. | |
| | Deg. | Deg. | Deg. | Inches. | Inches. | Inches. | Deg. | Deg. | Deg. | |
| January | 53 | 29 | 40,1 | 30,52 | 28,96 | 29,94 | 90 | 73 | 82,8 | 1,105 |
| February | 54 | 24 | 40,1 | 30,76 | 29,23 | 30,11 | 90 | 71 | 82,8 | 0,699 |
| March | 58 | 30 | 42,9 | 30,37 | 29,18 | 29,93 | 90 | 68 | 79,8 | 0,733 |
| April | 69 | 31 | 52,7 | 30,38 | 29,27 | 29,96 | | | | 0,517 |
| May | 75 | 46 | 57,3 | 30,44 | 29,11 | 30,09 | 69 | 30 | 51,4 | 1,621 |
| June | 86 | 51 | 64,8 | 30,42 | 29,65 | 30,07 | 69 | 32 | 50,1 | 0,594 |
| July | 76 | 54 | 64,4 | 30,17 | 29,36 | 29,80 | 74 | 38 | 55,8 | 2,879 |
| August | 82 | 55 | 63,9 | 30,35 | 29,70 | 30,09 | 70 | 41 | | 1,525 |
| Sept. | 76 | 45 | 59,2 | 30,26 | 28,97 | 29,78 | 73 | 37 | | 2,437 |
| October | 63 | 33 | 52,4 | 30,39 | 29,16 | 29,90 | 82 | 45 | | 3,428 |
| Nov. | 60 | 25 | 42,4 | 30,27 | 28,69 | 29,58 | 93 | 57 | | 3,056 |
| Dec. | 50 | 14 | 35,5 | 30,58 | 29,27 | 29,90 | 95 | 53 | | 0,857 |
| Whole Year | | | 51,10 | | | 29,92 | | | | 19,411 |

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1798.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

| 1798. | Bank Stock. | 3 per. c. red. | 3 do. conf. | 4 per. c. con. | 5 p. ci. Navy. | 5 per cent. | Long ann. | Short ann. | India Bonds Stock. | India Stock. | Old ann. | New ann. | S. Sea Stock. | Irish 5p et 3 p. ci. | Imp. ann. | Omn. | New Loan. | Eng. Lot. Tickets. | Irish Pr. ad. ditto. |
|-------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|--------------|----------|----------|---------------|----------------------|-----------|------|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Jan. | 119½ | 48½ | 49½ | 59½ | 69½ | 72½ | 13½ | 6½ | 8 dif. | 151½ | 44½ | 48½ | 52 | 59½ | 45½ | 9½ | — | 11 17 | 0 86½ |
| Feb. | 118 | 48 | 47½ | 59½ | 69 | 70½ | 15½ | 6½ | 18 | 145 | 48½ | 48½ | 51 | 59½ | 44 | 9½ | — | 11 12 | 0 86 |
| Mar. | 122½ | 50 | 49½ | 61½ | 71 | 73 | 14½ | 6½ | par. | 149 | 48½ | — | 53 | 61½ | 46½ | 9½ | — | 12 14 | 6 — |
| Apr. | 119 | 48 | 47½ | 59½ | 69 | 70½ | 15½ | 6½ | 5 dif. | 144½ | 48 | — | 52 | 59½ | 44½ | 9½ | — | 11 18 | 6 — |
| May | 125 | 50 | 49½ | 61½ | 71 | 73 | 14½ | 6½ | 2 pr. | 148 | — | — | 54½ | — | 48 | 10 | — | 17 7 | 0 — |
| June | 121½ | 49 | 49½ | 61½ | 72 | — | — | 6½ | 1 dif. | 148 | — | — | 49½ | — | 46½ | 9½ | — | 12 5 | 0 — |
| July | 122 | 47 | 49 | 60½ | 73½ | 71 | 15½ | 6 | 1 dif. | 149 | 48½ | 49½ | 52 | 59½ | 46½ | 10 | — | 13 0 | 0 7 7 |
| Aug. | 116½ | 47 | 48 | 58½ | 72 | 73½ | 15½ | 6 | 20 | 117 | 17½ | — | 49½ | 59½ | 46½ | 9½ | — | 16 0 | 0 7 3 0 |
| Sept. | 119 | 48 | 49½ | 61½ | 76 | 74½ | 15½ | 6 | — | 149 | — | — | 51½ | 62½ | 45 | 9½ | — | 13 10 | 0 7 7 0 |
| Oct. | 118 | 47 | 49½ | 61½ | 75 | 73½ | 15½ | 6 | — | 148 | — | — | 51½ | 60½ | 44½ | 10 | — | 12 19 | 0 7 6 0 |
| Nov. | 125 | 49 | 50 | 63½ | 75 | 76½ | 14½ | 6 | — | 150 | — | — | 53½ | 69 | 41½ | 10½ | — | 13 5 | 0 7 8 0 |
| Dec. | 110½ | 47 | 49 | 61½ | 74½ | 73½ | 13½ | 6 | — | 144 | — | — | 48½ | 63 | 41½ | 9½ | — | 13 4 | 0 7 12 0 |
| | 132 | 51 | 50½ | 66½ | 78 | 79½ | 15 | 6 | 2 pr. | 152 | 50½ | — | 55 | 73 | 48½ | 10½ | — | 13 5 | 0 21 0 0 |
| | 121 | 48 | 48½ | 63 | 75 | 76½ | 14½ | 6 | 1 | 146 | 50½ | — | 48 | 68½ | 46½ | 10½ | — | 13 4 | 0 7 5 0 |
| | 131 | 50 | 50½ | 65 | 79 | 78½ | 14½ | 6 | 2 | 150 | — | — | — | 72 | 48½ | 10½ | — | 13 5 | 0 7 8 0 |
| | 129½ | — | 49½ | — | 77 | 78½ | 14½ | 6 | 1 dif. | 147 | — | — | — | 74 | 48½ | 10½ | — | 13 5 | 0 7 5 0 |
| | 139 | 56 | — | 70 | 85 | 83 | 16½ | 6 | — | 163 | — | — | — | 74 | 56 | 11 | — | 13 17 | 0 7 16 0 |
| | 130½ | 52 | 50 | 66½ | 79 | 80 | 15½ | 6 | — | 150 | — | — | 51½ | 70½ | 49 | 10½ | — | 13 5 | 0 7 8 0 |
| | 141 | 56 | 57 | 71 | 87 | 84 | 16 | 6 | — | 171½ | — | — | 53½ | 77½ | 49½ | 10½ | — | 13 15 | 0 8 5 0 |
| | 132 | 51 | 52 | 64 | 80 | 78 | 14 | 6 | — | 160 | — | — | — | 71 | 49½ | 10½ | — | 13 12 | 0 7 16 0 |
| | 158 | 54 | 56 | 68 | 83 | 83 | 15½ | 6 | — | 167 | — | — | — | 76½ | 52½ | 10½ | — | 13 12 | 0 7 16 0 |
| | 152½ | 52 | 52½ | 64½ | 81½ | 79½ | 14½ | 6 | — | 160 | — | — | — | 77 | 52½ | 10½ | — | 13 16 | 0 — |

• New Lottery.

Statement of the Amount, Value, and Interest, of the National Funded Debt, on the 31st Day of December, 1798.

| Capital. | | | | Value at estimated prices. | | | Interest per annum. | | | Interest and management. | | |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|--|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>L.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | | <i>L.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>L.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>L.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| 235,241,668 | 10 | 5 1/2 | 3 per cent. consolidated annuities estimated at the price of . . . 55 per cent. | 129,352,917 | 13 | 9 | 7,057,250 | 1 | 1 | 7,153,198 | 15 | 1 |
| 65,649,608 | 16 | 4 | 3 per cent. reduced annuities at . . . 55 | 55,007,334 | 7 | 0 | 1,903,420 | 19 | 3 | 1,958,138 | 6 | 6 |
| 45,269,993 | 11 | 6 | 4 per cent. consolidated annuities 67 | 30,330,426 | 13 | 10 | 1,810,771 | 14 | 10 | 1,831,112 | 13 | 3 |
| 23,114,922 | 7 | 3 | 5 per cent. navy annuities 83 | 23,335,345 | 11 | 2 | 1,405,715 | 2 | 4 | 1,414,327 | 13 | 7 |
| 20,135,962 | 10 | 0 | 5 per cent. annuities, 1797 83 | 16,737,714 | 17 | 0 | 1,004,293 | 2 | 6 | 1,017,372 | 13 | 1 |
| 1,000,000 | 0 | 0 | 5 per cent. annuities, 1726 55 | 550,000 | 0 | 0 | 30,000 | 0 | 0 | 30,453 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | Long annuities to ex- } at 15 1/2 years pur- } pise, Jan. 5, 1850 } chafe on amount } | 15,769,792 | 7 | 1 | 1,017,405 | 19 | 2 | 1,024,531 | 15 | 0 |
| | | | Short annuities to ex- } at 6 1/2 years pur- } pise, Jan. 5, 1808 } chafe on amount } | 2,614,381 | 10 | 9 | 418,333 | 0 | 11 | 422,531 | 15 | 3 |
| 3,662,784 | 8 | 6* | South-Sea Stock 55 | 2,014,231 | 8 | 8 | 109,583 | 10 | 8 | | | |
| 11,908,170 | 2 | 7 | Ditto old 3 per cent. annuities 55 | 6,449,108 | 11 | 5 | 357,224 | 2 | 1 | 735,074 | 14 | 0 |
| 6,194,830 | 2 | 10 | Ditto new 3 per cent. annuities 55 | 4,672,156 | 11 | 6 | 254,814 | 18 | 1 | | | |
| 1,919,600 | 0 | 0 | Ditto 3 per cent. annuities, 1751 55 | 1,055,780 | 0 | 0 | 57,589 | 0 | 0 | 58,667 | 15 | 1 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 7,502,633 6 8 | Imperial Stock, for which the country is security to the subscribers. | | | |
| | Imperial 3 per cent. annuities, at 3 per cent. | | | |
| | Imperial annuities to } at 11 years pur | | | |
| | expire May 1, 1819 } chase on amount | | | |
| 426,928,863 16 1 | Capital of the national funded debt, exclusive of the long, short, and imperial expirable annuities. | 3,976,995, 13 4 | 225,097 0 0 | 228,155 2 0 |
| 20,914,973 17 10 | Capital of these annuities taken at their estimated value, as above. | 2,580,000 0 0 | 230,000 0 0 | 232,587 10 0 |
| 447,843,237 13 11 | Capital of the national funded debt, including the long, short, and imperial expirable annuities. | | | |
| 3,000,000 0 0 | To be added for the loan of December, 1790. | 3,000,000 0 0 | | |
| | Interest on the loan, estimated at 5 1/2 per cent. | | | |
| 150,843,237 13 11 1/4 | Total amount of the national funded debt | | | |
| | Total value at estimated prices | 164,250 0 0 | | 166,780 13 3 |
| | Total amount of interest of national funded debt and expense of management | 16,056,165 10 11 | | 16,272,805 4 10 |

* Though the government only pays 3 per cent. interest on this stock, the South-Sea Company pays the proprietors 3 1/2 per cent.
† In the above estimate of the funded debt, the Irish annuities are not included, the Irish government being security for them. The following annuities are also omitted:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| £. 76,322 11 6 | Exchequer annuities, expiring in 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807. |
| 54,460 8 7 | Annuities on single lives. |
| 540 0 0 | Tontine annuities of 1765. |
| 18,180 3 11 | Ditto 1789. |

None of these being regularly at market, it is difficult to fix their value; and it is not material to the plan of paying off the debt that they should be included in it, no more than the debt due from government to the bank of £. 11,686,800, which is not contemplated to discharge; nor than the floating debt in exchequer-bills, which are supposed to be about £. 5,000,000; but, as they are receivable in all branches of the public revenue, the actual amount in the possession of individuals cannot easily be correctly ascertained. These, with other descriptions of floating debt, would easily be provided for by the fund hereafter proposed to be set to keep down any future debt, after the present funded debt shall be paid off.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1798.

N A V Y.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|--------------|----|----|
| November 16, 1797. | | | |
| That 110,000 seamen be employed, including 20,000 marines. | | | |
| For wages for ditto | 2,645,500 | 0 | 0 |
| For victuals for ditto | 2,717,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve, | 4,290,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For ordnance sea-service on board such ships | 357,500 | 0 | 0 |
| For the expence of the transport-service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health | 1,200,000 | 0 | 0 |
| November 20. | | | |
| For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers | 689,858 | 19 | 7 |
| For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works | 639,530 | 0 | 0 |
| April 24, 1798. | | | |
| That 10,000 additional seamen be employed. | | | |
| The sum for maintaining them, including ordnance for sea-service | 910,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | £ 13,449,388 | 19 | 7 |

A R M Y.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|-----|---|
| November 21, 1797. | | | |
| That 48,609 men be employed for land-service, including 5,766 invalids. | | | |
| For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey | 1,699,450 | 1 | 3 |
| For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales | 1,025,536 | 16 | 6 |
| For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad | 78,226 | 4 | 3 |
| | | For | |

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 203

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|---------|----|----|
| For four troops of dragoons, and fifteen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments serving in East India | 20,244 | 0 | 1 |
| For recruiting and contingences for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry | 180,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For general and staff-officers, and officers of hospitals | 89,723 | 19 | 8 |
| For full pay to supernumerary officers | 33,463 | 13 | 10 |
| For allowances to the paymaster-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c. &c. | 108,582 | 14 | 10 |
| For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, and others, on quartering soldiers | 140,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For reduced officers of land-forces and marines | 163,874 | 16 | 8 |
| For allowances to reduced horse guards | 125 | 3 | 4 |
| On account of officers late in the service of the states-general | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto - - of reduced officers of British American forces | 52,500 | 0 | 0 |
| For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto | 7,500 | 0 | 0 |

April 24, 1798.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|----|---|
| To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 25th December, 1796, to 24th December, 1797 | 1,351,391 | 19 | 8 |
|--|-----------|----|---|

April 26.

| | | | |
|---|-------------|----|---|
| For the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital | 116,167 | 4 | 3 |
| For the in-pensioners of ditto, and the expences of the hospital | 26,547 | 17 | 6 |
| For pensions to widows and commissioned officers | 12,954 | 15 | 3 |
| For expences incurred, or expected to be incurred, in the barrack-master-general's department | 520,717 | 0 | 0 |
| For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain | 226,083 | 11 | 5 |
| Towards defraying the extraordinary services of the army, for 1798 | 3,200,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | £ 9,054,090 | 6 | 8 |

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

November 21, 1797.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|-------|---|
| For the embodied militia in South Britain, and corps of fencible infantry, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and the islands of Scilly and Man | 1,417,179 | 10 | 3 |
| For contingences for ditto | 40,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For clothing for the embodied militia | 116,267 | 3 | 9 |
| For corps of fencible cavalry | 404,570 | 4 | 1 |
| For extra feed for ditto | 25,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | March | |

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March 1, 1798.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.

£. s. d.

April 26.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|---|---|
| For the embodied supplementary militia | 1,315,708 | 0 | 0 |
| For the embodied provisional cavalry | 130,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For the volunteer corps | 350,000 | 0 | 0 |

May 12.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.

Ditto - - - - - for allowances to subaltern officers }
of the militia, in time of peace

£ 3,798,724 18 3

ORDNANCE.

November 21, 1797.

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----|----|
| For ordnance land-service, for 1798 | 1,073,885 | 13 | 9 |
| Ditto, not provided for in 1796 | 5,726 | 9 | 2 |
| Ditto, sea-service; not provided for in 1796 | 114,855 | 8 | 6 |
| Ditto, land-service, not provided for in 1797 | 96,571 | 4 | 10 |

February 19, 1798.

| | | | |
|---|--------|----|----|
| To make compensation for lands, &c. purchased for } securing batteries, and other works, in Kent and } Devon, pursuant to Act 34, Geo. III, . | 10,587 | 17 | 11 |
| Ditto, for the loss sustained by the owners or oc- } cupiers of lands in Kent, in consequence of the } above Act | 1,953 | 11 | 11 |

£ 1,303,580 6 1

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

November 23, 1797.

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|-------|----|-----|
| Plantations. | For the civil establishment of Upper Canada | 7,150 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of Nova Scotia | 5,915 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of New Brunswick | 4,550 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of St. John's Island | 1,900 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton | 1,840 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of Newfoundland | 1,232 | 10 | 0 |
| | Ditto of the Bahama Islands | 4,100 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of the Bermuda, or Somers Islands | 580 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of the Island of Dominica | 602 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ditto of New South Wales | 6,157 | 2 | 0 |
| | | | | For |

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 205

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|---------|----|----|
| For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France . . . | 168,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For pensions and allowances to American loyalists . . . | 44,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For his majesty's secret service abroad . . . | 150,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For discharging bills drawn, or to be drawn, from } the settlement at New South Wales . . . } | 36,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the expences of convicts at home . . . | 33,325 | 17 | 3 |
| For repairs of the pier and light-house at Douglas } harbour, in the Isle of Man . . . } | 2,500 | 0 | 0 |

March 6, 1793.

| | | | |
|--|-------|---|---|
| For the board of agriculture | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
|--|-------|---|---|

April 24.

| | | | |
|---|--------|----|--------|
| For relief to American and East Florida Sufferers, } pursuant to Act 30 Geo. III. } | 49,978 | 7 | 6 |
| For supporting the British forts and settlements on } the coast of Africa } | 13,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For assisting the Levant company in carrying on their } Trade } | 10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Towards enabling the trustees of the British Museum } to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in } them } | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons, . . . | 7,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For discharging the balance due on account of ex- } pences of the mint } | 13,250 | 18 | 0 |
| For defraying extraordinary expences incurred for } prosecutions relating to the coin } | 2,024 | 0 | 9 |
| Towards defraying the charge of the superintendence } of the alien-act } | 2,600 | 0 | 0 |
| For work done at Somerset-place, and for repairs } immediately necessary to be performed there . . . } | 15,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To make good money issued, pursuant to addresses . . . | 10,043 | 6 | 4 |
| Ditto, for secret service abroad, above the sum grant- } ed in the last session } | 38,222 | 7 | 6 |
| Ditto, for relief of the suffering clergy and laity of } France, ditto } | 12,677 | 12 | 1 |
| Ditto, for expences arisen from the execution of the } alien-act, ditto } | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, to pay bills drawn from the settlement at New } South Wales, which became due in 1797, being } the excess of the sum granted by parliament . . . } | 17,073 | 1 | 5 |
| Ditto, for expences in ventilating and warming the } house of lords } | 282 | 17 | 6 |
| Ditto, for fitting up two houses, for the speaker of } the house of commons, and the serjeant at arms, } | 2,542 | 10 | 6 |
| Ditto, to Mr. Barlow, for his services during Mr. } Hastings's trial } | 261 | 15 | 6 |
| | | | Ditto, |

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| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|----|----|
| Ditto, to Mr. Hudson, for ditto | 547 | 12 | 0 |
| Ditto, for two years rent of the parliament-office | 260 | 15 | 6 |
| Ditto, for attendance on various committees of the } houses of lords and commons, in session 1795—6, } | 422 | 16 | 0 |
| Ditto, for making up, and publishing, weekly returns } of the average price of sugar } | 472 | 17 | 0 |

April 26.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|----|----|
| For the works and repairs of the military roads and } bridges in North Britain } | 4,500 | 0 | 0 |
| To enable his majesty to make remittances, to be } applied to his service in Ireland, on provision be- } ing made by the parliament of that kingdom, for } defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that } amount } | 2,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For the excess beyond the sum granted towards de- } fraying the charge of printing the journals, &c. of } the house of commons, for 1797 } | 360 | 0 | 3 |
| Ditto, towards defraying the expence of convicts at } home, for 1797 } | 3,338 | 17 | 8½ |
| To make good money issued to certain architects, for } making a survey at Somerset-place } | 800 | 1 | 0 |
| Ditto, for the expences of examining the state of } the king's house, at Winchester } | 98 | 19 | 0 |

May 12.

| | | | |
|---|-------|---|---|
| For support of the Veterinary college | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
|---|-------|---|---|

June 14.

| | | | |
|---|--------|----|----|
| To defray the sums which the commissioners under } the American treaty have awarded to be paid by } the British government; and the expences attend- } ing the said commission } | 38,516 | 16 | 2½ |
| For erecting and completing the piers at Sutton Pool, | 3,387 | 13 | 3 |

£ 2,723,013 14 3

NATIONAL DEBT.

April 24, 1798.

| | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|
| To the bank of England, to be by them placed to } the account of the commissioners for the reduc- } tion of the national debt } | 200,000 | 0 | 0 |
|---|---------|---|---|

EXCHEQUER

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

June 14, 1798.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----------|----|----|
| For paying off exchequer-bills, made out pursuant to an act of last session, for raising a certain sum thereby | 3,500,000 | 0 | 0 |

VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 14, 1798.

| | | | |
|---|------------|---|----|
| To enable his majesty to take such measures as the exigencies of affairs may require | 1,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Total of supply | 35,028,798 | 4 | 10 |

ANNUAL GRANTS.

November 20, 1797.

| | | | |
|---|-----------|---|---|
| For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry | 750,000 | 0 | 0 |
| For raising four shillings in the pound on land, &c. | 2,000,000 | 0 | 0 |

March 6, 1798.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax | | | |
|---|--|--|--|

May 22.

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax. | | | |
|--|--|--|--|

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same. | | | |
|--|--|--|--|

 2,750,000 0 0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

December 11, 1797.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|---|---|
| For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills | 3,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
|--|-----------|---|---|

February 22, 1798.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|---|---|
| For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills | 3,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
|--|-----------|---|---|

April

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| | | | | |
|---|---|------------|----|----|
| April 26. | | £ | s. | d. |
| For raising 17,000,000 <i>l.</i> by annuities | . | 17,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| May 3. | | | | |
| For applying 62,755 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> paid by the receivers-general of the land-tax to the bank of England, in pursuance of act of last session, for raising men for the army and navy | } | 62,755 | 10 | 0 |
| May 25. | | | | |
| For raising 667,916 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by a lottery | . | 667,916 | 13 | 4 |
| June 14. | | | | |
| For raising 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills | . | 3,500,000 | 0 | 0 |
| June 18.. | | | | |
| For raising 1,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills | . | 1,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| June 19. | | | | |
| For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills | . | 3,000,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Total of ways and means | . | 33,980,672 | 3 | 4 |

Number of Bankruptcies, from the Year 1748 to the End of the Year 1797.

| Year. | No. | Year. | No. | Year. | No. | Year. | No. |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1748 | — 130 | 1762 | — 230 | 1776 | — 435 | 1790 | — 585 |
| 1749 | — 91 | 1763 | — 243 | 1777 | — 535 | 1791 | — 583 |
| 1750 | — 169 | 1764 | — 322 | 1778 | — 656 | 1792 | — 636 |
| 1751 | — 172 | 1765 | — 239 | 1779 | — 522 | 1793 | — 1302 |
| 1752 | — 153 | 1766 | — 342 | 1780 | — 458 | 1794 | — 816 |
| 1753 | — 242 | 1767 | — 360 | 1781 | — 458 | 1795 | — 703 |
| 1754 | — 238 | 1768 | — 351 | 1782 | — 558 | 1796 | — 760 |
| 1755 | — 223 | 1769 | — 344 | 1783 | — 532 | 1797 | — 869 |
| 1756 | — 279 | 1770 | — 397 | 1784 | — 521 | | |
| 1757 | — 274 | 1771 | — 433 | 1785 | — 502 | | |
| 1758 | — 315 | 1772 | — 523 | 1786 | — 510 | | |
| 1759 | — 254 | 1773 | — 507 | 1787 | — 509 | | |
| 1760 | — 221 | 1774 | — 337 | 1788 | — 707 | | |
| 1761 | — 182 | 1775 | — 550 | 1789 | — 562 | | |
| | | | | | | Total amount from 1748 to 1797 | 21,645 |

STATE

S T A T E - P A P E R S.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, 11th January, 1798.

G. R.

HIS majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of lords, that he has received various advices of preparations made, and measures taken, in France, apparently in pursuance of a design openly and repeatedly professed, of attempting an invasion of these kingdoms. His majesty is firmly persuaded that, by the zeal, courage, and exertions, of his faithful people, struggling for every thing that is most dear to them, such an enterprize, if attempted, will terminate in the confusion and ruin of those who may be engaged in it. But his majesty, in his anxious concern for the welfare and safety of his people, feels it incumbent on him to omit no suitable precaution which may contribute to their defence at so important a conjuncture. His majesty, therefore, in pursuance of the act of parliament passed last session, for providing for the augmentation of the militia, thinks it right to make this communication to the house of lords, to the end, that his majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as he shall think necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.

VOL. XL.

Protest on the Rejection of the Duke of Bedford's Motion for the Dismissal of Ministers, as entered on the Journals.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE we feel it to be a duty prescribed to us by necessity, and dictated equally by our love for our country, and by our regard for the person and dignity of the king himself, to declare our solemn and conscientious conviction, that nothing short of an immediate dismissal of his majesty's present ministers, and a change of the system on which they have conducted the government, can enable us to support our present accumulated distress, or afford us a chance of averting the dangers with which we are, on all sides, surrounded, and which, if not encountered with adequate fortitude and wisdom, threaten certain ruin and dissolution to the power, laws, and liberties, of these kingdoms.

Bedford.
Norfolk.
Holland.

Protest entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords, against the Bill intituled, "An Act for making perpetual, subject to Redemption and Purchase, in the Manner therein

therein stated, the several Sums of Money now charged in Great Britain as a Land-Tax, for One Year, from the 25th Day of March, 1798."

Dissentient,

1st, **B**ECAUSE, unwilling to depart from the established principle of the land-tax being voted annually; a principle, we conceive, founded on the most solid basis of political wisdom.

2dly, Because the introduction of so serious an innovation, as rendering the land-tax perpetual, appears to us neither beneficial to the public, nor just to individuals. That tax being, from its very nature, unequal, and liable to fluctuation from a variety of causes, cannot furnish any reasonable ground on which to establish one permanent uniform plan of financial operation.

3dly, Because the proposed plan of sale or redemption, with a view to the general prosperity of the country, appears totally fallacious, as the mode in which its operation is to take effect cannot but be precarious; and, should the event proposed answer the warmest expectations of the most zealous advocates for the measure, its success can alone be derived from sacrificing the great and constitutional interests of the country, namely, the landed, to the more precarious and fluctuating interest of the monied property of the kingdom.

4thly, Because, admitting under the present circumstances the necessity of great and extraordinary exertions, in order to protect our liberties, constitution, and country, against those unprecedented dangers with which we are menaced,

we still think the country equal to resist successfully every probable degree of difficulty and danger, provided its resources are applied with wisdom as well as energy. The land undoubtedly must, in common with every other species of property, bear its part of the public burdens; and, be the weight of those burdens more or less, according to the pressure of particular times and circumstances, we never can approve the endangering the constitutional importance of that interest which has hitherto been regarded as so materially connected with the legal independence and rational freedom of our country.

It is upon these grounds we object to this bill passing into a law; and, actuated by no other motives than the conscientious discharge of our duty, and the most earnest wishes for the prosperity of the state, we have thought it necessary to record our dissent, in order that whatever inconvenience, vexation, or more serious calamity, may arise from such a measure being adopted, we may not appear responsible for its consequences, either to the present age, or to posterity.

Leeds.

Newark (duke of Leinster).

Caernarvon.

Suffolk and Berkshire.

Protest on the Motion for a Committee to inquire into the State of Ireland being negatived.

Dissentient,

1st, **B**ECAUSE it was the duty of the king's ministers to have advised his majesty to make an early, regular, and constant communication of the disastrous events which

which have happened in Ireland, and of the deplorable state of that kingdom, to both houses of parliament, and more especially to this house, who are the great hereditary council of the crown, and who never have been, or can be, consulted on a question of greater importance to the safety of the British empire, than that which was the subject of this day's debate.

2dly, Because ministers having studiously withheld from the knowledge of this house a fact of such transcendent magnitude and importance as the existence of a rebellion raging in Ireland, and having employed a great portion of the supplies granted, and of the army voted by parliament for the service of Great Britain, without the advice, consent, or knowledge of parliament, for the suppression of such rebellion, are guilty of a high aggravation of those unwarrantable acts, and criminal omissions, by refusing to yield to a motion so temperate, so prudent, and so necessary, as that which has been submitted to this house; whereby this house is, in effect, deprived of all means of performing their duty to the king and to the country, or of acting at all in their constitutional capacity as council to the crown, in a case of the most urgent necessity and imminent danger to his majesty's person and government, and to the safety of the whole empire.

3dly, That, considering the nature and all the circumstances of the case, we hold that a refusal, on the part of ministers, to consent to an inquiry into these transactions, is equivalent to an acknowledgement of consciousness in them that

the calamities of Ireland originate in their own pernicious councils, and will not bear investigation; and that such refusal may be attended with the most fatal consequences—for all which we hold them to be responsible to his majesty, to parliament, and to the nation.

Bedford.

Devonshire (dissentient for the first reason).

Dorchester.

Rawdon.

Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

Holland.

Ponsonby.

Leinster.

Suffolk and Berkshire.

Shaftesbury.

Norfolk, E. M.

Scarborough.

*Message to the House of Commons,
from his Majesty, 20th April.*

G. R.

HIS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that, from various advices received by his majesty, it appears that preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike stores are now carried on with considerable and increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of attempting the invasion of his majesty's dominions; and that in this design the enemy is encouraged by the communications and correspondence of traitorous and disaffected persons and societies in these kingdoms.

His majesty places the firmest reliance (under the blessing of divine Providence) on the bravery of his
P 2 fleets

fleets and armies, and on the zeal, public spirit, and unshaken courage, of his faithful people, already manifested in the voluntary exertions of all ranks of his subjects for the general defence, more than ever necessary, at a moment when they are called upon to defend all that is most dear to them.

His majesty, in pursuance of the act passed in the last session of parliament for raising a provisional body of cavalry, has thought it right to give directions for such regiments of cavalry to be drawn out and embodied; and it is also his majesty's intention to order the part not yet embodied, of the augmentation made to the militia, under the act of the last session, to be forthwith embodied and drawn out, in pursuance of his majesty's communication already made to the house of commons on this subject.

His majesty feels it incumbent on him to make the fullest use of the extensive means provided by parliament for the national defence; but he feels it, at the same time, under the circumstances that he has stated, necessary to recommend it to the house of commons to consider, without delay, of such farther measures as may enable his majesty to defeat the wicked machinations of disaffected persons within these realms, and to guard against the designs of the enemy, either abroad or at home.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 18th June.

G. R.

HIS majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the officers, non-com-

missioned officers, and privates of different regiments of the militia of this kingdom have made to his majesty a voluntary tender of their services to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces of this kingdom, to suppress the rebellion now unhappily existing in Ireland.

His majesty has received, with the utmost sensibility, this striking and seasonable proof of their ardent zeal and attachment to his person and government, and of affectionate concern for the interests and safety of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects in Ireland: and conceiving that the being able to avail himself of this new and distinguished instance of public spirit may eventually be of the utmost importance for the preservation of the lives and property of his Irish subjects; for the speedy and effectual suppression of the rebellion; for the defence of Great Britain itself, and for the general interests and security of the empire;—he recommends it to his faithful commons to consider of such provisions as may be necessary for empowering his majesty for a time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the services of such parts of his militia forces in this kingdom, as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland at this important conjuncture.

Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, on the Rejection of the Duke of Bedford's Motion for a Change of System in Ireland.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE the house, having thought fit to reject the various motions respecting the calamitous

tous situation of Ireland, which have been submitted to their consideration, in the first instance, for inquiry—in the second, for lenity and conciliation—and in the last, for putting an immediate stop, at least, to the rigorous proceedings of the army in Ireland, where, under the name of a system of coercion, we have reason to fear that atrocious cruelties have been practised, we think it our duty to record the nature of the evidence on which we have proceeded, and on which our conviction of the truth of the facts is founded, and on that evidence to appeal in our own justification to our country, to the world, and to posterity. We affirm, that the facts are undisputed, that the evidence of them is irresistible, and that the effects produced by this barbarous system convict the authors and advisers of such a total want of wisdom, even for their own pretended purposes, as can only be exceeded by the shocking cruelty of the principles avowed, and of the practice recommended by them.—We shall state some of the documents we refer to, in the order of time in which they have appeared, in order to shew that this system of coercion has not been hastily resorted to on the spur of an instant necessity, but that it was deliberately resolved on long before it could be justified or palliated by any of the pretences or causes which have since been assigned in defence of it.

Dublin-castle, March 3, 1798.

His excellency farther authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, and

to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if, in your opinion, the peace of the realm and the safety of his majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

(Signed) Thomas Pelham.

On the 26th of February, 1798, sir Ralph Abercrombie declared, in public orders, that “the very disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in that kingdom, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.”

On the 18th of April, 1798, the following order was issued by major-general Duff:

The commander-in-chief gives this public notice, that the lord-lieutenant and council have issued orders to him to quarter troops, to press horses and carriages, to demand forage and provisions, and to hold courts martial for the trial of offences of all descriptions, civil and military, with the power of confirming and carrying into execution the sentences of such courts martial, and to issue proclamations.

The commander-in-chief calls on all the general officers to procure of the magistrates the best accounts they can give of the number of arms taken from the yeomanry and the well-affected, of arms that have been concealed, and of pikes that have been made, which are to be recovered

P 3

and

and taken possession of by the military.

They are also to communicate to the people, through the priests, and by one or two men selected from each town-land, the purpose of the following notice.

That the order, if complied with, will be a sign of their general repentance; and not only forgiveness will follow, but protection.

That they must be sensible that it is infinitely better for them to remain at home, quietly minding their own affairs, than committing acts which must bring on the ruin of themselves and of their families.

As it will be impossible, in some degree, to prevent the innocent from suffering with the guilty, the innocent have means of redress, by informing against those who have engaged in unlawful associations, and robbing houses of arms and money.

The people must be very ignorant not to know, notwithstanding the fair promises of the French, that they have first deceived and then plundered every country into which they have come. And they are therefore forewarned, that, in case of invasion from the French, if they should attempt to join the enemy, or communicate with him, or join in any insurrection, they will be immediately put to death, and their houses and properties destroyed.

The general officers call on the people to know why they should be less attached to the government now than they were a year ago, when they shewed so much loyalty in assisting his majesty's troops to oppose the landing of the French. Is it not because they

have been seduced by wicked men?

Why should they think themselves bound by oaths into which they have been seduced or terrified?

The people are requested to bring in their arms to the magistrates or commanding-officers in the neighbourhood, who have directions to receive them, and no questions will be asked.

(Signed) James Duff, maj gen.

On the 7th of May, 1798, the following orders were issued by lieutenant-general sir James Stewart.

Whereas it has been represented to lieutenant-general sir James Stewart, that in some parts of the country, where it has been necessary to station troops at free quarters, for the restoration of public tranquillity, that general subscriptions of money have been entered into by the inhabitants to purchase provisions for the troops, by which means, the end proposed, of making the burden fall as much as possible on the guilty, is entirely defeated, by making it fall, in a light proportion, on the whole, and thereby easing and protecting the guilty; it has been thought proper to direct, that whenever that practice has been adopted, or shall be attempted, the general officers commanding divisions of the southern district, shall immediately double, treble, or quadruple the number of soldiers so stationed, and shall send out regular foraging parties to provide provisions for the troops, in the quantities mentioned in the former notice, bearing date the 27th day of April, 1798, and that they shall move them from station

tion to station through the district or barony, until arms are surrendered and tranquillity be perfectly restored, and until it is reported to the general officers, by the gentlemen holding landed property, and those who are employed in collecting the public revenues and tythes, that all rents, taxes, and tythes are completely paid up."

*Adjutant-General's-Office, Cork,
May 7, 1798.*

On the 11th of June, 1798, major-general Nugent, after holding out certain offers and terms to the insurgents, proceed to declare, "That, should the above injunctions not be complied with within the time specified, major-general Nugent will proceed to set fire to and wholly destroy the towns of Killiney, Killileagh, Ballynahinch, Sallitfield, and every cottage and farm-house in the vicinity of those places, carry off the stock and cattle, and put every one to the sword who may be found in arms.

"It particularly behoves all the well-affected persons who are now with the rebels from constraint, and who, it is known, form a considerable part of their numbers, to exert themselves in having these terms complied with, as it is the only opportunity there will be of rescuing themselves and properties from the indiscriminate vengeance of an army necessarily let loose upon them."

But, finally, the document which appears to us the most important of all, and to which we earnestly invite and press the attention of the house, is a public order issued about the middle of the present month of June, 1793, in the following words:

"Major-general Morrison requests that officers commanding corps, will give the strictest orders to prevent setting fire to houses or buildings of any kind, a mode of punishment that can lead only to the most pernicious consequences, and that seldom or ever falls on the guilty, but on the contrary, on the landlord, the wife and children of the criminals, who, however iniquitous the husband or father, ought always to be spared and protected.

"And he has likewise received orders from lieutenant-general Lake, that free quarters are no longer to be permitted, neither are foraging parties to be allowed to go out, unless under the care of an officer, who is to be responsible for every act, in order that the friends of government, the helpless and infirm, may not be involved in one indiscriminate mass of destruction with the rebellious and ill-disposed."

The prohibition contained in this order, wise and humane as it is, is equivalent to a history of all the horrible transactions it alludes to, and establishes the truth of them by evidence, which cannot be disputed or suspected, and also confirms in the strongest terms, and on the irresistible proof derived from practice and experience, that such a mode of punishment seldom or ever falls on the guilty, but on women and children, who ought always to be spared and protected; and that its principle, if not its only operation and effect, is to involve the friends of government, the helpless and infirm, in one mass of destruction with the rebellious and ill-disposed.

Bedford.

Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

Ponsonby.

P 4

Ponsonby.
Holland.
Albemarle.
King.
Thanet.

Protest of Lord Oxford.

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE I was shocked that an address to the king, upon so awful a subject as the present state of Ireland, should have been rejected, without one single syllable being said by the king's ministers upon the subject.

2. Because I look back with pride to that law which our ancestors obtained, which says, "No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed. Nor will we not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man. We will not deny or defer to any man either justice or right." And because I agree with the commentary of that great lawyer, sir Edward Coke, upon this chapter of Magna Charta, wherein he says, "No man destroyed;" that is, fore-judged of life or limb, disherited, or put to torture or death. And because I think that to flog, picket, and half-hang any of our fellow-subjects, in order to extort confession, is "a putting to torture," and, therefore, not only outrageous to humanity, but directly against Magna Charta, the great corner-stone of our laws and liberties. And whoever have dared to put to torture any of our fellow-

subjects in Ireland, or elsewhere, have violated the great charter, have betrayed their country, and ought speedily to be brought to condign punishment, for these their treasonable and detestable practices. And whoever have dared openly and publicly to justify torture, upon the ground of policy, deserve the same execrations from their countrymen, as have been usually given to the cruelest inquisitors of Rome.

3. Because, "whenever our brethren and fellow-subjects in Ireland, or elsewhere, are flogged, picketed, half-hanged, and otherwise tortured, in order to extort confession, I hold it to be the bounden duty of every man, in his different station, to use all the legal means in his power to declare his abhorrence of such diabolical and tyrannical measures.

4. Because I hold, that when an Irishman is tortured, an Englishman is tortured; for the same men, who, in violation of the laws of their country, and of every dictate of humanity, dare to put Irishmen to torture, will not hesitate, when they think it expedient, to put Englishmen to torture also.

5. Because it is a mortal truth that cannot be denied, that, if men have been driven, by flogging and by tortures, contrary to all law and reason, into open resistance, the guilt and consequences of that resistance are imputable to those who flog and torture, contrary to all law and reason, and not to those who are thereby driven to resistance.

6. Because to flog and torture men into open resistance, for the sake of employing a power in the hands of those who flog and torture, to crush that resistance, and thereby to make themselves more secure,

secure, is not only a refinement of cruelty, against which law, reason, justice, humanity, and nature, cry aloud; but which the experience of all times teaches us will never answer.

7. Because the history of the world tells us, that it is no small matter which provokes a people to throw off their allegiance; and that when they have thrown off their allegiance, attention to their just demands, and protection in the enjoyment of their rights, liberties, and properties, are the only means by which an allegiance worth having can be recovered.

8. Because I think the times call for a declaration of these principles, and that to act upon them is the only method of healing the present discontents, and preventing the speedy ruin of our country

Oxford and Mortimer.

Speech of his Majesty to both Houses, on proroguing the Parliament, June 29.

My lords and gentlemen,

BY the measures adopted during the present session, you have amply fulfilled the solemn and unanimous assurance which I received from you at its commencement.

The example of your firmness and constancy has been applauded and followed by my subjects in every rank and condition in life: a spirit of voluntary and ardent exertion, diffused through every part of the kingdom, has strengthened and confirmed our internal security: the same sentiments have continued to animate my troops of every description; and my fleets have met the menaces of invasion, by block-

ing up all our enemies in their principal ports.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The extensive and equitable scheme of contribution, by which so large a share of our expences will be defrayed within the year, has defeated the expectations of those who had vainly hoped to exhaust our means, and to destroy our public credit. You have been enabled to avail yourselves of farther resources from a commerce increased in extent and vigour, notwithstanding the difficulties of war, and have had the singular satisfaction of deriving, at the same moment, large additional aid from individual exertions of unexampled zeal, liberality, and patriotism.

The provision which has been made for the redemption of the land-tax, has also established a system which, in its progressive operation, may produce the happiest consequences, by the increase of our resources, the diminution of our debt, and the support of public credit.

My lords and gentlemen,

The designs of the disaffected, carried on in concert with our inveterate enemies, have been unremittingly pursued; but have been happily and effectually counteracted in this kingdom, by the general zeal and loyalty of my subjects.

In Ireland they have broken out into the most criminal acts of open rebellion. Every effort has been employed on my part to subdue this dangerous spirit, which is equally hostile to the interests and safety of every part of the British empire. I cannot too strongly commend the unshaken fidelity and valour of my regular, fencible, and militia forces in

in Ireland: and that determined spirit with which my yeomanry and volunteer forces of that kingdom have stood forward in the defence of the lives and properties of their fellow-subjects, and in support of the lawful government.

The striking and honourable proof of alacrity and public spirit, which so many of my seneible and militia regiments in this kingdom have manifested on this occasion, has already received the fullest testimony of the approbation of Parliament.

This conduct, personally so honourable to the individuals, affords the strongest pledge, both of the military ardour which actuates this valuable part of our national defence, and of their affectionate concern for the safety and happiness of Ireland, which are essentially connected with the general interests of the British empire.

With the advantage of this support, and after the distinguished and important success which has recently attended the operations of my arms against the principal force of the rebels, I trust the time is fast approaching, when those now seduced from their allegiance will be brought to a just sense of the guilt they have incurred, and will entitle themselves to forgiveness, and to that protection which it is my constant wish to afford to every class and condition of my subjects, who manifest their desire to pay a due obedience to the laws.

This temporary interruption of tranquillity, and all its attendant calamities, must be attributed to those pernicious principles which have been industriously propagated in that country, and which, wherever they have prevailed, have ne-

ver failed to produce the most disastrous effects.

With such warnings before us, sensible of the danger which we are called upon to repel, and of the blessings we have to preserve, let us continue firmly united in a determined resistance to the designs of our enemies, and in defence of that constitution which has been found by experience to insure to us, in so eminent a degree, public liberty, national strength, and the security and comfort of all classes of the community.

It is only by perseverance in this line of conduct, that we can hope, under the continuance of that divine protection which we have so abundantly experienced, to conduct this arduous contest to a happy issue, and to maintain, undiminished, the security, honour, and lasting prosperity of the country.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses at the Meeting of Parliament, 20th November, 1798.

My lords and gentlemen.

THE events which have taken place in the course of the present year, and the signal success which, by the blessing of Providence, has attended my arms, have been productive of the happiest consequences, and have essentially promoted the prosperity and glory of our country.

The unexampled series of our naval triumphs has received fresh splendour from the memorable and decisive action in which a detachment of my fleet, under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelson, attacked and almost totally destroyed

ed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation: by this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize, of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed at this conjuncture, by the emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, have shown that those powers are impressed with a just sense of the present crisis; and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encouragement to other states to adopt that vigorous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone consistent with security or honour.

The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonstrations of zeal and spirit among all ranks of my subjects, have deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coasts of this kingdom.

In Ireland, the rebellion which they had instigated has been curbed and repressed; the troops which they landed for its support have been compelled to surrender; and the armaments since destined for the same purpose have, by the vigilance

and activity of my squadrons, been captured or dispersed. The views and principles of those who, in concert with our inveterate enemy, have long planned the subversion of our constitution, have been fully detected and exposed, and their treasons made manifest to the world. Those whom they had misled or seduced, must now be awakened to their duty; and a just sense of the miseries and horror which these traitorous designs have produced, must impress on the minds of all my faithful subjects the necessity of continuing to repel, with firmness, every attack on the laws and established government of their country.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

Under the unavoidable pressure of protracted war, it is a great satisfaction to me to observe, that the produce of the public revenue has proved fully adequate to the increase of our permanent expenditure; that the national credit has been maintained and improved; and that the commerce and industry of my subjects have continued to flourish in a degree hitherto unknown.

The situation in which we are placed, unhappily renders the continuance of heavy expences indispensable for the public safety. But the state of our resources, and the good sense and public spirit which prevail through every part of my kingdom, will, I trust, enable you to provide the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to my people, and with as little addition as possible to the permanent burdens of the state. The progress made towards such a system by the measures adopted in the last session, and the aid given to public credit

credit by the plan for the redemption of the land-tax, have been attended with the most beneficial effect, which you will, I am persuaded, omit no opportunity to confirm and improve.

My lords and gentlemen,

I rely with confidence on the continuance of your exertions, to enable me ultimately to conduct the great contest in which we are engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion.

We have surmounted many and great difficulties. Our perseverance in a just cause has been rewarded with distinguished success; and our present situation, compared with that of other countries, sufficiently proves how much, in a period of general danger and calamity, the security and happiness of the British nation have depended (under the blessing of Providence) on its own constancy, its energy, and its virtue.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 22d. Nov.

HIS majesty having taken into his consideration the signal and meritorious services performed by rear-admiral lord Nelson, in the memorable and decisive victory obtained, over a superior French fleet off the mouth of the Nile, not only highly honourable to himself, but eminently beneficial to these kingdoms; and his majesty being desirous to confer upon him some considerable and lasting mark of his royal favour, in testimony of his approbation of his great services, and therefore to give and grant to the said rear-admiral lord Nelson, and the two next heirs male to whom

the title of baron Nelson of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, shall descend, for their lives the nett sum of 2000*l.* per annum: but his majesty not having it in his power to grant any annuity to that amount, or for a period beyond his own life, his majesty recommends it to his faithful commons to consider of the means of enabling his majesty to extend and secure an annuity of 2000*l.* per annum to rear-admiral lord Nelson, and the two next heirs male on whom the title of baron Nelson of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, shall descend, in such manner as shall be most advantageous to their interests.

Protest of Lords Holland and Oxford, against the Assessed-Tax Bill.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE, we conceive that, in the present circumstances, no grant of money by parliament can alone be sufficient to extricate the country from its alarming and critical situation.

When the exigencies of the state are such as to demand large supplies from the people, our duty is not confined to the bare necessity of the case, or the mode of levying the money. We are not, from the pressure of circumstances, and the approach of danger, hastily to concur in laying additional burthens on our fellow-subjects, without insuring to the public a wise application of the money so raised, and without due precautions for directing the efforts of the people to their only legitimate object, the benefit of the community. A neglect of this, the most important of all parliamentary

mentary duties, must produce, and in our opinions it has already produced, consequences the most fatal to the dignity of the nation, the stability of the government, and the interests of the people. In the unconditional compliance with the demands of the executive government again proposed as the remedy, we perceive the real and fatal source of the evil. Year after year his majesty's ministers have grounded their application to parliament upon the urgency of the occasion, and the extraordinary exigences of the state. To satisfy their demands, to enable them to encounter the dangers, and remove the difficulties in which we were involved, every article of luxury, or convenience has been taxed, the resources of the country have been exhausted, and sums unparalleled in history have been entrusted to their disposal; yet, year after year, the occasion has become more urgent, the exigences more pressing, the difficulties more alarming, and the dangers more immediate. The security of the nation has been shaken in the same proportion as the prosperity of the country has been impaired, external danger has kept pace with internal distress, and the exertions which have impoverished the people, and shaken our credit, have purchased nothing but the loss of national honour, the defection of allies, and the failure of every great object of the war.

If the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland, aided by grants, lavished beyond the example of the most improvident times, assisted by the most powerful monarchs of Europe, has proved insufficient in the hands of ministers, to secure the blessings of peace, or even to avert the present awful circumstances of

the country, it seems inconsistent with reason to expect that the painful efforts of an empire, whose means are exhausted by taxation, whose spirits are damped by failure, and whose affections are in part alienated by oppression, can, without a single ally, under the direction of the same men, resist with effect, a powerful and exasperated enemy, elated with success, strengthened by conquest, and supported by the united powers of Holland and of Spain. In this situation of affairs, to persevere in the system which has produced it, to confide in the ministers, who, with the aid of so many millions, have been unable to avert it, evinces, in our opinion, a total disregard of the common maxims of prudence, a wanton rejection of the lessons of experience, and a determined neglect of the most important of our parliamentary duties.

Under the persuasion, therefore, that the dangers with which we are now threatened are the result of force, directed to objects at once impracticable, and foreign to the interests of this country; that they are the necessary consequences of a misapplication of the public money, and the natural fruits of the incapacity and profusion of those to whom it has been improvidently entrusted; we deemed it our duty not to sanction any grant to the executive government, until a pledge was given to the house, by the removal of his majesty's ministers, of a complete alteration in his councils. We held it neither just to impose, nor reasonable to require, any additional sacrifices from our fellow-subjects, until some prospect was held out to the people, of a reform of that house which had granted, and a censure of those ministers who

who have lavished, sums so enormous, without any benefit resulting to the community. We thought, that while his majesty's affairs were conducted by those who originally engaged in this calamitous contest, and who can neither carry on war or negotiation with honour, advantage, or success, no grant of money by parliament, no sacrifices on the part of the people, could afford a reasonable hope that the blessings of peace would be speedily restored or permanently secured. We imagined, that, until some earnest was given of a radical alteration of the system of terror and coercion in Ireland, of the repeal of the two bills, the one intituled, "An act for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts," and the other intituled, "An act for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies," of economy in public expenditure, and diminution of the enormous patronage and influence of the crown, we were not warranted in expecting that cheerful co-operation of the people, which, being at once the indication and result of a reciprocal confidence between the government and the governed, can only be restored by the restoration of the ancient and happy practice of a constitution undisfigured by coercive laws, of a parliament speaking the sense of the people, and a ministry dependent on the voice of the parliament.

Because it appears to us that any attempt to raise the supplies within the year, in the present exhausted state of the country, must be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger.

Because, were we to allow that

the principle of raising the supplies by contribution, instead of loan, was just, wise, and expedient, yet, under the present ministers, it would appear to us attended with the utmost danger, as the real expences of the year have generally exceeded, by nearly one-half, their calculations; and thus any regulations, for the equal distribution of the burdens which were adopted upon the first calculation, might be rendered ineffectual by subsequent and most extensive demands.

Because, if the bill is intended as a tax upon expenditure, its retrospective operation is arbitrary and cruel in the extreme, and altogether repugnant to the usages of our ancestors, the faith of civilized governments, and the common dictates of humanity and justice. If it is intended as a tax upon income, in our opinion, the criterion proposed is objectionable and inadequate; and, above all, as income is of various descriptions, sometimes arising from permanent and disposable capital, sometimes from precarious or temporary possessions, and sometimes from labour, talents, or industry, we deem any attempt to proportion the burden to the income, in itself unjust, unequal, and impolitic. If it is intended as a tax upon property, neither in the original criterion, viz. the assessed taxes of 1795, nor in the proposed relief, do we recognize any just principles of taxation, or perceive any fair or adequate method suggested for the impartial distribution of the burden.

Because the relief proposed in the bill, to those who may, by the increase of their assessed taxes, be liable to pay more than the tenth of their income, requires a disclosure

sure of their pecuniary circumstances, which is contrary to the customs and prejudices of Englishmen, and repugnant to the principles of the constitution; and which, to persons engaged in commerce or trade, must be attended with yet greater inconveniencies than the payment of more than the tenth of their income. Farthermore, this regulation appears to us an indirect breach of the faith so often and so sacredly pledged to the stockholder; for, should the whole of the income, of any individual claiming this relief, consist in a dividend upon stock, a tenth of that income is immediately sacrificed, and the dividend, in violation of the faith of the parliament and the nation, diminished one-tenth by the intervention of government.

Because the operation of this bill is not confined to a definite period of time, but, by the most wanton violation of justice, remains in force till a certain sum is produced; thus exacting, from the honest, the deficiencies which may have been occasioned by accidental circumstances, by the designs or the distress of individuals, by the favour or the neglect of the collectors.

(Signed) Holland.
Oxford.

Provisional Treaty between his Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at St. Petersburg, the 29th (13th) of December, 1793.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible trinity.

HIS majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in consequence of the alliance and friend-

ship subsisting between them, being desirous to enter into a concert of measures, such as may contribute in the most efficacious manner to oppose the successes of the French arms and the extension of the principles of anarchy, and to bring about a solid peace, together with the re-establishment of the balance of Europe, have judged it worthy their most serious consideration and earnest solicitude, to endeavour, if possible, to reduce France within its former limits, as they subsisted before the revolution. They have, in consequence, agreed to conclude a provisional treaty; and, for this purpose, they have named as their plenipotentiaries, namely, his majesty the king of Great Britain, sir Chas. Whitworth, K. B. his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Russia; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the chancellor prince Beshorodko, a privy-counsellor, director-general of the posts, senator, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Nefsky, of St. Anne, and grand cross of those of St. John of Jerusalem and of St. Vladimir, of the first class; the sieur Korschouby, vice-chancellor, privy-counsellor, and chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Nefsky, and grand cross of that of St. Viadimir, of the second class; the sieur Rostopchin, a privy-counsellor, member of the college for foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Nefsky, and of that of St. Anne, of the first class; who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have concluded and agreed upon the following articles:—

Article I. The two contracting powers, in the intention of inducing the

the king of Prussia to take an active part in the war against the common enemy, propose to employ all their endeavours to obtain that end. Immediately on his Prussian majesty's consenting to this measure, his imperial majesty of all the Russias is ready to afford him a succour of land-forces, and he destines, for that purpose, 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with the necessary artillery, upon the following conditions:

II. This body of troops shall be put in motion as soon as the high contracting parties shall be assured of the determination of his Prussian majesty being conformable to what has been before stated.

With regard to the farther movements of this corps, and its combined operations with the Prussian troops, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias will arrange them with his majesty the king of Prussia; and communication shall also be made of them to his Britannic majesty, in order that, by such a concert between the high allies, the military operations against the enemy may be made with the greater success, and that the object which is proposed may the more easily be ascertained.

III. In order to facilitate to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the means to take such an active part in the present war against the French, his Britannic majesty engages to furnish the pecuniary succours herein-after specified; his imperial majesty of all the Russias nevertheless reserving to himself the right to recal the aforesaid body of troops into his own territories, if, by any unforeseen event, the whole of this pecuniary succour should not be furnished him.

IV. The amount and the nature

of these pecuniary succours have been fixed and regulated upon the following footing:

1st, In order to enable his imperial majesty of all the Russias to expedite, as soon as possible, and in the most convenient manner, the troops destined to be employed in favour of the good cause, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages, as soon as he shall receive advice that the Russian troops, in consequence of the determination of his majesty the king of Prussia, are to march, in order to co-operate with those of his said majesty, to pay for the first and the most urgent expences, 225,000*l.* sterling, dividing the payments in such manner, as that 75,000*l.* sterling should be paid as soon as the troops shall have passed the Russian frontiers; that the second payment, amounting to the same sum, should be made on the expiration of the first three months, and on the commencement of the fourth; and that the third payment, completing the sum total, should be made in like manner, after three months and on the beginning of the seventh.

2d, His majesty the king of Great Britain engages also to furnish to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias a subsidy of 75,000*l.* sterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the corps of troops above-mentioned shall pass the Russian frontiers. This subsidy shall be paid at the commencement of each month, and being destined for the appointments and maintenance of the troops, it shall be continued during the space of twelve months, unless peace should be made sooner.

3d, The two high contracting parties, besides, shall come to an understanding before the expiration of the

the term of a year above specified, whether, in case the war should not be terminated, the subsidy above-mentioned shall be continued.

V. The two high contracting parties engage not to make either peace or armistice without including each other, and without concerting with each other; but if, through any unforeseen events, his Britannic majesty should be under the necessity of terminating the war, and thereby of discontinuing the payment of the subsidy, before the expiration of the twelve months above stipulated, he engages, in that case, to pay three months advance of the subsidy agreed upon of 75,000*l.* sterling, reckoning from the day on which the information shall be received by the general commanding the Russian troops.

VI. In like manner, if any aggression on Russia should take place, by which his majesty, the emperor, should be obliged to recall his army into his own dominions, the above-mentioned subsidy shall, in such case only, be paid up to the day on which the army shall re-enter the Russian frontiers.

VII. His majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, shall come to an understanding with his ally, his majesty the king of Prussia, respecting all the other expences which this corps of troops and its operations may require. His Britannic majesty shall take no farther share in those expences than the sum of 37,500*l.* sterling per month, during all the time that the above-mentioned troops shall be employed, by virtue of this treaty, for the common cause. That sum shall be advanced by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; but his Britannic majesty acknowledges it as a

debt due by Great Britain to Russia, which he will discharge after the conclusion of a peace made by mutual agreement.

The mode and dates of the payment shall then be settled by mutual concert, according to the reciprocal convenience of the two allied powers.

VIII. The above-mentioned subsidies shall, in this manner, be considered as a sufficient succour for all expences, including those which may be necessary for the return of the Russian army.

IX. This treaty shall be considered as provisional; and its execution, as it has been stated above, shall not take place until his majesty, the king of Prussia, shall be determined to turn his forces against the common enemy; but, in case he should not do so, the two high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right and the power to take, for the good of their affairs, and the success of the salutary end they may have in view, other measures analogous to the times and circumstances, and to agree then upon those which, in such a case, they shall judge to be most necessary, adopting always, as a basis, (in as much as it shall be compatible) the stipulations of the present treaty. His imperial majesty of all the Russias, in order, nevertheless, to give a still more striking proof of his sincere dispositions, and of his desire to be as much as possible useful to his allies, promises to put, during the course of the negotiation with his Prussian majesty, and even previous to its termination, the above-mentioned corps of 45,000 men upon such a footing that they may immediately be employed wherever, according to a previous concert

amongst the allies, the utility of the common cause shall require.

X. The present provisional treaty shall be ratified by his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged here in the space of two months, to be computed from the day of the signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain and the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and have affixed the seals of our arms thereto.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

(L. S.) A. P. de Bolsheroedko.

(L. S.) Kotlichoubey.

(L. S.) Rostopchin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Explanatory Article, signed at London, the 15th of March, 1798, to be added to the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, signed at London, the 19th of November, 1794.

WHEREAS, by the twenty-eighth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the United States, signed at London, on the 19th of November, 1794, it was agreed, that the contracting parties would, from time to time, readily treat of, and concerning such, farther articles as might be proposed; that they would sincerely endeavour so to form such

articles, as that they might conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual satisfaction and friendship; and that such articles, after having been duly ratified, should be added to, and make a part of that treaty: and whereas difficulties have arisen, with respect to the execution of so much of the fifth article of the said treaty, as requires, that the commissioners appointed under the same should, in their description, particularise the latitude and longitude of the source of the river, which may be found to be the one truly intended in the treaty of peace between his Britannic majesty and the United States, under the name of the river St. Croix, by reason whereof it is expedient that the said commissioners should be released from the obligation of conforming to the provisions of the said article in this respect: the undersigned being respectively named by his Britannic majesty and the United States of America their plenipotentiaries for the purpose of treating and concluding such articles as may be proper to be added to the said treaty in conforming to the above-mentioned stipulation, and having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed and concluded, and do hereby declare, in the name of his Britannic majesty and of the United States of America, that the commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the said treaty, shall not be obliged to particularise in their description the latitude and longitude of the source of the river, which may be found to be the one truly intended in the aforesaid treaty of peace, under the name of the river St. Croix, but they shall be at liberty to describe the said river in such

such other manner as they may judge expedient, which description shall be considered as a complete execution of the duty required of the said commissioners in this respect by the article aforesaid. And to the end that no uncertainty may hereafter exist on this subject, it is farther agreed, that, as soon as may be, after the decision of the said commissioners, measures shall be concerted between the government of the United States and his Britannic majesty's governors or lieutenant-governors in America, in order to erect and keep in repair a suitable monument at the place ascertained and described to be the source of the said river, St. Croix, which measures shall immediately thereupon, and as often afterwards as may be requisite, be duly executed on both sides with punctuality and good faith.

This explanatory article, when the same shall have been ratified by his majesty, and by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be added to, and make a part of, the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States, signed at London on the 19th day of November, 1794, and shall be permanently binding upon his majesty and the United States.

In witness whereof, We, the said undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty and the United States of America have signed this present article, and have caused to be affixed thereto the seal of our arms. Done at London, this 15th day of March, 1798.

Grenville, (L. S.) Rufus King.

Protest entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords against a Bill, intituled, "An Act empowering his Majesty for a Time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the Services of such Parts of his Militia Forces in this Kingdom as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland," passing into a Law.

Dissentient,

BECAUSE, convinced that the very existence of the militia, as a constitutional force, depends upon strictly adhering to that great and fundamental principle on which it was originally established, namely, the internal defence of the kingdom.

Because, any departure (under whatever circumstances) from conditions hitherto considered as sacred, and on which every engagement respecting the militia service has hitherto proceeded, must create distrust with regard to its future destination, and hereafter render it extremely difficult to find persons of property and independence disposed to serve as officers.

Because, however laudable the offers lately made by certain militia corps to serve in Ireland undoubtedly are, it does not appear that those offers can be accepted without manifestly risking great and serious inconvenience to this country; and highly important as it is to crush, as soon as possible, the rebellion now unhappily raging in the sister kingdom, the proposed measure still appears highly exceptionable; nor can it be too much lamented if, from an unfortunate distribution of the forces of the empire at large, tranquillity cannot be restored to Ireland but at the expence of the constitution of Great Britain.

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Leeds.
Protest

Protest entered, by the Duke of Norfolk, upon the Journals of the House of Lords, against a Bill, intituled "An Act empowering his Majesty for a Time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the Services of such Parts of his Militia Forces in this Kingdom as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland," passing into a Law.

Dissentient,

1st. **B**ECAUSE the militia being the only permanent armed force that can be lawfully maintained, and by its institution intended solely for the defence of this kingdom, an offer to carry it out of the kingdom could not be made consistent with the principles of the constitution, and ought not to receive the sanction of parliament.

2d. Because no communication relating to Ireland having been made to this house, or the advice of parliament taken on the state of that kingdom, it can have no means of judging of the propriety of any measures to be taken: and the only source of information being private accounts and unauthenticated publications, which assert that scourges and tortures have in numerous instances been inflicted to extort confessions and accusations, which illegal acts (being generally believed, and not having been contradicted by the lords in his majesty's councils when called upon to do it) might greatly tend to excite those insurrections which the application of this force is intended to suppress.

3d. Because this bill has been passed with a haste and precipitancy incompatible with the cool deliberation requisite for a matter of such

importance, and contrary to the wise regulations and orders of this house.

Norfolk, E. M.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Camden, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, from the Throne, 16th Jan. 1798, at the Meeting of Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament at this important period, and to resort to your deliberation and advice.

When I reflect on the tranquillity which attended the late general election, I have just ground to believe that the wisdom and firmness which were manifested by the late parliament were felt and approved by the nation at large, and that your conduct will be actuated by similar principles in defence of our happy constitution.

It must have given you great concern to learn that his majesty's endeavours to restore the blessings of peace have been again frustrated by the desperate ambition of the French government. I have his majesty's commands to lay before you his royal declaration, and the various papers which passed in the course of the late negotiation, in which the magnanimity and moderation of his majesty were so eminently displayed, as to leave no pretext or colour for the insidious conduct and fallacious statements of the enemy.

His majesty relies with confidence on the spirit of his people of Ireland, who are sensible of their duty to their God, their sovereign, and their country. He knows they are incapable of being intimidated by any threats, or deluded by any of-

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fers; and he implicitly depends on the valour of his regular and militia forces, the active loyalty of the district corps, the courage of the nation, and the prowess of his fleets and armies, for defeating every hostile attempt which may be made on this kingdom.

The late signal victory of admiral lord Duncan, over the Dutch squadron, achieved on their own coasts, with such professional skill and heroic gallantry, has not only added fresh lustre to the glory of his majesty's navy, but has given new strength and security to all his majesty's dominions.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the public accounts and the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I lament that additional burdens are still necessary, in order to maintain the honour and security of the empire in the present exigency; and although, from the state of preparation in which this kingdom stands, some of the demands of former periods will not recur, yet I fear the general expence of the ensuing year will not admit of any considerable reduction. When you reflect on all you have to preserve, and all you have to expect from the enemy you have to combat with, I doubt not the supplies will be cheerfully granted. I shall endeavour, on my part, that they shall be faithfully applied.

My lords and gentlemen,

In consequence of the addresses of the houses of lords and commons, in May last, I directed immediate and vigorous measures to be taken for repressing disaffection in the

northern parts of the kingdom, and for restoring security and confidence to the loyal and well-disposed; the effect of which has been manifested in the return of subordination and industry in that quarter. Other attempts have since been made by the leaders of the disaffected in some parts of the midland and southern districts, with too much success, and emissaries have been employed, and publications have been circulated, by them, to revive religious animosities, and to open prospects of plunder, by which means the lower classes have been excited to commit acts of the most horrid outrage and barbarity. I have to lament that the diligence and activity of the magistrates, though assisted by the troops which have been ordered into that part of the kingdom, have not yet been able entirely to put a stop to those disturbances. Constant vigilance and unremitting exertions continue to be necessary when all means are tried to excite the people to rebellion and revolt; when a systematic plan of assassination is adopted and encouraged; and when the most audacious attempts are made to impede and prevent the administration of justice.

Amidst your exertions for the defence of the kingdom, I must not omit to recommend to you not to relax your attention to its commerce, its agriculture, and its manufactures, and especially to that of the linen; nor will your liberality be less conspicuous in continuing that protection to the protestant charter schools, and the other charitable institutions, under which they have so long flourished.

His majesty has commanded me to declare to you, that his firm resolution is taken in the present ar-

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duous contest. He will not be wanting to his people, but with them will stand or fall in the defence of their religion, and in the preservation of the independence, laws, and liberties, of his kingdoms.

It will be a source of infinite satisfaction to my mind, if, in the execution of my duty, I can contribute to support the generous determination of my sovereign, and maintain the safety and prosperity of his people. I rely upon your advice and co-operation, and, aided by them, I look forward with confidence to a happy issue of the contest in which we are engaged.

Message from his Excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant, to the House of Commons, 22d May, 1798.

Camden.

I Am to acquaint the house of commons, that, in consequence of the disorders which have taken place in the neighbouring counties, and of the preparations which appeared to be making by the disaffected in this metropolis and its vicinity, the magistrates thought it proper to apply to the lord-lieutenant and privy council, to place the city under the provisions of the act passed in the thirty-sixth year of his majesty's reign, more effectually to suppress insurrections and prevent the disturbance of the public peace: this application has been complied with; and I am now, with the utmost concern, to inform the house of commons, that I have received informations that the disaffected have been daring enough to form a plan for the purpose of

possessing themselves, in the course of the present month, of the metropolis, of seizing the seat of government, and those in authority within the city. In consequence of this information, I have directed every military precaution to be taken which seemed expedient. I have made full communication to the magistracy for the direction of their efforts, and I have no doubt that, by the measures which will be pursued, the designs of the rebellious will be effectually and entirely crushed.

I have taken the earliest opportunity of making this communication, and have the fullest confidence that I shall be supported by the commons in such measures as shall be necessary finally to suppress the rebellious conspiracy which exists in this kingdom.

C.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

Camden.

HIS excellency, the lord-lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy-council, has issued orders, to all the general officers commanding his majesty's forces, to punish all persons acting, aiding, or, in any manner, assisting in the rebellion which now exists within this kingdom, and has broken out in the most daring and violent attacks upon his majesty's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwise, as to them shall seem right and expedient, for the punishment and suppression of all rebels in their several districts: of which

which all his majesty's subjects are hereby required to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 24th day of May, 1798.

God save the King.

Message from the Lord-Lieutenant to the House of Commons, 17th June.

Cornwallis.

I Have received the king's commands to acquaint the house of commons, that his majesty, notwithstanding his just abhorrence of the unnatural and unprovoked rebellion which has broken out in this kingdom, yet, being ever disposed to exert, as far as possible, his royal prerogative of mercy, and to receive again, under his royal protection, those who, by the arts of wicked and designing men, have been seduced from their allegiance, has signified his gracious intention of granting his general and free pardon for all offences committed on or before a certain day, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions, as may be compatible with the public safety; for carrying which benevolent purpose into execution, his majesty has signified his gracious intention of sanctioning, in the usual form, by his royal signature, a bill for that purpose, previous to its being submitted for the concurrence of parliament.

His majesty has also directed me to lay before you several important papers, which may assist you in unfolding the nature and extent of the conspiracy which has long prevailed in this kingdom; not doubting that whilst your endeavours are directed to give effect to the gracious intentions of his majesty, that

you will feel it your indispensable duty to consider of, and adopt, such measures of salutary precaution as may tend to secure the state hereafter against the machinations of the disaffected.

In your deliberations, the sufferings of his majesty's loyal subjects will naturally receive your attention; and I recommend to you the framing of effectual measures for ascertaining their losses, and bringing their claims under the consideration of parliament.

The numerous and continued advantages of his majesty's forces over the rebels, afford me just ground to believe, that as their hopes of success must have failed, so the obstinacy of their resistance will speedily cease. The generals under my command have received, and shall continue to receive, the most positive orders to proceed against them with unceasing activity and vigour: and I shall not suffer their exertions to relax, so long as any body of them whatever shall remain in arms against his majesty's peace.

C.

Speech of his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses, on the 6th of October, 1798, on proroguing the Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I Have the satisfaction of acquainting you, that I have received the king's commands to release you from your long and fatiguing attendance in parliament; and I am ordered to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the unshaken firmness and magnanimity with which you have met the most trying difficulties,

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difficulties, and with which the measures have been planned, which you have adopted for the preservation of your country.

I offer you my most sincere congratulations on the glorious victory which has been obtained by his majesty's Squadron under the command of sir Horatio Nelson, over the French fleet in the Mediterranean, which not only reflects the highest honour on the officers and seamen by whom it has been achieved, but affords a prospect of the most beneficial consequences to the future interests of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am commanded to convey to you his majesty's particular thanks for the supplies which you have so liberally granted, and by which you have manifested both the extent of the resources which this kingdom possesses, and the spirit with which they are employed by the commons of Ireland for the preservation of the state.

His majesty laments the necessity which calls for the imposition of fresh burdens on his majesty's subjects; but he trusts that they will see how much their present safety, and their future happiness, depend on their exertions in the arduous contest in which they are engaged; and he assures his faithful commons, that the aids which they have afforded shall be carefully applied to the great object of maintaining the honour, and promoting the interest of their country.

My lords and gentlemen,
The circumstances which have

taken place since its commencement, must render this session very memorable.

The foulest and darkest conspiracy was formed, and long carried on by the implacable enemy of these realms, for the total extinction of the constitution, and for the separation of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain. By the unremitting vigilance of my predecessor in this government the treason had been detected; the apprehension of the principal conspirators, and the salutary measures wisely adopted, checked its progress; and through your sagacious diligence it has been developed in all its parts, and traced to all its sources.

A dangerous and wicked rebellion, the consequence of that conspiracy, has been, in a great measure, subdued; and the attempt of our inveterate enemy, to rekindle the flame of civil discord, by sending a force into this country, has terminated in defeat.

Religion, the greatest comfort and support of mankind, has been most wickedly perverted to the purpose of inflaming the worst of passions; and the vilest arts have been used to persuade the ignorant and unwary, that in a reign which has been marked by a series of indulgences to all sects of Christians, it is the intention of his majesty's government to oppress, and even to extirpate, that description of his majesty's subjects who have received repeated and recent marks of his favour and protection.

The Catholics of Ireland cannot but have observed what has been the conduct of those who affect to be their friends towards the rites and the characters which they venerate,

rate, and under whose auspices the persecuted pastors of their church have found an asylum.

Amongst a number of offenders some most active characters have necessarily been selected as objects of public justice; but in every period of this dangerous conspiracy the lenity of government, and of parliament, has been conspicuous; and a general act of pardon has recently issued from the royal mercy, for the purpose of affording security to the repentant, and encouraging the deluded to return to their duty.

The vigour and power of his majesty's arms, the loyalty, spirit, and activity of his regular, militia, and yeomanry forces, together with the prompt and cordial assistance of the militia and fencibles of Great Britain, have abundantly proved how vain every attempt must be, either by treachery within, or by force from abroad, to undermine, or overturn, our civil and religious establishments.

From the dangers which have surrounded you, and which you have overcome, you must be sensible that your security can only be preserved by persevering vigilance and increasing energy. You will not suffer your efforts to relax, and you may be assured of my zealous endeavours to second your exertions. Our hopes and our objects are the same, that the deluded may see their error, and the disaffected be reclaimed; but if an endeavour shall be made to abate the royal mercy, and to form fresh conspiracies in the prospect of impunity, offended justice will then be compelled to extend to the obdurate criminal the full measure of his punishment.

Amidst your measures, either of power, of justice, or of clemency, you have not forgotten to afford consolation and encouragement to the loyal. The means which were adopted for their temporary relief, and the plan which has been devised for the farther remuneration of their losses, are highly honourable to your feelings, and must, in every loyal breast, excite emotions of love and gratitude to his country.

Since my arrival in this kingdom I have received the most flattering assurances of your regard and approbation, which command my warmest acknowledgements; and whilst I feel myself thus encouraged and supported, and reflect on the loyalty which is so generally displayed, and on the force which is entrusted to my direction, I cannot allow myself to doubt of the success of our united endeavours for the welfare of this country.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

Camden,

WHEREAS a traitorous conspiracy, existing within this kingdom, for the subversion of the authority of his majesty and the parliament, and for the destruction of the established constitution and government, hath considerably extended itself, and hath broken out into acts of open violence and rebellion;

We have therefore, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, issued the most direct and positive orders to the officers commanding

manding his majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for the immediate suppression thereof, and also to recover the arms which have been traitorously forced from his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and to disarm the rebels, and all persons disaffected to his majesty's government, by the most summary and effectual measures.

And we do hereby strictly charge, and command, all his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, on their allegiance, to aid and assist, to the utmost of their power, his majesty's forces in the execution of their duty, to whom we have given it strictly in command to afford full protection to them from all acts of violence which shall be attempted against their persons or properties.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 30th day of March, 1798.

God save the King.

Proclamation issued by the High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary.

WHEREAS, by my oath as sheriff, I am bound to maintain the law and constitution of this realm, and to enforce due obedience to, and execution of, the same, and to do equal justice to the poor as to the rich:

And whereas, in districts proclaimed, it is lawful for, and the duty of, the sheriff, or other chief magistrate, to post a notice on the dwelling-house, of any inhabitant who has fled from the same, enjoining him to return thereto within the space of twenty-four hours,

under the penalties of the laws, in that case provided:

And whereas, many of his majesty's subjects, either through fear or some worse cause, have abandoned their dwelling-houses, and retired into towns, whereby great injury has arisen to his majesty's loyal and brave subjects, by weakening and extending their line of defence; and the inhabitants of the towns have been grievously oppressed, and his majesty's troops stinted in their quarters; and whereby a dastardly and evil example has been set to his majesty's subjects:

And whereas many unfortunate people, not meeting with that manly and spirited resistance from their superiors, which, from their situations, they were bound to make, but encouraged, from want of opposition, to commit acts of violence and outrage in the first instance, and, at last, to commit acts of open rebellion, to the great disgrace of this country and the dishonour of his majesty's government, and to the ruin of the families of the several victims of the violated laws, and who have in the most solemn manner, in their last moments, declared, they would never have proceeded to such excesses, but for the flight and cowardice of their superiors:

Now, in order to remedy these evils, the high sheriff commands all emigrants to return forthwith to their houses, to defend the same, and to provide quarters for his majesty's troops.

And he hereby commands all mayors, bailiffs headboroughs, and other peace-officers, to see these his orders duly executed, and to compel such emigrants to quit their towns within forty-eight hours from this

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his proclamation, and to return to their respective homes. And he hereby commands all officers aforesaid, forthwith to notify to him the names and places of abode of such emigrants as neglect or refuse to comply with these his orders.

N. B. The high sheriff thinks it his duty to return his warmest thanks to Mrs. Bunbury, who, with the assistance of two men-servants, so gallantly defended her house, and compelled the rebels to retire, though they had broken into the house, and were in possession of the hall: and he hopes that such heroic conduct, in a lady of such high distinction, eminent for beauty and elegance of manners, will raise the crimson blush of shame on the pallid cheeks of those heroes who so disgracefully and cowardly surrendered large quantities of well-loaded arms to the rebels, on their first approach, without having spunk enough to fire even a single shot.

Done at Lisheen, April 20, 1798.

Copy of a Paper found at Castlebar, by Lieutenant-Colonel Crauford, among the Archives of the provisional Government which the French elected for the Province of Connaught.

Liberty. Equality.

Army of Ireland.

At the Head-Quarters at Castlebar, the 14th Fructidor, in the 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

GENERAL Humbert, commander-in-chief of the army of Ireland, wishing to organize, as soon as possible, an administrative power for the province of Connaught, orders as follows:

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1. The government of the province of Connaught shall reside at Castlebar till farther orders.

2. The government shall be composed of twelve members, who will be nominated by the commander-in-chief of the French army.

3. Citizen John Moore is appointed president of the province of Connaught. He is particularly charged with the nomination and union of the members of the government.

4. The government shall immediately direct its attention to the organization of the militia of the province of Connaught, and to securing the provisions necessary for the French and Irish armies.

5. There shall be formed eight regiments of infantry, each of twelve hundred men; and four of cavalry, each of six hundred men.

6. The government will declare rebels and traitors to their country, all those who, having received arms and clothing, shall not join the army within twenty-four hours.

7. Every individual, from sixteen to forty, inclusively, is called upon, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair immediately to the French camp, to march in a mass against the common enemy, the government of Ireland—the English; whose destruction alone can secure the independence and happiness of ancient Hibernia.

The general commanding in chief,
(Signed) Humbert.

A Proclamation by General Nugent, at Belfast.

WHEREAS the state-prisoners, in the several prisons in Dublin,

Dublin, have proposed to his excellency the lord-lieutenant "to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the united Irishmen; and that each of them would give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the united Irishmen and foreign states, without, however, naming or describing, so as to implicate any person whatever: and that they were ready to emigrate to such country as should be agreed upon between them and government, giving security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country, if, on their so doing, they should be freed from prosecution; and that Mr. Oliver Bond was to be permitted to take the benefit of the said proposal; and that the state-prisoners also hoped, that the benefit of the said proposal would be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as might choose to take the benefit of it:" which proposal is signed by Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, Henry Jackson, John Sweetman, and by upwards of seventy other prisoners:

And whereas his excellency the lord-lieutenant has been graciously pleased to accept of the said proposal, and has agreed to the terms thereby offered; in consequence whereof, the said state-prisoners have been examined before the secret committee of the two houses of parliament, and have given full information of the transactions of the united Irishmen:

Now, I do, by this my proclamation, make known to the several state-prisoners within this district,

and to others whom it may concern, the terms and conditions upon which the state-prisoners in Dublin have obtained his majesty's pardon, in order that those who think fit may entitle themselves to an equal distribution of the king's most merciful and gracious intentions; and I do hereby require, those whom it may concern, within this district, forthwith to signify to me, whether they are ready to subscribe to similar terms and conditions, and thereby entitle themselves to the like measure of his majesty's mercy; and in order that all persons now in custody may have a full opportunity of signifying their intentions herein. I will send proper persons to each prison within this district, for the purpose of receiving their respective determinations.

G. Nugent, maj.-gen. commanding northern district.
Belfast, Aug. 23, 1798.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of Ireland.

Cornwallis.

WHEREAS it appears, that, during the late invasion, many of the inhabitants of the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French forces, and did receive from them arms and ammunition; and whereas it may be expedient to admit such persons to mercy, who may have been instigated thereto by designing men; we do hereby promise his majesty's pardon to any person who has joined the enemy, provided he surrenders himself to any of his majesty's justices of the peace, or to any of his majesty's

majesty's officers, and delivers up a French firelock and bayonet, and all the ammunition in his possession; and provided he has not served in any higher capacity than that of a private.

This proclamation to be in force for thirty days from the date hereof.

Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, this 11th day of September, 1798.

By the lord-lieutenant's command,
Castlereagh.

Proclamation of the Emperor of Russia.

Petersburg, May 15.

BE it hereby known to all whom it may concern, to all Europe, and the whole world, that his Imperial Russian majesty, Paul I. has ordered the following proclamation to be issued by me, prince Alexander Besborodko, first minister and chancellor of his Imperial majesty:

In consequence of the notification of the executive directory of the French republic, of the 23d of Nivose, in the 6th year, importing, "That if any ship be suffered to pass through the Sound with English commodities, of whatever nation it may be, it shall be considered as a formal declaration of war against the French nation;" his Imperial majesty, Paul I. has been graciously pleased to order twenty-two ships of the line, and two hundred and fifty galleys, under the command of admiral Kruse, and M. de Litta, knight of Malta, to proceed to the Sound, to protect trade in general against the manifest oppression of the directory, as such a proceeding is evidently contrary to the

rights of nations. His Russian majesty gives his Imperial word to protect the freedom of trade, with all his power, both by sea and land, which he hereby requires the diplomatic corps to make known and proclaim.

Treaty of Alliance between the Empires of Russia and Turkey.

In the name of God omnipotent.

HIS majesty the emperor of the Ottomans, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, equally animated with a sincere desire not only to maintain, for the good of their respective states and subjects, the peace, friendship, and good understanding which happily subsist between them, but farther, to make them contribute to the re-establishment and security of the general tranquillity, so salutary for humanity, and at present so much disturbed, have resolved to draw still more close the bonds which unite them, by the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance. Accordingly, their majesties have chosen and nominated for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans, Eliaid Ibrahim-Ihmed Bey, with the title of Cadi-Iskier of Romelie, heretofore Istamboul-Effendi, and Achmed Ali, Reis-Effendi; and his majesty the emperor of Russia, the noble Vassil Tamara, his privy counsellor and ambassador-extraordinary at the Ottoman porte; who, after having exchanged their full powers in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. There shall be always peace, friendship, and good understanding, between

between his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans and the emperor of all the Russias, their empires, and subjects, as well by land as by sea, in such manner as that, by this defensive alliance, there shall be established between them an union so intimate that they shall, in future, have the same friends and the same enemies; in consequence, their majesties promise to open their minds, without reserve, the one to the other, upon all subjects which concern their respective tranquillity and safety, and to take all necessary measures to oppose themselves to every hostile enterprise that might prove injurious to them, and for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

II. The treaty of peace concluded at Jassy, December 29, 1791, of the Hegira, 1206, the 15th of the moon of Gemaziel Coxel, as well as all other treaties comprised in it, are hereby confirmed in their full tenour and extent, as if they had been inserted word for word in the present treaty of defensive alliance.

III. To give to this alliance full and complete effect, the high contracting powers reciprocally guarantee their possessions. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias guarantees to the Sublime Porte all its possessions, without exception, such as they existed before the invasion of Egypt: and his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans guarantees all the possessions of the court of Russia as they at present exist, without exception.

IV. Although the two parties reserve to themselves the right of entering into negotiations with other powers, and of concluding with them all treaties that their interests may require, they bind themselves,

however, one to the other, in the most formal manner, to insert nothing in such treaties that may be able to cause the least prejudice, injury, or loss, to either of the two, or affect the integrity of their states. On the contrary, they bind themselves reciprocally to do every thing which may tend to preserve and maintain the honour, security, and advantage, of both the one and the other.

V. If there should be formed any plan or enterprise hurtful to the two powers; or one of them, and that the forces, which may be employed to baffle such hostile enterprises, shall not be found sufficient, then the one party shall be bound to assist the other, by land or by sea, either to act in concert or to make a diversion, or it shall assist with money according as the common interest of the allies and their security shall require. In such case they shall previously communicate to each other with frankness, they shall make all necessary dispositions with the greatest possible promptitude, and shall immediately fulfil their obligation with fidelity.

VI. The choice of such assistance, whether it consists in auxiliary troops or money, shall depend on the party attacked; and in case that it requires the former, they shall be furnished within three months after demand made. If it prefers subsidies in money, they shall be paid, year by year, at fixed periods, from the day of the declaration of war, by the aggressor, on the commencement of hostilities.

VII. The two high contracting parties, thus making common cause, whether with all their forces or only with stipulated succours, neither of the two shall conclude a
treaty

treaty of peace or armistice without comprising in it the other, and providing for its security; and in case there should be formed any enterprise or attack against the party called upon, in contempt of the alliance concluded, on the succours lent, the other party shall be obliged to fulfil, with fidelity and punctuality, the same obligations for the defence of the former.

VIII. In case where the two high allied powers are called upon to act in concert with all their forces, or a stipulated aid, they promise to communicate reciprocally to each other, with frankness and without reserve, the plan of their military operations, to facilitate, as much as possible, their execution, to communicate their intentions relative to the duration of war and the conditions of peace, and to understand themselves on this subject as guided by pacific and moderate principles.

IX. The auxiliary troops shall be provided by their sovereign, in proportion to their number, with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries. They shall be also paid and kept by him. The party requiring them shall furnish them with provisions and forage, in kind, or money, according to certain prices to be fixed and agreed upon, from the date of the day on which they shall quit their frontiers. The party requiring them shall procure them quarters and other accommodations, such as his own troops enjoy, or such as those of the country called upon have been used to in time of peace.

X. The party requiring shall furnish the auxiliary squadron with all provisions that it shall want, on certain terms which shall have been

agreed upon, to commence from the day of its arrival, and during all the time it shall be employed against the common enemy. The party requiring shall furnish, without hesitation, from its arsenals and magazines, at the ordinary prices, every thing necessary for the squadron, should it stand in need of repairs. The ships of war and transports of the two allied courts shall have, during the whole time of the continuance of the common war, free entrance into their ports, either to winter there or repair.

XI. All trophies taken from the enemy, and all the prizes, shall belong to the troops which shall acquire them.

XII. Their majesties, the emperor of the Ottomans and the emperor of all the Russias, having no views of conquest, by the present treaty of defensive alliance, but only to maintain the integrity of their respective possessions, for the security of their subjects; and also to support the other powers in the respectable situation in which they are at present placed, and according to which they may form a political counterpoise, if necessary, for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, their majesties will not fail to invite his majesty the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, and also all other potentates, to accede to this treaty, the object of which is so just and so salutary.

XIII. However sincerely the two high contracting powers may intend to maintain this engagement to the most remote period of time, yet as it may happen that circumstances should hereafter require some changes to be made in it, it is agreed

greed to limit its duration to eight years, from the date of the day of the exchange of the Imperial ratifications. The two parties, before the expiration of that term, shall concert, according to the state of affairs at that period, on the renewal of the said treaty.

XIV. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Constantinople, within the term of two months, and even sooner if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of defensive alliance, and have hereto put our seal.

(Signed) Lâleid-Ibrahim-Ismet,
with the title of
kadilekier of Romania.
Achmed-Atif,
reis-essendi.
Vasilii Tamara,
privy-counsellor.

Constantinople, Dec. 23, 1798.

Proclamation to the Batavian People.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Batavians,
SINCE it is but too manifest that the revolution, which the victorious arms of the French effected in the year 1795, has been either openly counteracted, or secretly undermined, by those whom you have chosen to support and confirm it; since the unity and indivisibility of the sovereignty of the people, the consolidations of the debts of the

provinces, the equality of the civic rights and duties, the abolition, in this respect, of all distinction between ranks and stations, and lastly, the entire separation of the church from the state, have been continually, some in a more, and others in a less open manner, the apples of discord in the present times; since the voice of truth, and the welfare of the whole people, have been obliged to yield to error, and provisional or personal self-interest; and since, lastly, the constant clashing of opposite and contradictory principles, has enfeebled all the branches of political administration, and threatens to render perpetual the unsettled and uncertain state of revolution; it must certainly be the wish of all, that a powerful, steady, and well-adjusted authority, should at length put an end to all these uncertainties, divisions, and contradictory principles, prevent their destructive consequences, and establish a wise form of government, founded on the acknowledgement of the great truths above-mentioned, and confirmed by justice and prudence.

You flattered yourselves that these principles would be restored on the 22d of January last, and in whatever light you might, at first, view the events of that day, you were willing to excuse the irregularity of the proceeding, from the state of affairs, and the necessity of the circumstances, and to support the authority of the new intermediary administration, the constituent assembly representing the Batavian republic. You only required proof that the events of that day were not the acts of a faction, but the triumph of true principles, tending to promote the welfare of the people.

Under

Under these conditions you were willing to place unlimited confidence in the intermediary administration, and transmit the names of your patriots with unbounded gratitude to the latest posterity.

Such, Batavians, was your generous and noble conduct; but soon it appeared that the spirit of the new intermediary administration had no tendency to render all former differences forgotten, by just and generous measures. Soon it appeared, that, instead of a restoration of principles, you had obtained a change of persons, by a revolution similar, in that respect, to all the former which your commonwealth had suffered, during more than two centuries, but much more dangerous than them all, since, by the precipitation and ignorance of the authors of it, every thing was overturned, and the country rendered a prey to anarchy and tyranny, in a manner of which its history affords no example. Not merely were the heads of the federative aristocratic administration excluded from the direction of affairs, but ignorance and disguised self-interest contrived to render suspected almost every person of abilities and merit in the country. Worthy men, and even such as had continually declared themselves the friends of the principles now established, and who had been constantly devoted to the interests of the people, but who had shewn too much spirit to be slaves of a faction, or idolize individuals, were excluded both from the provincial and general administrations, which were filled with men whose conduct had rendered them contemptible in the eyes of the nation, or who, at least, had no other merit

than that of being the blind supporters of a faction.

There is not a more certain sign of the approaching fall of a state, than when justice is publicly violated. Exiles returned secretly into the country—sentences which had been pronounced against offences, and prosecutions against persons accused, were annulled. At the same time the seekers after offices, a race of men destructive to every nation, thrust from their places a great number of upright and able men throughout the whole country; and the order to remove those who were unfit to remain in their posts and employments, was enforced in the most arbitrary manner.

Such, Batavians, were the proceedings of some anarchists, who every where flocked together, and who were favoured by the majority of the members of the constituted assembly, and by the executive power, either because these latter were weak enough to promise themselves a durable support from them, or because they had not sufficient strength to oppose them; they so far extended their influence, that many of those who had been members of the last national assembly, and who had shewn themselves devoted to the principles of the revolution, whose only offences were, that they would not, without your previous consent, annul the federative government sanctioned by the national assembly, were deemed to have lost the confidence of the people, and to be deprived of their right of voting.

The measures of safety, as they were called, should have had for their object the annihilation of all
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factions,

factions, without distinction: but they were, for the most part, carried into execution in so partial and arbitrary a manner, that the whole nation was rendered adverse to the order of things. All freedom of speech was taken away, and many resolutions too evidently flowed from the corrupt sources of revenge and private interest. The motto of unity and indivisibility should have united the whole nation, and excited all to combine and sacrifice their individual advantage for the general good of the country; but in such a manner were these terms employed, as to transform them into a perfect tyranny; and the transaction of the 22d of January, by the ignorance and precipitation with which it was conducted, became the object of general contempt, aversion, and ridicule.

At length, Batavians, the constituent assembly presented to you the plan of a constitution for your acceptance, and from that time began an avowed disregard of the established principles; the spirit of the intermediary administration was no longer disguised, and your grievances reached their utmost height.

Faithful Batavians! the principles themselves had not been in danger, had the new executive directory, established by the constitution, been chosen as that constitution prescribes. Would the constitution have been less freely accepted, had the meeting of the primary assemblies not been so long delayed? Was it necessary that emissaries, such as the men before-mentioned, should be employed on this occasion? Was it necessary to entrust to them the dangerous power of depriving citizens of the right of voting? Was not this a violent

attack on the sovereignty of the people, not justified by the urgent necessity pleaded in some other cases?

And as if all this were not sufficient, the injury offered to the insulted sovereignty of the people, on the 4th of May last, was still greater. Then, after the acceptance of the constitution, and when the will of the people had been expressly declared, with respect to the manner in which their representatives in their legislative body should be chosen, the majority of the members of the constituent assembly, by their own authority alone, declared themselves the legislative body of the Batavian people, leaving no other free election to the people, but merely to fill the vacancies in that body. At that moment a flagrant breach of the constitution was committed, and a direct violation of the inalienable rights of the people perpetrated.

No disgraceful pretexts, no contemptible perversion of the words of the constitution, will ever be found sufficient to justify this act of violence in the opinion of any nation in Europe.

These things, Batavians, you have all seen; they could escape the observation of no person. But we, whose different situations have placed us around the intermediary administration, have been able to view the whole of these transactions, and discover their motives and consequences. Numerous complaints of the inhabitants, which would not have existed, had it not been for the violent event of the 22d of January, have incessantly diverted the attention of the intermediary administration from the great interests of the country, and

and fixed it on matters of less importance. The negligence of the ruling powers has spread from commune to commune through the country; and had not we, and some others, exerted ourselves to stem the torrent, a general listlessness and inactivity must have pervaded the whole land, and disaffection and alarm seized on all.

And will you then, Batavians, any longer suffer in silence the injustice done you? Do you not feel, like your ancestors, the value of civil freedom? Can you not distinguish reality from appearance, and the substance from the name? Have you not long wished and expected that we, who have sworn fidelity to our country, who, from our situation, must be most capable to deliver you, should attempt your deliverance? The resistance of the people must be fatal to oppression; and each Batavian who feels his worth, must at this moment be transformed into another Brutus. Batavians! you have wrested the authority from your tyrants, who have stolen it from you under the pretence of being your friends.

But think not, Batavians, that we will never restore to you that which is your inalienable property, or that, in the mean time, we will deliver it into unworthy hands. We **here** declare, that we are responsible for it to you, and each of you, to our own consciences, and to the eternal cause of all things.

The event will shew whether we have delivered you from usurpation, or seized the authority as usurpers ourselves. Let the first constitutional legislative body that shall meet, decide upon this fact; and, as we have already observed, since

the majority of our former representatives, legally elected, who, on the 22d of January last, formed themselves into a constituent assembly, and now have declared themselves a constitutional legislative body, by which they have been guilty of an open attack on your sovereign power; and as your other representatives, who acted as the heads of the federative or aristocratic administration, now annulled, have scrupled to take their seats in the assembly: we, compelled by the urgency of circumstances, and observing what is directed in the 31st article of the regulation annexed to the constitution, in case of a vacancy in the executive directory, have decreed, and hereby do decree;

1. That all such legislative authority of the Batavian people as shall require to be exercised for the daily and necessary interests of the country, shall, as soon as possible, be committed to citizens whose honour and integrity cannot be suspected.

2. That the late intermediary administration of the Batavian republic shall be required, as bound by their responsibility, to carry into effect the constitution of the Batavian people, in a speedy and regular manner, for the restoration and establishment of the constitutional legislative body.

3. That all authority of legislation, or in general of sovereignty, exercised by the intermediary administration, shall, immediately after the establishment of the legislative body of the Batavian people, pass to that body; and after the election by the latter of a legal executive directory of the Batavian republic, all the executive authority

which we now necessarily exert, for the deliverance of our country, shall be resigned to that directory.

4. That we engage to be answerable for the just and faithful use of our authority, and the resignation of it at the time we have mentioned, to the legislative body that shall be elected, or by delegation from it, to the high national tribunal hereafter to be chosen.

Perfectly convinced that what we have done will be approved by the majority and most enlightened of the Batavian people, we hereby command, in their name, all constitutional authorities, provincial administrations, or administrations of communes, all justices of peace, civil officers, and commanders of the military, and all and each of the inhabitants of the Batavian republic, to obey our commands, and acknowledge no other authority than ours, until the intermediary administration shall have met; which notification shall be made public, and be affixed up in such places as similar notices usually are.

Done at the Hague the 12th of June, the 4th year of Batavian freedom.

J. Spoor, agent of marine.

G. J. Pyman, agent for the war-department.

J. G. A. Gozel, minister of finance.

R. W. Tadamar, minister of justice.

A. J. La Pierre, minister of the interior.

Treaty of Campo Formio.

Secret Articles, and additional Convention, of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, of the 20th Vendemiaire, 6th Year (October 17, 1798.)

Article I.

HIS majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the boundaries of the French republic shall extend to the under-mentioned line, and engages to use his influence, that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching off of the Nette, above Andrenach; including the head of the bridge at Mannheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch. From thence, the line passes by Kenschersade and Borley to Kerpen, and thence to Luderldorf, Biantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gersund, with all the circles and territory of these places, along both banks of the Olf, to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer; including Heimbach, Nideggen, Durin, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as also the places on the banks, to Linnig, included. Hence the line extends by Hosseln and Kylenstalen, Papelernod, Luttersforst, Rodenberg, Haverstoo, Anderscheid, Kalkenkuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Gräberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithstanding the mediation of his imperial majesty, the German empire shall refuse to consent to the above-mentioned boundary line of the republic, his imperial majesty hereby formally engages to furnish to the empire no more than his contingent, which shall not be employed in any fortified place, or it shall be considered as a rupture of the peace and

and friendship which are restored between his majesty and the republic.

II. His imperial majesty will employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the empire, to obtain, 1, That the navigation of the Rhine, from Hunningen to the territory of Holland, shall be free both to the French republic and the states of the empire, on the right bank: 2, That the possessors of territory, near the mouth of the Moselle, shall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and passage of ships and other vessels, from the Moselle into the Rhine: 3, The French republic shall have the free navigation of the Meuse; and the tolls and other imposts, from Venloo to Holland, shall be abolished.

III. His imperial majesty renounces, for himself and his successors, the sovereignty and possession of the county of Falkenstein and its dependencies.

IV. The countries which his imperial majesty takes possession of, in consequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty, this day signed, shall be considered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article. — This renunciation shall only be in force, when the troops of his imperial majesty shall have taken possession of the countries ceded by the said articles.

V. The French republic will employ its influence, that his majesty the emperor shall receive the archbishopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria, which lies between the archbishopric of Saltzburg, the river Inn, Salza, and Tyrol; including the town of Waf-

serburg, on the right bank of the Inn, with an arrondissement of 3000 toises.

VI. His imperial majesty, at the conclusion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the sovereignty and possession of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the house of Austria, on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Basle, provided his majesty, at the conclusion of the said peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in consequence of particular arrangements to be made, shall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without farther interference on the part of his imperial majesty or the empire.

VII. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the ensuing peace with the German empire, the French republic shall make an acquisition in Germany, his imperial majesty shall receive an equivalent; and, if his imperial majesty shall make such an acquisition, the French republic shall, in like manner, receive an equivalent.

VIII. The prince of Nassau Dietz, late stadtholder of Holland, shall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Austrian possessions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

IX. The French republic makes no difficulty to restore to the king of Prussia his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquisition shall, however, be proposed for the king of Prussia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

X. Should the king of Prussia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics some small parts

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of

of his territory on the left bank of the Meuse, as Sevenger, and other possessions towards the Yssel, his imperial majesty will use his influence that such cessions shall be accepted and made valid by the empire.

XI. His imperial majesty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been disposed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majesty will use his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feudal sovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; as also the imperial fiefs, such as Laniguiana, and those which lie between Tuscany and the states of Parma, the Ligurian and Lucchese republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Cisalpine republic.

XII. His imperial majesty and the French republic will, in concert, employ their influence, in the course of concluding the peace of the empire, that the princes and states of the empire, who, in consequence of the stipulations of the present treaty of peace, or in consequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, shall suffer any loss in territory or rights (particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, the Margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau Saarbruck, Salm, Coburg, Lowenstein, Weßheim, and Wied-Runkel, and the Count de Leyn), shall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which shall be settled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

XIII. The troops of his imperial majesty, twenty days after the ratifications of the present treaties, shall evacuate the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburg, Mannheim, Künigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as also the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary states.

XIV. The present secret articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day signed, and shall in like manner be ratified, at the same time, by the two contracting powers; which ratifications shall be exchanged, in due form, at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797, 16th of Vendemiaire, in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

Buonaparte.

Marquis de Gallo.

Louis, Count Cobenzel.

Count Meerfeldt, maj. gen.

Count Degelmann.

Declaration of the Sovereign Council of Berne, on the 31st of January, 1798.

WE being assembled this day, upon oath, to deliberate upon the measures to be taken for the safety of the country, have personally bound ourselves by a solemn oath, and have firmly resolved to defend the country at the price of our property and our blood, to the last extremity, and with all our power, against any enemy whatever, and to employ to that end all the

the means dependent upon us, in concert with our dear and faithful burghers.

*The Deputies of the Bernese People
to their Fellow-citizens.*

WHEN, some days ago, we were called by your meetings to sit in the midst of the government, you justly hoped that great advantages would result from it, and that the closer union of the citizens of the state would be the true means of protecting us successfully against the dangers that were every moment increasing, and more and more threatening our country. Your hope will not be disappointed, dear fellow-citizens; and though, in so short a time, it has not yet been possible for us to remove your fears upon the arrangements without, we have, nevertheless, taken a great step towards the triumph which we should desire; that is, by having increased our strength, by a union most wise and most necessary. As a thousand little streams, running by themselves, and which, by a happy inclination, fall into one channel, form a powerful and majestic river, so are we going to become a striking and formidable mass, whose courage, and assurance of a good cause, cannot fail to obtain success.

Man is designed to improve his state; it is one of the great blessings attached to his nature. All the human dispositions shou'd make a progress according to circumstances;—but the most important of all, is the union of men under laws and government, which we call the state. The edifice of our constitution, existing for ages—its very antiquity

would be a respectable testimony in its favour, even if we had not a still more perfect proof in the general prosperity which the nation has enjoyed, to the present time, under its influence. However, as nothing, which is the work of man, can be perfect, our government, perhaps, has need of some reforms; and the fathers of the country have been long occupied in the means of effecting them, without shocks, and without agitations; for, nothing is more dangerous than to touch, though ever so slightly, the constitutional laws of a state. It seemed, therefore, that the present moment was not proper for this great work, and surely it might have produced much more valuable advantages, had it been possible to delay, it till happier times. Nevertheless, confess it, dear fellow-citizens, a strong desire of innovation has appeared on your part. This wish was that of a small number, it is true; but it was imprudent, if it came from yourselves; it was incompatible with that noble pride which ought to animate a free people, if it was the result of a foreign impulse.

It was to satisfy your views, that, as soon as we had taken our places in the assembly of the government, alterations were proposed to us which appeared useful to the general good of the country, and suitable to circumstances. We have supported those propositions with firmness, as you entrusted to us the care of co-operating as we should judge necessary for the safety of the country.

If it be true that our constitution was not exempt from abuses, which human weakness renders almost inseparable from governments, how many have already disappeared,

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through

through the wisdom and prudence of the administration? Did we not possess, in the fullest extent we could have, the security of persons and property, the two most precious advantages of civil society? Can the administration be accused of a single deviation from justice? Can the members of our government be reproached with the least inclination that could look like corruption? Could the treasures of the state be administered with stricter responsibility, with greater economy? And if the fertility of a parched and rocky soil, if the prosperity of a loyal nation, that has preserved the ancient purity of its manners, be the most certain proofs of the goodness of its government, is it not yourselves who render this glorious testimony to the supreme power? Woe be to you, if ever you can forget it!

And, furthermore, the rights, which in future you will enjoy, have not been demanded, but freely granted: for, the wish of the majority had not yet appeared among you. It remains for you, dear fellow-citizens, to render yourselves worthy of the blessings. If liberty be the greatest blessing to the people, the basis which secures it ought to be so much the more sacred; there is nothing great or sublime, which may not be yet effected under its auspices; but a good constitution can only be the effect of profound discernment, and the result of tranquil labour, directed by wisdom and experience. If, on the contrary, it be hurried by the heat of the passions, it is stifled in its birth. The elevation of such an edifice is the work of time, by which alone every thing is matured. To begin by demolishing what gives us

a sure shelter, would be to expose ourselves naked to the violence of a tempest. When a lowering storm gathers on the horizon, the pilot, who has a sense of his duty, stands more stoutly at the helm, but still keeps his sails spread, the sooner to bring his ship to an anchor.

The welfare of your country, dear brothers, your own, and that of your children, is in your hands. Your wishes are now satisfied. All that could be granted, consistently with the general good, has been granted. Whoever, at this time, should dare to require more, could only do so from selfish views, and not for his country; his object could only be to destroy, not to preserve it. We have but a choice between two things: either an entire obedience to the law and supreme power, which alone can save our threatened state; or, the overflow of all the wild and ungovernable passions, the ruin of a flourishing country, the annihilation of public prosperity, the havoc occasioned by the corruption of morals; in short, a view of the most frightful disasters and misfortunes, for us and our generation. Who should dare to doubt our resolution? Yes, dear fellow-citizens! you have honoured us with your confidence; you have imposed upon us the task, exceedingly grateful to our hearts, of supporting your dearest rights and interests. It is for you, then, it is in your name, it is from the bottom of our hearts, that we swear to save the country; and you cannot belie us.

If this act of union, which we this day announce to you, were not enough to disarm all our enemies, and annihilate their designs; if there be one yet remaining, who would impose laws upon us, violate the

sanctuary

sanctuary of our liberty, and, in fine, render useless the wise reforms we have been making in our constitution; then the country will summon her children; they will assemble, they will press round her; and if you should have the misfortune to be forced to fight, the thorough knowledge you have of your cause will support your courage, while it ensures your success. The solemn assurance of your rights will be the standard round which you will form an impenetrable wall; it will be the banner you will carry against a powerful enemy, who thenceforth will no longer be to be feared by you: we will place ourselves beside you, and in the first ranks; it will wave, bleeding in the air, but we will never desert it; we will bring it back with us, or never more return ourselves; and, if pushed to extremity, we are resolved to die, but in such a manner as to recall to the remembrance of posterity the glorious name of our ancestors. We will bury ourselves under the ruins of our country, rather than bow our heads under an ignominious yoke. We may cease to be, but our honour must never be annihilated.

Berne, Feb. 5th, 1798.

*Proclamation of the General-in-Chief
of the French Army in Helvetia,
to the Helvetic Nation.*

Head Quarters at Berne, July 8.

Brave Helvetians,

ONE of the most perfidious means which the enemies of our regeneration have employed to shut your hearts against confidence in us, and to spread around suspi-

cion and anxiety, is to ascribe to the French republic the design of uniting the territory of the Helvetic republic to that of the French republic. Cowardly wretches! Finding they were unable to resist those victorious arms which broke asunder the chains of the patriots, and delivered the victims of oligarchy, they wished at least to avenge their disgrace, by exciting hatred and disgust against a government which fostered among you the establishment of an order of things to which itself owes its force and its lustre—against an army which overwhelmed anarchy and fanaticism by turns, which, but for its valour, would have converted Switzerland into one vast tomb.

Brave Helvetians! to you, who have recovered those rights of which a free constitution will secure the enjoyment—to you, who do not confound the transient crisis of a revolution with the blessings which must succeed to it—to you it will, doubtless, be sufficient to point out this new stratagem of your enemies, to ensure its defeat, and to turn its effect against its authors themselves.

Is not France already sufficiently powerful—sufficiently extensive? Has she added to her territory Holland, and the fine countries of Italy, which were conquered by the force of her arms? Are not the Batavian, Cisalpine, Ligurian, and Roman republics, monuments of her respect for the independence of nations and the sovereignty of every people? Have not yourselves received the most unequivocal proofs of it?

No! Switzerland is not destined to augment the number of our departments. The country of William
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liam Tell is worthy of ranking among free states and representative governments: she will accomplish that splendid destiny, and she will find in the French republic a faithful ally and a sincere friend, always ready to protect her against all her enemies.

(Signed)
Schauenbourg.

Felix Desportes, Commissary of the Government, to the Executive Directory.

Geneva, 27 Germinal, (April 16.)

GENEVA is now happy; its union with the French republic has been unanimously proclaimed by the extraordinary commission, after the sovereign council which had been held in the morning. A solemn deputation, preceded by a crowd of citizens, who made the air resound with cries of "Live the great nation! Live the Executive Directory!" came to announce this resolution to me. I accept, in your names, the wishes of the Genevese people. The most criminal and unparalleled intrigues were made use of to interrupt the designs of the sovereign council. The hosts of anarchists wished to destroy the hopes of the people, they wished to prevent the prolongation of the powers of the commission. But the patriots of Geneva braved the vociferations and poniards of their tyrants, and out of 3197 voters, 2204 gave their suffrages for the prolongation, and 33 votes were declared null and void. The commission then could no longer doubt of the voice of the citizens, and hastened to satisfy their impatience. At this moment

that committee is treating with me in negotiating a treaty of union. After the sitting of the sovereign council under the express demand of the Genevese, I put within their walls an armed force commanded by general Gerard, and only consisting of about 1200 men, merely sufficient to suppress the fury of the brigands, who threatened to destroy the friends of the French. The half of this force returns this morning to its cantonments at Carrange and Ferney, the remaining part rest in barracks at Geneva. Such is the wish of the Genevese people, and it is upon the promise of my keeping amongst them the conquerors of the Rhine, that the friends of France have mounted the tri-coloured cockade. I will not speak to you, citizen directors, of the enthusiasm with which our brave defenders were received by their new fellow-citizens; all their wants were anticipated; there was a general emulation to afford them every species of accommodation; nothing was heard on any side but songs which sounded the praises of the French heroes; every heart seemed to be united in the bonds of fraternity! So flattering a reception, so real an attachment, should prove to you, citizen directors, how much the twig of Geneva figures in the scales of the great republic.

Decree of the Legislative Body of Helvetia.

Arau, 20th Sept. 1798.

THE legislative councils, considering that the legislators of the republic have sacred duties to fulfil, after the sad events in which they

they have seen on one side a portion of the children of Helvetia misled by fanatical priests, and deceived by foreign and perfidious emissaries, rise against the mother-country, abjure the constitution which they had accepted, and arm against their brethren; and on the other side, magistrates, equally courageous and wise, repressing revolt by the sole force of the republic, that is to say, by the zeal of the good citizens who are animated by the love of liberty and the Helvetic union; that they have seen too the brave French army lavishing their blood in the support of their allies, and gaining a victory, afflicting without doubt, because obtained over our misled brethren; but glorious and salutary, inasmuch as it overwhelms fanaticism, and establishes the republic upon bases not to be shaken:—considering that as faithful organs of the Helvetic people, the representatives ought to express the sentiments as well as the will of the people, and that it belongs to them to decree in their name to the valiant defenders of the country the sole recompense worthy of them, the expressions of the gratitude of a free people; to the rebels, and, above all, to the infamous authors of this parricidal plot, the penalty due to their crimes:—finally, to the unfortunate who have suffered the destructive scourge of war, the succours which they may expect from a mother-country:—the legislative councils taking into consideration the message of the directory of the 17th September, decree, after having declared urgency:

1. The legislative body declare solemnly, that the French army

and the citizen general Schawenbourg have deserved well of the Helvetic republic.

2. Honourable mention shall be made in the register of the energetic conduct of citizen Bolt, prefect of the canton of Sentis, of the communes of the cantons that have risen for the cause of liberty; of citizen Hoes, prefect of the canton of Linth; of the prefects of Lucerne and Wädswilen; of the sub-prefects; of the communes and citizens of Helvetia who have signalized themselves for the maintenance of freedom and the constitution.

3. The rebels, and principally the authors and accomplices in the conspiracy against the country, shall be prosecuted criminally, and tried according to the constitution, articles 93 and 94.

4. The orphans left by the patriots who perished on that occasion shall be brought up at the expence of the republic.

Finally, there shall be made, throughout Helvetia, a voluntary collection in favour of the persons burnt out in the district of Stantz, and of those in the adjacent parts who may have suffered in consequence of those events: the amount of the collection shall be transmitted to the directory, who shall distribute it.

Treaty of Peace, and of Alliance offensive and defensive, concluded between the French and Helvetic Republics.

THE French and Helvetic republics being equally anxious to make the most perfect peace and

the strictest friendship succeed to a war which an oligarchy had provoked, and which, for a time, had caused a division between the two nations, have resolved to unite themselves together by an alliance grounded on the real interests of the two countries: the respective governments have accordingly appointed, on the part of the French directory, citizen C. M. Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, and on the part of the executive directory of the Helvetic republic, citizens P. J. Zeltner and Amedee Jenner, who, after a mutual exchange of their full powers, agreed to the following articles:

I. There shall be, for a perpetuity, peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French and Helvetic republics.

II. There exists, from the present moment, between the two republics, an alliance offensive and defensive. The general result of this alliance is, that each of the republics may, in case of war, claim the co-operation of its ally. The power claiming this co-operation shall then specify against whom the co-operation is required, and, in consequence of that special requisition, the power called upon enters into war against the power or powers designated; but it remains in a state of neutrality with respect to such powers as may be at war with the claiming power, and whom it may not have particularly designated. It is acknowledged that the effect of the requisition, on the part of the French republic shall never be to send the Swiss troops beyond the sea. The troops called for shall be paid and maintained by the power calling for them; and in case of such re-

quisition, neither of the two republics shall separately conclude any treaty of armistice or of peace. The particular effects of the alliance, when on either side a requisition shall take place, the nature and the quantity of the succours to be mutually afforded, shall be amicably determined by special conventions, grounded on the principles contained in this article.

III. The French republic accordingly guarantees to the Helvetic republic its independence and the unity of its government; and, in case the oligarchy should attempt to overturn the present Helvetic constitution, the French republic binds itself to grant to the Helvetic republic, upon its requisition, such succours as it may stand in need of, in order to triumph over such internal or external attack as may be made against it. It promises its good offices to the Helvetic republic that may insure it the enjoyment of all its rights with regard to other powers; and, in order to furnish it with the means of speedily re-establishing its military strength, on the most important footing, the French republic consents to restore the artillery that has been taken from it during the present war, and which may be still at the disposal of the French government at the moment of signing the present treaty, provided the Helvetic republic will send for such pieces of artillery, and carry them back into its own territory.

IV. The frontiers between France and Helvetia shall be determined by a particular convention, the basis of which shall be, that every thing which formed part of the *ci-devant* bishopric of Basle, and the principality of Porretruy, shall remain definitively

fratitively united to the French territory, as well as the intersection of the Swiss territory comprehended in the department of the Upper Rhine and Mont Terrible; with reservation of the counter-cessions and exchanges, which may be judged indispensable for rendering these frontiers perfectly straight from Basil to Geneva, and which shall not affect the unions which have already been definitively made to the French territory.

V. In order to secure the communications of the French republic with the south of Germany and Italy, there shall be granted to the said republic the free and perpetual use of two commercial and military roads, the first of which shall pass the north of Helvetia, up the Rhine, along the west and southern banks of the lake of Constance; the second, beginning at Geneva, and traversing the department of Mont Blanc, shall go through the Valais, running into the territory of the Cisalpine republic by a course to be fixed; and it is determined that each state shall, within its own territories, execute the works necessary for the construction of these two roads.

VI. It is likewise stipulated, that, in order to give to the internal navigation of the two republics all the beneficial improvements of which it is susceptible, each of them respectively shall, within its own territories, execute the works of art which shall be necessary for the establishment of a communication by water from the lake of Geneva to the Rhine, and from Geneva to that part of the Rhone which is navigable.

VII. The French republic binds itself to furnish to the Helvetic re-

public all the salt which it may stand in need of, from the salt-pits of La Meurthe, of Jura, and of Mont Blanc. The prices of the said salt, the expences of carriage, the places and the periods of delivery, shall be regulated at least every ten years between citizens charged by the French government with the preparing of the salt, and the officers of the Helvetic government, without ever permitting the price of the said salt to exceed that paid by the French citizens, and without the subjects of the Helvetic government being ever subjected to paying the taxes which in France may be laid upon that commodity.

VIII. According to the latter article, the Helvetic republic expressly renounces all the drawbacks on salt which it might be entitled to claim in virtue of ancient treaties which existed between France and the cantons; and it binds itself to take annually, from the salt-pits, at least two hundred and fifty thousand quintals of salt.

IX. The citizens of the French republic may go and come to Helvetia, furnished with regular passports: they shall be at liberty to form all manner of establishments there, to exercise every kind of industry which the law permits and protects; their persons and property shall be subject to the laws and usages of the country. The citizens of the Helvetic republic shall enjoy in France, and in all the dominions of the French republic, the same rights, on the same conditions.

X. In all litigated points respecting individuals, which cannot be settled by reference, or by the decision of the courts, the plaintiff shall be obliged to follow up his action

nation before the natural judges of the defendant, unless the parties be present on the very spot where the bargain had been contracted, or have agreed upon the choice of the judges to whose decision they would leave the matter in dispute. In litigated points, having for object landed property, the suit shall be carried on before a tribunal or a magistrate of the place, where the property is situated. The litigations that may arise between the heirs of a Frenchman who dies in Switzerland, with regard to his succession, shall be transferred before the judge of the residence which the Frenchman possessed in France; and the same shall be observed with regard to the succession of a Swiss who may die in France.

XI. The definitive judgement in civil causes, that are regarded as settled points, and that have been pronounced by French tribunals, shall be executed in Switzerland, and *vice versa*, after they shall have been sanctioned by the respective ministers.

XII. In case of the failure or bankruptcy of a Frenchman possessed of property in France, if there are Swiss creditors and French creditors, the Swiss creditors, who shall have conformed to the French laws for the security of their hypothec, shall be paid, according to the order of their hypothec, on the footing of French creditors: and *vice versa*, if Swiss, possessing property in the Helvetic republic, shall have both French and Swiss creditors, the French creditors, who shall have employed the requisite formalities to secure an hypothec, in Switzerland, shall be arranged with Swiss creditors, according to the order of their hypothec. With regard to

simple creditors, they shall be treated in the same manner, without respect to which of the two countries they belong.

XIII. In all criminal proceedings for heinous offences, instituted either before Swiss or French courts, witnesses shall be mutually bound to attend from either country in person, under the penalties to be fixed by the two countries. The necessary passports shall, in this case, be granted, by the government of the party requiring, according to distance, &c.

XIV. The two republics shall mutually engage to grant no asylum to the emigrants or persons banished from the other. They likewise bind themselves, to exile, on the first requisition, the persons of either nation who shall judicially have been declared guilty of conspiracy against the interest or external security of the state, of murder, poisoning, fire-raising, forgery, violence, theft, and robbery, or persons accused of these crimes; and the property stolen in either country, and taken to the other, shall be restored.

XV. There shall immediately be concluded, between the two republics, a treaty of commerce, founded upon the most complete reciprocity of advantage. In the mean time, the subjects of both nations shall be treated upon the footing of those of the most favoured nations.

Concluded and signed at Paris,
24 Fructidor (August 19),
of the French republic, one
and indivisible, 6 (1798).

(Signed) Ch. M. Talleyrand,
P. J. Zeltner,
H. A. Jenner.

Proclamation

Proclamation of A. J. H. Mallartie, General-in-Chief, Governor-General of the Isle of France and of the Re-union, and Commandant-General of the French Establishments to the East of the Cape of Good Hope.

Citizens,
KNOWING, for many years, your zeal and attachment for the interest and glory of our republic, we are very impatient, and consider it a duty to make known to you the propositions that we have received from Tippoo Sultaun, by two ambassadors which he had sent to us. This prince has written particular letters to the colonial assembly, and to all the generals employed in that government: he has likewise addressed to us a packet for the executive directory.

First. He demands to make an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French, proposing to maintain, at his charge, as long as the war shall continue in India, the troops they can send him.

Second. He promises to furnish every necessary for that war, except wine and brandy, of which he finds himself absolutely destitute.

Third. That all preparations are made ready to receive the succours which they shall give to him; and on the arrival of the troops, the chiefs and officers shall find every thing necessary to carry on a war that Europeans are little accustomed to.

Fourth. Finally, he only waits the moment when the French shall come to his aid, to declare war against the English, ardently willing to drive them from India.

As it is impossible for us to re-

duce the number of the 107th and 108th regiments, and *de la garde f. Idée du port de la Fraternité*, on account of the assistance we have sent our allies, the Dutch, we invite the citizens voluntarily to embody themselves in their respective municipalities, to serve under the colours of Tippoo. This prince desires also to have the citizens of colour, freemen; and we invite all those who wish to serve under his banners to enrol themselves.

We can assure all the citizens who wish to enrol themselves, that Tippoo will make advantageous treaties, which will continue with his ambassadors who may engage for themselves, besides in the name of their sovereign, in such way, that the French, who shall have taken part in his armies, shall not be retained when they wish to return back to their country.

Done this 10th Pluviose (29th Jan.), the sixth year of the French republic.

(Signed)
Mallartie.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Elders, of the 24th May.

Citizens Representatives,

ENGLAND has hazarded a new expedition, which has ended only in its disgrace.

On the morning of the 19th of May, an English fleet appeared before Omdé, and bombarded that city violently. Protected by the fire of the fleet, their boats disembarked 4000 men, who took possession of the shore, threw up batteries there, and attempted to blow up

up the sluices of the Sas de Sleyken, and the gates of Ostend. The enemy summoned the place to surrender within half an hour. The garrison consisted only of 30 men. "You shall never become masters of the port which is entrusted to me," said the brave commander, Muscar, "until my garrison and I shall be buried in the ruins." Republicans are unable to confine themselves to defensive operations. On the 20th, at break of day, 300 men only of the 46th and 94th demi-brigades, conducted by Keller, commandant of the square of Bruges, marched to the English column. They attacked with an ardour and an intrepidity which partook of the nature of a prodigy:—the courage of republicans always increases in proportion to the number of their enemies. The entrenchment thrown up against them soon gave way; and, after two hours fighting, the English, being entirely routed, threw down their arms. The bombardment, which had recommenced, ceased; from 1500 to 1800 prisoners were taken: eight pieces of cannon, two howitzers, and a great number of muskets of the enemy, remain in our power. The rest of the enemy re-embarked with precipitation, having lost a great number of men, who were drowned in their attempting to escape.

The commandant of the British artillery was killed: one of their major-generals had his thigh taken off; another, together with 800 officers, as well superior as inferior, are prisoners. In short, the troops who had been disembarked were, according to the accounts of the prisoners themselves, the flower of the English army: they had been

selected for the occasion; and among them were four companies of the guards, and the whole regiment of the prince of Wales.

You will hardly repress your indignation, citizen representatives, at learning that the plans of the enemy were seconded by traitors at Ostend. The cries of "Long live king George! Brave English!" were heard there; the national cockade was insulted, and the arms of the volunteers employed in manning the batteries, for want of artillery men, were broken by some traitors. These atrocious acts shall not remain unpunished; but it cannot be denied, that the slow progress of the ordinary tribunals is insufficient to the punishment of those who should be struck down with the rapidity of the thunderbolt. You will consider, citizen representatives, of the propriety of declaring, by a law, that the traitors who by any means give encouragement, during an attack, to the enemies of the republic, shall be tried by a military commission.

The directory invites you to take this message into your earliest consideration.

(Signed)
Merlin, president.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, sent on the 1st July, 1798.

FOR a long time, the government of Malta has shewn itself hostile to France. It afforded protection to emigrants, as also to the soldiers of Condé's army. Her constitution ought to have obliged her to observe a strict neutrality, but she always acted in favour of the ene-
mies

ties of France. The French, who were friends to liberty, at Malta, were ill treated and confined. In a manifesto, of the 10th of October, 1793, the grand master declared, that the ports of the island should be shut against French vessels, and that he should recognise the ambassador but as a chargé d'affaires of the king, without saying any thing of the republic; he declared, he could not, nor would not, recognise it. On the 9th of June, of the present year, a request was made, by the French general, for water, which was refused by the grand master, who declared ironically, that he could admit but two ships into the port. Dared he thus insult a French army, commanded by Buonaparte? The 10th of June, the French were on shore early in the morning, and Malta was invested, and the town cannonaded on all sides. The besieged made a sally, in which general Marmont, at the head of the 19th brigade, took the standard of the order. On the 11th, the knights surrendered the town and port, and renounced their property in the island to the French republic. We found, at Malta, two vessels, one frigate, four galleys, 1200 pieces of cannon, 40,000 muskets, 1,500,000 rounds of powder and other ammunition, of which the directory have not received the particular details.

Order of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, in Consequence of the Refusal of the Council of Elders of the Cisalpine Republic, on the 15th March, 1798, to accede to the Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, between the French and Cisalpine Republics.

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THE directory, considering that their refusal is the effect of the manœuvres of the enemies of the two countries, and that it gives the French republic a title to resume all those rights which it was before willing to wave, has ordered — First, that a contribution shall be raised, to defray the expences of maintaining the troops of the French republic in Italy; and, second, that twenty-one citizens, named by the commander-in-chief, members of the council of elders of the Cisalpine republic, shall be superseded and arrested.

Message to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 28th Fructidor (September 14).

THE executive directory is desirous to inform you, that the French troops have entered Egypt. The French nation, the Ottoman Porte itself, and the oppressed people of that fine but unfortunate country, are at last avenged.

This memorable event had been long foreseen, by a small number of men to whom glorious and useful ideas are familiar; but it was too much the custom to rank it among chimerical projects. It was reserved for the French republic to realize this new prodigy.

The causes which prepared and insured its success, are now to be retraced.

For nearly forty years, the beys, with their mamelucks, those domineering slaves of Egypt, practised the most shameful vexations on the French, settled in those countries on the faith of our treaties with the Porte. From the period of the domination of Ali Bey, about 1760,

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we

we may particularly date the excess of those outrages. That audacious usurper, after having thrown off the yoke of the grand seignior, by ignominiously expelling his pacha, refusing to pay tribute, and arrogating the right of making money of his own coin, insulted our consuls, menaced our dragomans with the most infamous punishments, and practised numerous impositions on our merchants. His successors, Krahil Bey, and Mohamed Bey, partly deserve similar reproaches; but their vexations were more moderate. Mourad Bey, and Ibrahim Bey, who reigned after them, surpassed (the first particularly) all their predecessors in extortion and plunder. Indignant at the conduct of these oppressors, the Ottoman Porte appeared, in 1786, to wish to take vengeance upon them. With the aid of the forces commanded by Hassan Pacha, she compelled them to fly, and placed a successor; but she did not know how to secure her authority; and these two beys, in 1791, at the death of Ismael Bey, who had replaced them, recovered their power without obstacle, and consequently assumed their former domination.

From that instant, but particularly since France has been constituted a republic, the French have experienced, in Egypt, vexations a thousand times more revolting. It was easy to recognise the influence and the fury of the British cabinet. The extortions of all sorts multiplied, often without the pretext of necessity; — and all remonstrances were vain.

In the second year of the republic, the consul wished to make just representations to Mourad Bey, on the subject of the extraordinary exactions, ordered by that usurper,

from the French merchants. The bey, far from shewing a disposition to acquiesce in his request, confined him instantly to his own house, by an armed force, till all the produce of that odious extortion had been intirely paid him.

Towards the end of that same year, the vexations arose to such a pitch, that the French settled at Cairo, desirous to put their persons, and the remainder of their fortunes, out of imminent danger, decided to remove their establishments to Alexandria: but Mourad Bey took offence at this resolution: he ordered them to be pursued in their flight: such as remained, were treated as vile criminals, and redoubled his rage against them all, after he knew one of the fugitives was brother to a member of the national convention, against which he vomited forth his implacable hatred.

Thus his tyranny knew no bounds, and the French nation found itself a prisoner in Egypt. The bey, tormented every instant with the apprehensions that some attempt might be made to escape his vigilance, dared to tell our consul, that if a single Frenchman should engage in such an undertaking, all, even the consul himself, should forfeit their heads for his escape. Such audacity and madness can scarcely be conceived: but he soon perceived that this excessive tyranny would not long continue profitable. He returned, on the demand of the grand vizir, not the sums that had been extorted, but their liberty to the French; and even as the price of that, which was regarded as a favour, he imposed new pecuniary sacrifices. The French then were afraid to settle, in the third year, at Alexandria; but there, as at Rosetta

setta and other places on the coast of the Mediterranean, they were exposed to the rapacity of all subaltern agents. These agents of the bey, more base and felonious even than himself, violently seized upon the French merchandises as they arrived in port. They fixed their own prices on the goods, and even settled the mode of payment. Should they meet the least resistance, even of the most lawful kind, force was immediately employed to repel it. At Rosetta, the gates of our vice-consul were forced, his windows broken, and even weapons raised against him, because he refused to submit to a contribution, from which even Mourad Bey himself had ordered the French to be exempted. Notwithstanding this order of the bey, the consul was obliged to yield to force. Finally, on the 10th of January last, Coram, a custom-house officer of Mourad Bey, at Alexandria, assembled all the dragomans, and declared to them, that the slightest violation, of what he called the rights of his master, should be punished with five hundred strokes of the bastinado, without regard to the consular character. A few days before, he threatened a dragoman to cut off his head, and send it to his consul.

Thus all the rights of nations were violated in the persons of the French, with the most audacious impudence; all our treaties with the Porte, all our agreements disregarded by the beys, and by the meanest of their agents, under the pretext, as they say, of not having been parties to them; the character of our consul disowned, outraged; the liberty and lives of the French compromised every moment, and their properties given up to pil-

lage. The French republic could not suffer much longer those numerous aggressions, evidently instigated by England, to remain unpunished. Its patience has been extreme. The audacity of its oppressors had attained its full growth. How, then, was the French government to procure redress for such complicated injuries? Several times, through the medium of its envoy, it addressed its complaints to the Porte; but, if we except the expedition of Hassan Pacha, in 1786, who merely chastised two beys, without making compensation for the past, or provision for the future, every thing the porte thought proper to be done, was, to write in our favour some letters to the pacha of Egypt, who could do nothing, and to the two beys, who had power, but were firmly resolved to grant nothing, on this recommendation, but a deceitful submission. And thus, in the fourth year, the French ambassador at the Porte having sent into Egypt an agent, accredited with letters from the grand vizir, this agent obtained not real reparation, not a restitution of the immense sums extorted from the French, but some illusory stipulations respecting a reduction of the duties upon certain merchandises, conformable to ancient treaties; but, scarcely had he turned his back, when Mourad Bey gave orders, which were punctually obeyed, to place the duties on precisely the same footing they stood before his arrival.

The effort of the Ottoman empire to protect the French, was, therefore, evidently without weight or energy; and how could it be expected to produce a durable effect in our favour, when the Porte was reduced to that state in which it

was not able to protect itself against the beys; when it felt itself obliged to suffer three millions of Egyptians, whom it called its subjects, to become the miserable victims of foreign tyranny; when its pacha was treated in Egypt as the basest of slaves; when the grand seignior was insensibly stripped of his rights; and, finally, when they no longer paid the contributions reserved on the conquest of Egypt by Selim the Second? All this proves, beyond a doubt, that the sovereignty of the Porte, in this country, was but an empty title; and, after its fruitless efforts in our favour, it would be to little purpose to expect from it a degree of interest for us, which it is neither able, nor dares to manifest for itself. Nothing, then, remains for us, but to do justice to ourselves, and by our armies to make those base usurpers, supported by the cabinet of St. James's, expiate those crimes which they have committed against us.

The French army presented itself the 1st of July. It was received at Alexandria, at Rosetta, and, on the 23d of July it entered Cairo. Thus these odious usurpers will no more oppress this ancient and fruitful land, which time cannot exhaust; which annually recruits itself by a kind of prodigy; where vegetation is of astonishing activity, and almost spontaneous; and where the richest productions of the four quarters of the globe may be found together. But it may be said, no declaration of war preceded this expedition. Against whom could it have been made? Against the Ottoman Porte? We were far from being willing to attack this ancient ally of France, and imputing to it an oppression, of which it was first the victim it-

self. Is it, then, against the isolated government of the beys? Such an authority does not exist, and could not be recognised. When we chastise robbers, we do not declare war against them. And thus, in attacking the beys, it was, in fact, only England we were going to combat. It is, therefore, with a superabundance of right, that the French republic is put into a situation for speedily obtaining the immense reparations due from the usurpers of Egypt. But it did not wish to conquer for itself alone. Egypt was oppressed by these rapacious plunderers. The people of Egypt shall be avenged, and the cultivator of these fruitful countries shall at length enjoy the fruit of his labours, which has been torn from him with the most stupid barbarity. The authority of the Porte was totally disowned. It will receive, from the hands of the victorious French, the immense advantages of which it has been long deprived. Finally, for the good of the whole world, Egypt will become the country, in the whole universe, richest in productions, the centre of immense trade, and, above all, a most formidable post against the odious power of the English in India, and their usurped commerce.

(Signed) Treilhard, president.
Lagarde, sec. gen.

Arrêté of the Executive Directory, on the 8th Brumaire (Oct. 29).

THE executive directory, in consequence of the report of the minister of foreign relations, observing that the squadrons, privateers, and ships, both of England and of Russia, are in a great measure equipped

ped by foreigners; seeing, moreover, that this violation is a manifest abuse of the law of nations, and that the European powers have taken no steps to check it, decrees:

Art. I. That every person, either native or originally from the countries in amity or alliance with France, or in a state of neutrality, who is bearer of a commission granted by the enemies of France, or who composes a part of the crews of the ships of war, or others, belonging to the enemy, shall, by virtue of this act alone, be declared a traitor, and treated as such, without his being permitted, in any case whatever, to plead that he was compelled into such service by force, threats, or otherwise.

Art. II. The executive directors of the Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, shall be informed of such threat.

Art. III. The provisions contained in the first article shall be notified to neutral, and to the powers allied with the French republic.

Art. IV. The minister of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the present arrêté, which shall be published in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) Treilhard, president.
Lagarde, sec. gen.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, December 5.

Citizens representatives,
THE court of Naples has crowned its perfidies: you see, by the letters of generals Joubert and Championet, and by the copy of a letter from the Neapolitan general,

Mack, to general Championet, that the French troops in the Roman republic have been attacked by the Neapolitan troops. Thus the moderation of the French republic only serves to increase the audacity of its enemies. The details which will be sent you, will convince you, that both the one and the other have been carried to their height.

Now the first care of the government will be to take measures to repel the insolent attack of a perjured court.

The executive directory has likewise to declare to you, that the court of Turin, equally perfidious, makes common cause with our enemies; and this crowns a long train of crimes against the French republic.

Citizens representatives, the executive directory does not dissemble that the danger is imminent; but republican energy is still great; and if all differences of opinion now disappear, and all wishes unite, and the legislative body will second, by every means in its power, the efforts of government, the projects of the enemies of the republic will again be confounded, and the triumph of liberty will be for ever secured.

The executive directory proposes to you formally to declare war against the king of Naples and the king of Sardinia.

Buonaparte to the Pacha of Egypt.

*On board l'Orient, 12 Messidor
(June 30.)*

THE executive directory of the French republic have frequently applied to the sublime Porte, to demand the punishment of the bey

of Egypt, who oppressed, with their vexations, the merchants of France.

But the sublime Porte declared, that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refused to listen to the principles of justice, and not only that the Porte did not authorize these insults, but withdrew their protection from the persons by whom they were committed.

The French republic has resolved to send a powerful army, to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the same manner as it has been several times compelled, during the present century, to take these measures against the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the master of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority, you ought to regard my arrival with pleasure. You are, doubtless, already apprised that I come not to attempt any thing against the alcoran or the sultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally which the sultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curse, along with me, the impious race of the beys.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Commander of the Caravan.

On board l'Orient, 13 Messidor (July 1.)

THE beys have oppressed our merchants with vexation; I am come to demand reparation. To-morrow I shall be in Alexandria. You ought to feel no uneasiness; you belong to our grand friend, the sultan; conduct yourself accordingly. But if you commit the least hostility against the French army, I

shall treat you as an enemy; and for this you must be accountable, as it is far from my heart and from my intentions.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, General-in-Chief, to the People of Egypt.

FOR a long time the beys who govern Egypt, have insulted the French nation, and oppressed the merchants with exactions.

For a long time this heap of slaves, purchased in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the fairest part of the world.

But God, upon whom all depends, has directed that their empire should finish.

Inhabitants of Egypt, when the beys tell you I come to destroy your religion, believe them not. Answer them, that I come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and that the French respect, more than the mamelucks, God, his prophet, and the koran.

Tell them that all men are equal in the eyes of God. Understanding, ingenuity, and science alone, make a difference between them; and what wisdom, what talents, what virtues distinguish the mamelucks, that they should have exclusively all that renders life sweet and pleasant?

Is there a beautiful woman? She belongs to the mamelucks. Is there a handsome slave, a fine horse, a fine house? They belong to the mamelucks.

Is Egypt their farm? Let them shew the lease which God has given them. But God is just and merciful to all people. All the Egyptians are

are entitled to the possession of all places. The wisest, most enlightened, and most virtuous will govern, and the people will be happy. You had once great cities, large canals, much trade: who has destroyed them but the avarice, injustice, and tyranny of the mamelucks?

Cadis, cheiks, imans, tcherbadjies, tell the people that we are the friends of true mussulmen. Did not we destroy the pope, who saw that it was necessary to make war against the mussulmen? Did we not destroy the knights of Malta, because those foolish men thought that God wished war to be carried on against the mussulmen? Have not we been at all times the friends of the grand seignior, (may God accomplish his wishes!) and the foe of his foes? The mamelucks, on the contrary, are not they ever revolting against the authority of the grand seignior, whom they still refuse to acknowledge?

Thrice happy those who are with us! they shall prosper in their fortune and rank—happy those who are neuter! they will have time to learn, to know us, and will be with us. But miserable, thrice miserable those who shall arm for the mamelucks, and fight against us—there shall be no hope for them, they shall perish!

Art. I. All places which shall be three leagues distant from the route of the French army, shall send one of their principal inhabitants to the general, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

II. Every village which shall arm against the French army, shall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which shall

submit to the French, shall hoist the French flag, and that of the sublime Porte, their ally.

IV. The cheiks shall seal up the houses and effects of the mamelucks, and take care that not the smallest article shall be lost.

V. The cheiks, cadis, and imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions. Each inhabitant shall remain in his house, and prayers shall continue as usual: every one shall return thanks to God for the destruction of the mamelucks. Glory to the sultan, glory to the French army his friend! Curses to the mamelucks, and happiness to the people of Egypt!

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Declaration of the Musti, and principal Cheiks of the City of Alexandria, in the Name of the Inhabitants.

GLORY to God, to whom all glory is due, and peace to the holy prophet Mahomet, his family, and the companions of his divine mission.

The following agreement has been concluded between us, the chief men of the city of Alexandria, whose names are hereunto subjoined, and the general-in-chief of the French army encamped, in this city.

The undersigned chiefs shall continue to observe the law and sacred institutions. They shall determine all differences according to the purest justice, and carefully keep at a distance from the crooked path of iniquity. The cadi, to whose care the tribunal of justice is to be confided, shall be a man of the purest morals and the most irreproachable conduct;

conduct; but he shall not pronounce any sentence without first consulting the chiefs of the law, and his final judgement shall be regulated by their decision. The subscribing Cheiks shall study the means of making righteousness flourish, and direct all their efforts to that object, as if animated with the same spirit. They shall take no resolution but what is adopted with one accord. They shall zealously labour for the good of the country, the happiness of the people, and the destruction of the children of vice and iniquity. They farther promise never to betray, or attempt to ensnare the French army, to act contrary to its interests, nor enter into any conspiracy that may be formed against it.

To all these promises they have bound themselves by the most solemn oath, which they renew by this act in the sincerest and most religious manner.

The general-in-chief of the French army promises, on his part, that no one of the soldiers shall molest the inhabitants of Alexandria, by vexatious proceedings, rapine, or menaces; and those who shall commit such excesses, shall be punished with the utmost rigour.

The general-in-chief has also most solemnly promised, that he shall never attempt to compel any of the inhabitants to change their religion, nor to make any innovation in their religious usages; but, on the contrary, assures them, that his wish is, that they shall continue to profess their religion, and that he will continue to maintain their tranquillity and property by all the means in his power, as long as they shall abstain from any attempt against

his person, or the army which he commands.

The present convention was prepared and signed on the morning of Wednesday, the 20th of the moon Muharem, 1213th year of the Hegira, corresponding to the 17th Messidor, 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

The signatures of the musti and cheiks are as follow :

The poor Seuleiman, musti of Maliki.

The poor Ibrahim el Bourgi, chief of the sect Hamite.

The poor Muhamed el Messira.

The poor Ahmed, &c.

Translated by me, secretary-interpreter to the general-in-chief,

Venture.

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Cheiks and Notables of Cairo.

Head-quarters at Giza, 4th Thermidor, (July 20,) 6th year.

YOU will see, by the annexed proclamation, by what sentiments I am animated. Yesterday the mamelucks were, for the most part, killed, or taken prisoners, and I am now in pursuit of the few that remain. Send hither the boats which are on your banks of the river, and send also a deputation to make known to me your submission. Cause bread, meat, straw, and barley, to be provided for my army, and be perfectly easy, for no one has a greater desire than I to contribute to your happiness.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte,

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the People of Cairo.

Head-quarters at Giza, 4th Thermidor, 6th year.

PEOPLE of Cairo, I am satisfied with your conduct. You have done right not to take any part against me; I am come to destroy the race of the mamelucks, and to protect the trade and the natives of the country. Let all those who are under any fear be composed; and let those who have quitted their houses return to them. Let prayers be offered up to-day as usual, for I wish that they may be always continued. Entertain no fear for your families, your houses, your property, and, above all, the religion of your prophet, whom I love. As it is absolutely necessary that some persons should be immediately charged with the administration of the police, in order that tranquillity may not be interrupted, there shall be a divan, composed of seven persons, who shall assemble at the mosque of Ver; and there shall always be two with the commandant of the place, and four shall be occupied in maintaining public tranquillity, and in watching over the police.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Buonaparte, Commander-in-Chief, to the Pacha of Cairo.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 2d Fructidore, (August 19,) 6th year.

THE intention of the French republic in taking possession of Egypt, is to drive out the mamelucks, who were both rebels to the Porte, and declared enemies to the French government. At present,

when master of it by the signal victory which its army has gained, its intention is to preserve to the pacha of the grand seignior his revenues and appointment. I beg then you will assure the Porte, that it will suffer no kind of loss, and I will take care it shall continue to receive the tribute heretofore paid to it.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Proclamation of Buonaparte to the Inhabitants of Cairo, dated Nivose (December 28th).

PERVERSE men had succeeded in misleading a party amongst you: they have perished. God has ordered me to be merciful towards the people, and I have been clement and merciful towards you: I have been incensed against you on account of the revolt; I have deprived you for two months of your divan: but this day I restore it to you; your good conduct has effaced the stain of your rebellion. Sheriffs, vimas, orators of the mosque, cause the people well to understand, that those who, through any levity, shall become my enemies, shall find no refuge in this world or in the next. Shall there be a man so blind as not to see that all my operations are conducted by destiny? Can there be a man so incredulous as to doubt that every thing in this vast universe is subjected to the empire of destiny? Instruct the people, that since the world has existed it was written, that, after having destroyed the enemies of Islamism (Mahometanism), and destroyed the cross, I should come from the farthest part of the west to fulfill the task which was imposed upon me.

Make

Make the people see that, in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that which shall take place has also been explained: let those then whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations on us now change their dispositions; for in offering prayers to heaven against us, they solicit their own condemnation: let the true believers then offer their vows to heaven for the success of our arms. I could call to account each individual amongst you for the most secret sentiment of his heart; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any person: but the day will come when all the world shall see it proved, that I am commanded by orders from above, and that all human efforts are of no avail against me. Happy those who in good faith shall be the first to attach themselves to me.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Note, presented by the Turkish Ambassador to the French Executive Directory, respecting the Occupancy of Dalmatia and Istria by the Imperial Troops.

Citizen directors,

THE unexpected occupancy, by the Austrian troops, of Istria and Dalmatia, the reports circulated that his imperial majesty proposes to maintain himself in the possession of these provinces, will not suffer the Ottoman Porte to remain indifferent as to the future state of a country so near to its dominions, and belonging to an ancient republic, its faithful friend and ally. The

ambassador of the Ottoman Porte finds himself obliged to explain to the directory his sentiments on an object which the interests of his court, and the friendship subsisting between it and the French republic, require to be taken into serious consideration. The ambassador is far from believing, that the above-mentioned occupancy could have been made by the silent or explicit consent of the general-in-chief, Buonaparte; and he is firmly persuaded, that that illustrious general must have seen with disapprobation a proceeding so arbitrary, and so contrary to the interests of the Ottoman Porte, as well as to those of the French nation, in whose name he commands the armies of Italy. The ambassador knew how to appreciate, as highly as he ought, the loyalty of the French nation. He knows that, constant to the principles of real friendship, it could not fail to remark the firmness which the Porte has shewn, since the first moments of the political regeneration of France, to remain its faithful ally, and how much the influence of its sovereign on the powers of Barbary has contributed towards provisioning the French southern provinces, in circumstances the most critical. The French nation is too dear to its heart for it to believe, that in the moment of negotiation for peace, and when it is about to restore tranquillity to Europe, the French government would consent that the above provinces should remain under the power of Austria. The ambassador cannot think but the executive directory will employ all means, and even the force of arms, to oblige the emperor to relinquish them.

The

The ties of strict amity and alliance which unite the Ottoman Porte to the French nation require that the directory should use all its efforts to that effect. This affair is of such importance, that the utmost precautions are necessary to prevent the grievous consequences that might result from the contrary. It is a common interest. If Istria and Dalmatia be granted to the emperor, there can be no doubt but, having become master of those naval forces which belonged to a peaceful republic, he will rise to the rank of a maritime power, and acquire means terrible and perfectly disastrous to the Ottoman empire. This alliance with Russia and England, whose known designs are to drive the Sublime Porte, if possible, from the European provinces, will acquire a strength to which it will not be easy to oppose sufficient obstacles. The Black sea will be open to the Russian fleets, and the Adriatic sea to those of the emperor. If he remains master of Dalmatia, to which will necessarily be united the republic of Ragusa and Albania, Bosnia will be intirely uncovered, and must yield to the first shock, because it is destitute of fortresses, and would be surrounded every where, but on the east, by the Austrian countries. Epirus, Macedonia, and the other countries as far as the Morea, would run the same risk. The commerce of the French would be annihilated in the Levant, since the productions and merchandizes of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Germany, could be more easily and speedily embarked and conveyed, by a shorter passage, than those coming from the Mediterranean. This short exposition will, no doubt, offer ample materials for

the reflections of the directory, and it will have no difficulty to convince itself, that the glory and interests of France require them to take decisive and efficacious measures. The French republic will shew the same loyalty and constancy that it has always done towards its ally the grand seignior. Firm in its sentiments, it will not suffer itself to be the cause of injury to a state, which, on all occasions, and in moments of the greatest embarrassment, knew how to resist the intrigues and insinuations of its enemies. The ambassador, fully convinced that such are the sentiments which guide the executive directory, expects shortly to see the happy effects of them: it will be to him the highest satisfaction to be able to transmit to the Sublime Porte assurances to that purpose.

*Memorial delivered by the Porte to
all the foreign Ministers.*

THE Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the strictest amity and good understanding, which good understanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmost surprise, therefore, has it seen the Turkish territories abruptly, and in a most extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms. A man of the name of Buonoparte, giving himself out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkish province of Egypt. It is impossible for the Porte to believe that such a proceeding, so contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much less commanded, by the French executive directory. A considerable force has, however, been

been sent to Egypt, to stop the progress of the invaders. Some of the emissaries of Buonaparte have pretended to persuade the people of Egypt, that they have been sent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happiness, and render their religion the sovereign religion on earth; but the people have answered, that Mahomet authorizes no injustice, and that they can place no faith in such promises from those who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet.

Constantinople, Sept. 2,

Manifesto of the Sublime Porte, communicated to our esteemed Friend the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Court of Great Britain, at Constantinople, the 11th of September, 1798.

Translation.

IT is notorious that the peace and good harmony which, since time immemorial, have existed between the Sublime Porte and the court of France, have never been interrupted by enmity and misunderstanding, but that, on the contrary, until this period, the Sublime Porte has made it her uniform and constant study, scrupulously to maintain the treaties, to fulfil the duties of amity with care, and, upon every occasion, to give proofs of her sincerity and friendship.

At the time when the revolution first broke out in France, six years ago, when most of the powers in Europe confederated against that country, the Sublime Porte, although a witness to the improper proceedings of those who held the reins of government by usurpation, chose rather, in observance of her ancient

amity with the French nation, to remain neutral: and though she had been several times invited by the allied courts to join with them, and to break with France; although the troubles of that country had become more and more violent, at that particular period, when an army had reached near Paris; whilst, soon after, the fortresses of Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, the keys of France on the northern side, were taken by the Austrian arms; Toulon, the only arsenal of the French in the Mediterranean, had fallen into the hands of the English, with the ships of war which were in it; and, by an increased party of royalists in their provinces, the situation of the government had become more critical, and perplexity and distress prevailed on every side; yet the Sublime Porte, notwithstanding that it depended only upon herself to join with the other powers, nevertheless, giving way to her known principles of justice, did no ways consent to deviate from the line of a neutral conduct.

On the contrary, considering that if, under the circumstances of a strong famine, by which France, blocked up by sea and land, was afflicted, the Sublime Porte had also broken off her connection, their distressed situation would have been such as to throw the inhabitants into total desolation and despair; she abstained from that measure: and she hereby asks, whether it be not a fact, that the liberality which she has shewn to them, from time to time, has brought complaints against her from other powers?

The extensive advantages which the French have reaped from the Sublime Porte's remaining neutral, during the course of the war, become

come clear and evident, by a moment's glance at the events of the war, and the public transactions during that period. Whilst, therefore, in consideration of the uniform acts of condescension thus observed towards them by the Sublime Porte, they, on their side, ought also to have been steady in preserving peace: yet, those among them who found the means of assuming to themselves the reins of government, by favour of the revolution, began to devise various pretences, and under an illusive idea of liberty—a liberty so called in word, but which in reality knows no other laws but the subversion of every established government (after the example of France); the abolishment of all religions, the destruction of every country, the plunder of property, and the dissolution of all human society; to occupy themselves in nothing but in misleading and imposing upon the ignorant amongst the people, pretending to reduce mankind to the state of the brute creation; and this to favour their own private interests, and render the government permanent in their own hands.

Actuated by such principles, they made it their maxim to stir up and corrupt, indiscriminately, the subjects of every power, whether distant or near, either in peace or at war, and to excite them to revolt against their natural sovereigns and government.

Whilst, on one hand, their minister at Constantinople, pursuant to that system of duplicity and deceit which is their custom every where, made professions of friendship for the Ottoman empire, endeavouring to make the Sublime Porte the dupe of their insidious projects, and to

forward their objects of exciting her against other friendly powers; the commanders and generals of their army in Italy, upon the other hand, were engaged in the heinous attempt of perverting the subjects of his majesty the grand seignior, by sending agents (persons notorious for their intriguing practices) into Anatolia, Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago, and by spreading manifestoes of the most insidious tenour, among which, the one addressed by Buonaparte to the people of Macriò, with several others, distributed by the same, are sufficiently known to the public.

Upon the Sublime Porte's complaining to the directory, of this conduct of their commanders and generals, their answer was, that, all proceedings, on the part of their officers, contrary to friendship, were not with the consent of the directory, and the same should be prevented, and their officers warned against it; the wish of the French government being to strengthen more and more the ancient friendship subsisting with the Sublime Porte.

In consequence of this answer, delivered officially on their part, it was expected that the said generals would have left off their seditious pursuits. But, nevertheless, no change appearing in their conduct, and their perseverance in such insidious practices being greater than ever, it became obvious that the answers of the directory were only fictitious and deceitful; that the intriguing attempts of their agents could not but be dictated by the instructions which were given them, and consequently that any farther complaint would be of no avail whatever.

Not-

Notwithstanding these transactions, however, the Sublime Porte, in the hopes of the directory altering its system of conduct, and laying aside the senseless pursuit of wishing to overturn the universe; in expectation of seeing things in France, from the harrassed situation of that country, at length take a different turn, by the people refusing to bear any longer those intolerable evils and disasters which have been brought upon them, from the personal views of a few upstart individuals, since the commencement of the revolution, and with the view of preventing secret enmity from producing an open rupture, she did not alter her course, but preferred keeping silence.

In the beginning of the war with the other powers, the French government had declared, that their intention was not to acquire new territory, but, on the contrary, to restore every such conquest as might have been made by their arms during the contest: contrary to which, they not only have kept possession of various extensive provinces, snatched by them from the Belligerent powers; but, not content with this, profiting of the changes which had prevailed among the allied courts through their intrigues, have put off the mask intirely, and, developing their secret views, without reason or justice, have fallen upon several free and independent republics and states who had held themselves neutral, like the Sublime Porte; invading their territories when least provided with the means of defence, and subjecting them to their will by open force and hostility.

Thus, no one being left to control them, they tore the veil of all

decorum at once, and unmindful of the obligations of treaties, and to convince the world that friendship and enmity are the same thing in their eyes, contrary to the rights of nations, and in violation of the ties subsisting between the two courts, they came, in a manner altogether unprecedented, like a set of pirates, and made a sudden invasion in Egypt, the most precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte, of which they took forcible possession, at a time when they had experienced nothing from this court but demonstrations of friendship.

Upon the first surmise of the French project to invade that province, Ruffin, their chargé d'affaires at this residence, was invited to a conference, where he was questioned officially about this business: he first declared he had no intelligence whatever respecting it, but he gave it as a speculation of his own, that, if such an enterprize ever proved true, it probably must be to take revenge of the beys, and to annoy and attack the English settlements in the East Indies.

In answer to this, it was circumstantially stated to him, that the smallest attempt on the part of the French upon Cairo, on whatever pretext it might be founded, would be taken as a declaration of war, and thereby the friendship subsisting between the two courts, since the most ancient times, would, both in a legal and political sense, be converted into enmity; that the Ottoman empire would not suffer the loss of a handful of sand of the Egyptian territory; that the whole Ottoman sect would set itself in motion for the deliverance of those blessed lands; and that if the chastisement

tisement of the beys of Egypt was necessary, it behoved the Sublime Porte to inflict it on them as her dependents; that the interference of the French in this business was inconsistent with the rights of nations; that the court of Great Britain, being the dearest friend of the Ottoman empire, the Sublime Porte would never consent to the passage of French troops through her territory to act against their settlements; that, in short, should even their expedition to Egypt have no other object but this, it would be equally construed into a declaration of war, of all which he was charged to make the earliest communication to the directory in this very language.

Dispatches, bearing instructions to the same effect, were, at the same time, written to Ali Effendi, the Sublime Porte's ambassador, at Paris, who was moreover directed to demand officially an explanation of the matter upon the spot.

Before the communications sent by Ruffin to the directory, and the dispatches transmitted by the Sublime Porte to her ambassador before named, a letter of an old date was received, by the said Ruffin, expressing that Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt was true, but that the object was, to secure some commercial advantages, by bringing the beys to an account, and to hurt Great Britain; that an ambassador had been appointed to prefer several propositions favourable to the interests of the Ottoman Porte, and to adjust the affair in question; with this farther ridiculous hint, that, were the Porte to declare war for this against the republic, both courts would lay themselves open to an attack on the part of the emperor: all this the said chargé d'affaires

delivered officially, and he also presented a copy of that letter.

Upon the other hand, in the answer received meanwhile from the Ottoman ambassador above-mentioned, it was stated, that in conformity to his instructions, he had an interview with Talleyrand Perigord, the minister of external relations, in which he had produced his dispatches, explained their purport, and demanded officially a categorical answer: that the said minister (forgetting, as is to be supposed, the tenour of the letter which had been written to Ruffin some time before) positively disavowed the expedition against Egypt, and said that Buonaparte's commission had no other object but the conquest of Malta; that the abolition of the order there being a measure conducive to the benefit of all the Turks, the Sublime Porte ought to feel even obliged by it; that the directory had nothing more at heart than to maintain the peace existing with the Porte since time immemorial, and more and more to strengthen the same, thus barefacedly exhibiting a farce of the most artful duplicity: the wide contradiction between the above two communications being visibly a fresh artifice by which to mislead the Ottoman Porte with her eyes open, and to gain time until intelligence could be procured respecting the affair of Egypt, the result of which had not then come to their knowledge. Must not this most extraordinary event be taken as a palpable demonstration, that the directors of the French government, to second their own ambition and arrogance, have actually lost all recollection of those laws observed and maintained in every regular government, and that

that no faith whatever is to be placed in their words and professions?

From the tenour of their arbitrary proceedings and despotic conduct, as too well witnessed from first to last, it is clear and evident that their project is no other but to banish every orderly institution from the face of the world; to overset human society, and, by an alternate play of secret intrigue or open hostility, as best suits their end, to derange the constitution of every established independent state, by creating (as they have done in Italy) a number of small republics, of which the French is to be the parent-mother, and thus to sway and to conduct every thing after their own will every where.

Now Egypt being the portal of the two venerable cities (Mecca and Medina), and the present operations in that quarter being of a nature affecting all the Mahomedan sect at large, the Sublime Porte, consistently with her express declarations to the above French chargé d'affaires, and, through her ambassador, to the directory, at Paris, feels compelled, by every law, to resist the sudden and unprovoked aggressions and hostilities committed by the French as above, and, with a full confidence in the assistance of the omnipotent God, to set about repelling and destroying the enemy by sea and land. Thus, to wage war against France is become a precept of religion incumbent upon all Mussulmen.

In consequence whereof, the afore-named chargé d'affaires, together with the officers of that mission, have been sent to the Seven Towers, to be detained there as hostages, until such time as Ali Effendi, before-

named, and those of his retinue, be arrived from Paris: and the consuls, merchants, and French properties, in Constantinople, and in other parts of the Ottoman empire, shall also be kept in deposit, and as a security, until the merchants, dependents of the Sublime Porte, with their shipping and properties, as also the public ships, with their equipages, detained in the province of Egypt (prisoners of war excepted), be set at liberty.

To repel the perfidy of these usurpers, who have raised the standard of rebellion and trouble in France, is a measure in which not the safety and tranquillity of the Sublime Porte alone, but also that of all the powers in Europe, is concerned. Wherefore the best hopes are entertained of the cordial co-operation of all friendly courts, as well as of their disposition to fulfil by every means in their power, their duties of friendship and of assistance in the present cause.

1 Rebuilakhir, 1213, (11 September, 1798.)

Imperial Decree, promulgated at the Porte, on Saturday, 1st Sept.

Translation.

To you, Kaïmakam Pasha, these are addressed.

EVER since the supreme vizir, Izzed Mehemmed Pasha, came to that office, instructions were constantly given him to attend to the defence of the Ottoman dominions, and never to be off his guard against the plots of enemies. He however, from selfish motives, has attended to nothing but his own interest; to that

that in the dark himself, with respect to the evil designs of those traitish * infidels, the French, from not procuring proper intelligence, he did not apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof in good time.

When the unhappy tidings from thence came to our imperial ear, a full month after that insufferable event had come to pass, such were our grief and concern, that we take God to witness, it drew tears from our eyes, and deprived us of sleep and rest.

We have therefore immediately deposed him from the office of grand vizir, and have appointed in his place Youssouff Pasha, governor of Erzerum, until whose arrival, at our sublime gate, we appoint and constitute you, Mustafa Bey, to be Kaïmakam.

Now it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat those faithless brutes, the French, and it being become a positive duty for our imperial person to deliver the blessed territories from their accursed hands, and to revenge the insult which they have offered to all true musfulmen, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizir; but the most vigorous measures must be pursued to attack them by sea and land.

Wherefore by a deliberation with the illustrious lawyers, ministers, and chieftains, our subjects, you must (with a full confidence in God and his prophet) fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the presence of such wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers in the respective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turn-

ing night into day, will apply your utmost efforts to take revenge of them.

You will adopt the most vigilant conduct towards defending the other Mahomedan provinces, and our imperial frontiers, from the plots and malice of the enemy, by the due reinforcement of every port and place with troops and military stores.

You will likewise direct your zealous attention towards the due supply of daily provisions to the inhabitants of this our imperial residence; and will watch over the affairs of all persons in general, until the supreme vizir do arrive.

We shall observe your exertions; and may the omnipotent God ordain his divine favour to attend our undertakings, and render us successful in the vindication of our cause!

Manifesto published by the King of Naples.

San Germano, Nov. 22, 1798.

Dear, faithful, and beloved subjects,

AFTER having, for almost forty years, exerted every effort to render you happy, and to succour you in all the calamities which it has pleased God to send you, I am now about to leave my beloved country, for the sole purpose of defending our holy religion, almost overthrown; to reanimate the divine worship; and to secure to you, and to your children, the enjoyment of the blessings which the

* Original, swine.

Lord has given you. If I had been sure of attaining that object by any other sacrifice, believe me, I should not have hesitated a moment to prefer that alternative; but what hopes could be entertained of success after the many fatal examples with which you are well acquainted? I set out, therefore, at the head of the brave defenders of their country, full of confidence in the Lord of Hosts, who will guide our steps and protect our operations. I go to brave all danger with the greatest cheerfulness, because I do it for my fellow-citizens, for my brothers, for my children, for such I have ever considered you. Be always faithful to God, and to her whom I leave in my stead to conduct the government of these states, my dear and well-beloved consort. I recommend to you, then, your tender mother; I recommend to you my children, who are not more mine than they are yours. At all events, remember that you are Neapolitans; that those are brave who are willing to exert their courage; and that it is better to die gloriously for God and our country, than to live shamefully oppressed! Meanwhile, may God bestow upon you all the blessings and the happiness which is the wish of him, who is, and while he lives shall be, your most affectionate father and sovereign,

Ferdinand.

*Head-quarters, Turin, Dec. 9.
Act of Renunciation of the King of
Sardinia.*

THE commander-in-chief gives orders that the present act shall be printed in both langua-

ges, French and Italian, and made public.

Article 1. His majesty declares, that he renounces the exercise of all power, and he especially orders all his subjects whatever to obey the provisional government which is about to be established by the French general.

2. His majesty orders the Piedmontese army to consider itself as an integral part of the French army in Italy, and to obey the French commander-in-chief as their own.

3. His majesty disavows the publication of the proclamation circulated by his ministers, and he gives orders to M. le chevalier Danigen to surrender the citadel of Turin, as a pledge that no resistance whatever shall be attempted against the present act, which has emanated purely from his own will.

4. His majesty issues orders to the governor of the city of Turin to receive and execute precisely all orders which the French general commanding the citadel shall think proper to order for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

5. No change shall be made that can affect the catholic religion, or the safety or property of individuals.

The Piedmontese who are anxious to change their abodes shall have liberty to take with them their moveable effects, to sell and liquidate their property, in order to export the value. The Piedmontese who are absent are at liberty to return to Piedmont, and to enjoy the same rights there as other citizens, nor shall they, on any account, be questioned as to any actions or writings previous to this present act.

6. The king shall be at liberty to repair to [Sardinia

was

was afterwards determined upon as the place]. In the mean time, no arrangement shall be made that can effect the security of his person. Until the moment of his departure his palaces and country-houses shall not be taken possession of by the French troops, nor shall any property be carried off, and the guard shall be kept by those who have hitherto been employed in that service.

7. The passports and necessary orders shall be given, that his majesty and all his family may arrive in safety at the place of their retreat. They shall be accompanied by an equal force of French and Piedmontese.

9. In case the prince de Carignan shall remain at Piedmont, he shall enjoy his property there, and shall be at liberty to leave it, as provided for the other subjects of Piedmont.

9. The state of the public archives, chests, &c. shall be immediately given in, and the seal shall be placed on the chests.

10. The ships of powers at war with the French republic shall not be received in the ports of the island of Sardinia.

Done at Turin, this 9th day of December, 1798.

(Signed) Ciazvel, adj.-gen.
C. Emmanuel.

Consented to and approved by me,
Raïmond de St. Germain,
chamberlain.

I undertake that I will throw no impediment in the way of the execution of this treaty.

Victor Emmanuel.

Approved and accepted,
Joubert, commander-in-chief.

*Concluding Passages of the Manifesto
of the Grand Priory of Malta.*

IT is to be remarked, that, in the infamous treaty, which yielded up Malta to the French, the interests of the grand master were alone attended to, and nothing was stipulated in favour of the order. The fact is explained by only this simple reflection. Ferdinand Hompesch and his agents have sold Malta, and they alone have received the price; in fact, care was taken not to summon to the council which decided on the surrender, the sixteen elders of the complete council, nor the Paillis Tignie, Gourjao, Clagny, Tillet, Bellemont, Loras, La Tour Saint Quintin, La Tour du Pin, &c. &c. which would have constituted more than half the council, and without whose consent no decision could properly have been taken. But they were very sure that those brave knights would have rejected with horror the dishonourable treaty which they were anxious to conclude, and it was found more expedient to give them up than to consult them. Equally inaccessible to the unjust prejudice which sees crimes every where, and to the culpable indulgence that tolerates them, we have been guided in our researches into the events at Malta by those principles only which honour avows and which equity prescribes. We have not advanced a fact without the proof before our eyes. Throughout the whole, truth has demonstrated to us that Ferdinand Hompesch is attainted and convicted of improvidence, cowardice, and perfidy; upon which considerations, we, the knights of the grand priory of Russia, and others present at St. Petersburg, regard Ferdinand Hompesch as deposed from

from the rank to which we elevated him; and, by virtue of our own laws, we hold ourselves absolved from the obedience which we should owe him as our chief, and we invite our brothers of the other grand priories to unite with us in a proceeding which honour has rendered indispensable, and from which we could not abstain, without participating in the opprobrium which Ferdinand Hompelt, Ransjeat, St. Tropes, and others, have so justly deserved. — We throw ourselves into the arms of our august and sovereign protector, Paul I. emperor of all the Russias, for his protection.

Protestation of the Grand Priory of Russia.

We, the baillies, grand cross, commanders, knights of the grand priory of Russia, and other knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at an extraordinary assembly at the priorial palace of the order, in the imperial residence of St. Petersburg, obliged to turn our attention towards Malta, what profound grief must we not feel in beholding that ancient and noble theatre of our glory treacherously sold by a convention, as null in its principles as it was infamous in its effects? — With what indignation must we not be transported in reflecting, that, after an insignificant attack of some hours, the cowards who bore the name of knights surrendered that bulwark of Christianity, which the example of their predecessors, and the sacred laws of honour, enjoined them to defend to the last drop of their blood, to banditti, a hundred times more infidel than

those against whom the duties of their profession armed them. — In the course of a war of seven centuries, the knights of St. John of Jerusalem experienced, more than once, the vicissitudes of fortune; more than once the alarmed Christians beheld the shield, if we may so call it, of the faith broken between each of their defenders, and the entire order preserving no other refuge but in the hearts of its knights. But the most noble always signalized their different successes, and their glory was as respected in the most disastrous reverses as it was splendid in their most brilliant exploits. Since its origin, the name of one traitor alone sullied the annals of the order of St. John of Jerusalem: by what fatality do we now see it precipitated into the abyss of disgrace and ignominy, by those very persons who enjoined them to preserve it? If the speedy punishment of Amaret did not remedy the evils which his perfidy occasioned, it at least testified the severity of the principles of that illustrious corps, and equitable posterity has poured with equal measure, Glory! Glory! upon Villiers de l'Isle Adam, and opprobrium upon his infamous adversary. If it depends upon us at the present moment to wash off, in the blood of traitors, the crimes they committed, in shamefully bartering the ancient and superb inheritance of honour, which our ancestors transmitted, let us at least shew with energy the just resentment, hatred, and contempt, with which their felony inspires us; let us reject with horror the vile treaty which will dishonour them for ever, and devote them irrevocably

bly to that remorse and infamy which will for ever be their portion. For ourselves, united under the glorious auspices of Paul I. the august emperor of all the Russias and the protector of our order, we protest, in the face of God, and in the presence of all those with whom honour and fidelity are still regarded as virtues, against every thing that perfidy has permitted to the detriment of our order. We solemnly disavow every proceeding contrary to the sacred laws of our constitution. We regard as degraded from their rank and dignities all those who drew up, accepted, or consented to the infamous treaty that surrendered Malta, as well as all those who shall be convicted of having co-operated, directly or indirectly, in that work of iniquity. We renounce, from this time, all sort of connection with those unworthy, infected, and corrupted members. In fine, we will never acknowledge for our brethren, but those who shall manifest the conformity of their principles with ours, by adhering to the present protestation, which we reserve to ourselves the power of extending or renewing, according to the exigency of the case. In the faith of which, we have proposed the present act, we have unanimously accepted and stamped it with the seal of the grand priory of Russia.

Dated at St. Petersburg, this day, Thursday, 26th of August, 1798.

Declaration of the Emperor of Russia, in Answer :

Having attentively examined the

acts presented to us by the baillics, knights of the grand cross, the commanders, and knights of the grand priory of Russia, as well as the other knights of the illustrious order of St. John of Jerusalem, assembled in the palace of the said priory in our capital, acts which contain, 1st, a protestation against the prejudicial conduct of the ci-devant grand master of the order, Ferdinand Hompesch, and others, knights, who have violated their engagements in surrendering, without any defence, their principal city, and their whole state, and made a dishonourable capitulation with the chief of the French who attacked the island of Malta, stipulating only for the personal advantage of the grand master and his adherents. 2dly, the confidence of the members of that order in us as its protector, marked by the desire that we should attend to its preservation, and an expression of readiness to submit to any arrangements which we might think necessary to make for its benefit.— We confirm the said acts in their full force, and, testifying our acknowledgements for the zeal of the members of the illustrious order of St. John of Jerusalem, we take all the well-disposed of the corps under our supreme direction. We promise, upon our imperial word, not only to maintain it in all its institutions, privileges, and honours, but also to employ all means in our power for its re-establishment in the respectable state which it held, and in which it contributed to the advantage of Christianity in general, and of every well-governed state in particular.

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Message

Message from the President of the United States, to the House of Representatives, on the 19th March.

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives.

THE dispatches from the envoys extraordinary of the United States to the French republic, which were mentioned in my message to both houses of congress, have been examined and maturely considered.

While I feel a satisfaction in informing you, that their exertions for the adjustment of the differences between the two nations have been sincere and unremitted, it is incumbent on me to declare, that I perceive no ground of expectation that the objects of their mission can be accomplished on terms compatible with the safety, honour, or the essential interests of the nation.

The result cannot, with justice, be attributed to any want of moderation on the part of this government, or to any indisposition to forego secondary interests for the preservation of peace. Knowing it to be my duty, and believing it to be your wish, as well as that of the great body of the people, to avoid, by all reasonable concessions, any participation in the contentions of Europe, the powers vested in our envoys were commensurate with a liberal and pacific policy, and that high confidence which might justly be reposed in the abilities, patriotism, and integrity, of the characters to whom the negotiation was committed. After a careful review of the whole subject, with the aid of all the information I have received, I can discern nothing which could have injured or contributed to success, that has been omit-

ted on my part, and nothing farther which can be attempted, confidently with maxims for which our country has contended, at every hazard, and which constitute the basis of our national sovereignty.

Under these circumstances, I cannot forbear to reiterate the recommendations which have been formerly made, and to exhort you to adopt, with promptitude, decision, and unanimity, such measures as the ample resources of the country afford, for the protection of our seafaring and commercial citizens; for the defence of any exposed portions of our territory; for replenishing our arsenals, establishing foundries and military manufactures; and to provide such efficient revenue as will be necessary to defray extraordinary expenses, and supply the deficiencies which may be occasioned by depredations on our commerce.

The present state of things is so essentially different from that in which instructions were given to collectors to restrain vessels of the United States from sailing in an armed condition, that the principle on which those orders were issued, has ceased to exist. I therefore deem it proper to inform congress, that I no longer conceive myself justifiable in continuing them, unless in particular cases, where there may be reasonable ground of suspicion that such vessels are intended to be employed contrary to law.

In all your proceedings it will be important to manifest a zeal, vigour, and concert, in defence of the national rights, proportioned to the danger with which they are threatened.

John Adams.

United States, 19th March, 1798.

Message

Message of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress, April 3, 1798.

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

IN compliance with the request of the house of representatives, expressed in their resolution of the second of this month, I transmit to both houses those instructions to and dispatches from the envoys extraordinary of the United States to the French republic, which were mentioned in my message of the 19th of March last, omitting only some names, and a few expressions, descriptive of the persons.

I request that they may be considered in confidence, until the members of congress are fully possessed of their contents, and shall have had opportunity to deliberate on the consequences of their publication; after which time I submit them to your wisdom.

Copies of Dispatches from the Envoys of the United States to the President.

*Department of State,
April 3, 1798.*

THE names designated by the letters W. X. Y. Z. in the following copies of letters from the envoys of the United States to the French republic, are, in the originals, written at full length, in cyphers. For the same reason that single letters are thus taken to designate certain persons named in the letters, other words descriptive of them are omitted.

Timothy Pickering.

No. I.

Paris, October 22, 1797.

Dear Sir,

ALL of us having arrived at Paris on the evening of the 4th instant, on the next day we verbally and unofficially informed the minister of foreign affairs thereof, and desired to know when he would be at leisure to receive one of our secretaries with the official notification. He appointed the next day at two o'clock; when major Rutledge waited on him with the following letter:

“ Citizen minister,

“ The United States of America being desirous of terminating all differences between them and the French republic, and of restoring that harmony and good understanding, and that commercial and friendly intercourse, which, from the common cement of their political connection, until lately, have so happily subsisted, the president has nominated, and by and with the advice of the senate, has appointed us, the undersigned, jointly and severally, envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the French republic, for the purpose of accomplishing these great objects. In pursuance of such nomination and appointment, and with such view, having come to Paris, we wish, citizen minister, to wait on you at any hour you will be pleased to appoint, to present the copy of our letters of credence; and whilst we evince our sincere and ardent desire for the speedy restoration of friendship and harmony between the two republics, we flatter ourselves with your concurrence in the accomplishment of this desirable event. We request you will accept the assurance

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of our perfect esteem and consideration.

"Paris, Oct. 6th, in 21st year of American independence.

(Signed)

"Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

"John Marshall.

"Elbridge Gerry."

To this letter the minister gave a verbal answer, that he would see us the day after the morrow (the 8th) at one o'clock. Accordingly at that hour and day we waited on the minister at his house, where his office is held, when, being informed he was not at home, the secretary-general of the department told major Rutledge, that the minister was obliged to wait on the directory, and requested we would suspend our visit till three o'clock; at which hour we called. The minister we found was then engaged with the Portuguese minister, who retired in about ten minutes, when we were introduced, and produced the copy of our letters of credence, which the minister perused and kept. He informed us, "that the directory had required him to make a report relative to the situation of the United States with regard to France, which he was then about, and which would be finished in a few days, when he would let us know what steps were to follow." We asked if cards of hospitality were in the mean time necessary? He said they were, and that they should be delivered to us; and he immediately rung for his secretary, and directed him to make them out. The conversation was carried on by him in French, and by us in our own language.

The next day the cards of hospitality were sent to us and our secre-

taries, in a style suitable to our official character.

On Saturday, the 14th, major Mounsflorence informed general Pinckney, that he had a conversation with Mr. Osmond, the private and confidential secretary of the minister of foreign affairs, who told him, that the directory were greatly exasperated at some parts of the president's speech, at the opening of the last session of congress, and would require an explanation of them from us. The particular parts were not mentioned. In another conversation on the same day, the secretary informed the major, that the minister had told him, it was probable we should not have a public audience of the directory till such time as our negotiation was finished; that probably persons might be appointed to treat with us; but they would report to him, and he would have the direction of the negotiation. The major did not conceal from Mr. Osmond his intention to communicate these conversations to us.

In the morning of October the 18th, Mr. W——, of the house of _____, called on general Pinckney, and informed him, that a Mr. X. who was in Paris, and whom the general had seen _____, was a gentleman of considerable credit and reputation _____, and that we might place great reliance on him.

In the evening of the same day, Mr. X. called on general Pinckney, and, after having sat some time, _____, whispered him, that he had a message from M. Talleyrand to communicate, when he was at leisure. General Pinckney immediately withdrew with _____

with him into another room; and, when they were alone, Mr. X. said, that he was charged with a business in which he was a novice; that he had been acquainted with M. Talleyrand, that he was sure he had a great regard for [America] and its citizens; and was very desirous that a reconciliation should be brought about with France; that to effectuate that end, he was ready, if it was thought proper, to suggest a plan, confidentially, that M. Talleyrand expected would answer the purpose.

General Pinckney said, he should be glad to hear it. M. X. replied, that the directory, and particularly two of the members of it, were exceedingly irritated at some passages in the president's speech, and desired that they should be softened; and that this step would be necessary previous to our reception: that besides this, a sum of money was required for the pocket of the directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. Talleyrand; and that a loan would also be insisted on. M. X. said, if we acceded to these measures, M. Talleyrand had no doubt that all our differences with France might be accommodated. On inquiry, M. X. could not point out the particular passages of the speech that had given offence, nor the quantum of the loan; but mentioned that the douceur for the pocket was twelve hundred thousand livres, about fifty thousand pounds sterling. General Pinckney told him, his colleagues and himself, from the time of their arrival here, had been treated with great slight and disrespect; that they earnestly wished for peace and reconciliation with France; and had been entrusted, by their coun-

try, with very great powers to obtain these ends, on honourable terms: that with regard to the propositions made, he could not even consider of them before he had communicated them to his colleagues; that after he had done so, he should hear from him. After a communication and consultation had, it was agreed, that general Pinckney should call on M. X. and request him to make his propositions to us all; and, for fear of mistakes or misapprehension, that he should be requested to reduce the heads into writing. Accordingly, on the morning of October the 19th, general Pinckney called on M. X. who consented to see his colleagues in the evening, and to reduce his propositions to writing. He said, his communication was not immediately with M. Talleyrand, but through another gentleman, in whom M. Talleyrand had great confidence. This proved afterwards to be M. Y.

At six in the evening M. X. came, and left with us the first set of propositions; which, translated from the French, are as follows: "A person who possesses the confidence of the directory, on what relates to the affairs of America, convinced of the mutual advantages which would result from the re-establishment of the good understanding between the two nations, proposes to employ all of his influence to obtain the object. He will assist the commissioners of the United States in all the demands which they may have to make from the government of France, inasmuch as they may not be contradictory to those which he proposes himself to make, and of which the principal will be communicated confidentially. It is desired that in the official communications there

there should be given a softening turn to a part of the president's speech to congress, which has caused much irritation. It is feared that in not satisfying certain individuals in this respect, they may give way to all their resentment. The nomination of commissioners will be consented to on the same footing as they have been named in the treaty with England, to decide on the reclamations which individuals of America may make on the government of France, or on French individuals. The payments which, agreeably to the decisions of the commissioners, shall fall to the share of the French government, are to be advanced by the American government itself. It is desired that the funds, which by this means shall enter again into the American trade, should be employed in new supplies for the French colonies. Engagements of this nature on the part of individuals reclaiming will always hasten, in all probability, the decisions of the French commissioners; and perhaps it may be desired that this clause should make a part of the instructions which the government of the United States should give to the commissioners they may choose.

"The French government desires, besides, to obtain a loan from the United States; but so that that should not give any jealousy to the English government, nor hurt the neutrality of the United States. This loan shall be masked, by stipulating, that the government of the United States consents to make the advances for the payment of the debts contracted by the agents of the French government with the citizens of the United States; and which are already acknowledged,

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and the payment ordered by the directory, but without having been yet effectuated. There should be delivered a note to the amount of these debts. Probably this note may be accompanied by ostensible pieces, which will guarantee to the agents the responsibility of the United States, in case any umbrage should cause an inquiry. There shall also be first taken from the loan certain sums, for the purpose of making the customary distributions in diplomatic affairs."

The person of note, mentioned in the minutes, who had the confidence of the directory, he said, before us all, was M. Talleyrand.—The amount of the loan he could not ascertain precisely, but understood it would be according to our ability to pay. The sum which would be considered as proper, according to the diplomatic usage, was about twelve hundred thousand livres. He could not state to us what parts of the president's speech were excepted to, but said he would inquire, and inform us. He agreed to breakfast with Mr. Gerry, the morning of the 21st, in order to make such explanations as we had then requested, or should think proper to request; but, on the morning of the 20th, M. X. called and said, that M. Y. the confidential friend of M. Talleyrand, instead of communicating with us through M. X. would see us himself, and make the necessary explanations. We appointed to meet him the evening of the 20th, at seven o'clock, in general Marshall's room. At seven, M. Y. and M. X. entered; and the first-mentioned gentleman, being introduced to us as the confidential friend of M. Talleyrand, immediately stated to us the favourable impression

impressions of that gentleman towards our country, — impressions which were made by the kindness and civilities he had personally received in America: that, impressed by his solicitude to repay these kindnesses, he was willing to aid us in the present negotiation by his good offices with the directory, who were, he said, extremely irritated against the government of the United States, on account of some parts of the president's speech, and who had neither acknowledged nor received us, and, consequently, had not authorized M. Talleyrand to have any communications with us. The minister, therefore, could not see us himself, but had authorized his friend M. Y. to communicate to us certain propositions, and to receive our answers to them — and to promise, on his part, that if we would engage to consider them as the basis of the proposed negotiation, he would intercede with the directory to acknowledge us, and to give us a public audience. M. Y. stated to us, explicitly and repeatedly, that he was clothed with no authority; that he was not a diplomatic character; that he was not

he was only the friend of M. Talleyrand, and trusted by him; that, with regard to himself, he had and that he earnestly wished well to the United States. He then took out of his pocket a French translation of the president's speech, the parts of which, objected to by the directory, were marked, agreeably to our request to M. X. and are contained in the exhibit A. Then he made us the second set of propositions, which were dictated by him, and written by M. X. in our presence, and delivered to us, and

which, translated from the French, are as follows:

“ There is demanded a formal disavowal, in writing, declaring that the speech of the citizen-president, Barras, did not contain any thing offensive to the government of the United States, nor any thing which deserved the epithets contained in the whole paragraph: secondly, reparation is demanded for the article by which it shall be declared, that the decree of the directory, there mentioned, did not contain any thing contrary to the treaty of 1778, and had none of those fatal consequences that the paragraph reproaches to it: thirdly, it is demanded, that there should be an acknowledgement, in writing, of the depredations exercised on our trade by the English and French privateers: fourthly, the government of France, faithful to the profession of public faith which it has made, not to intermeddle in the internal affairs of foreign governments with which it is at peace, would look upon this paragraph as an attack upon its loyalty, if this was intended by the president. It demands, in consequence, a formal declaration, that it is not the government of France, nor its agents, that this paragraph meant to designate. In consideration of these reparations, the French republic is disposed to renew, with the United States of America, a treaty which shall place them reciprocally in the same state that they were in 1778. By this new treaty, France shall be placed, with respect to the United States, exactly on the same footing as they stand with England, in virtue of the last treaty which has been concluded between them. A secret article of this new treaty would

would be a loan to be made by the United States to the French republic; and, once agreed upon the amount of the loan, it would be endeavoured to consult the convenience of the United States, with respect to the best method of preventing its publicity."

On reading the speech, M. Y. dilated very much upon the keenness of the resentment it had produced, and expatiated largely on the satisfaction he said was indispensably necessary as a preliminary to negotiation. "But," said he, "gentlemen, I will not disguise from you, that, this satisfaction being made, the essential part of the treaty remains to be adjusted:" *Il faut de l'argent — Il faut beaucoup d'argent*: "You must pay money; you must pay a great deal of money," He spoke much of the force, the honour, and the jealous republican pride of France; and represented to us strongly the advantages which we should derive from the neutrality thus to be purchased. He said, that the receipt of the money might be so disguised as to prevent its being considered as a breach of neutrality by England; and thus save us from being embroiled with that power. Concerning the twelve hundred thousand livres, little was said; that being completely understood, on all sides, to be required for the officers of government, and therefore needing no farther explanation. These propositions, he said, being considered as the admitted basis of the proposed treaty, M. Talleyrand trusted, that, by his influence with the directory, he could prevail on the government to receive us. We asked, whether we were to consider it as certain, that, without a

previous stipulation, to the effect required, we were not to be received? He answered, that M. Talleyrand himself was not authorized to speak to us the will of the directory, and consequently could not authorize him. The conversation continued till half after nine, when they left us, having engaged to breakfast with Mr. Gerry the next morning.

October 21st, M. X. came before nine o'clock; M. Y. did not come until ten; he had passed the morning with M. Talleyrand. After breakfast, the subject was immediately resumed. He represented to us, that we were not yet acknowledged or received; that the directory were so exasperated against the United States, as to have come to a determination to demand from us, previous to our reception, those disavowals, reparations, and explanations, which were stated at large last evening. He said, that M. Talleyrand and himself were extremely sensible of the pain we must feel in complying with this demand; but that the directory would not dispense with it: that, therefore, we must consider it as the indispensable preliminary to obtain our reception, unless we could find the means to change their determination in this particular: that if we satisfied the directory in these particulars, a letter would be written to us, to denote the extent of our powers, and to know whether we were authorized to place them precisely on the same footing with England?—whether, he said, our full powers were really and substantially full powers?—or, like those of lord Malmesbury, only illusory powers? That, if to this demand our answer should be affirmative, then

then France would consent that commissioners should be appointed to ascertain the claims of the United States, in like manner as under our treaty with England; but from their jurisdiction must be withdrawn those which were condemned for want of a *role d'équipage*, that being a point on which Merlin, while minister of justice, had written a treatise, and on which the directory were decided. There would, however, be no objection to our complaining of these captures, in the course of the negociation; and, if we could convince Merlin, by our reasoning, the minister would himself be satisfied with our so doing. We required an explanation of that part of the conversation, in which M. Y. had hinted at our finding means to avert the demand concerning the president's speech. He answered, that he was not authorized to state those means, but that we must search for them, and propose them ourselves. If, however, we asked his opinion as a private individual, and would receive it as coming from him, he would suggest to us the means which, in his opinion, would succeed. On being asked to suggest the means, he answered, money; that the directory were jealous of its own honour, and of the honour of the nation; that it insisted on receiving from us the same respect with which we had treated the king; that this honour must be maintained in the manner before required, unless we substituted, in the place of those reparations, something perhaps more valuable, that was, money. He said, farther, that if we desired him to point out the sum which he believed would be satisfactory, he would do so. We requested him to

proceed: and he said, that there were thirty-two millions of florins of Dutch inscriptions, worth ten shillings in the pound, which might be assigned to us at twenty shillings in the pound; and he proceeded to state to us the certainty, that, after a peace, the Dutch government would repay us the money; so that we should ultimately lose nothing; and the only operation of the measure would be an advance from us, to France, of thirty-two millions on the credit of the government of Holland. We asked him, whether the fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a *douceur* to the directory, must be in addition to this sum? He answered us in the affirmative. We told him, that on the subject of the treaty we had no hesitation in saying, that our powers were ample; that, on the other points proposed to us, we would retire into another room, and return in a few minutes with our answer.

We committed immediately to writing the answer we proposed, in the following words: "Our powers respecting a treaty are ample; but the proposition of a loan, in the form of Dutch inscriptions, or in any other form, is not within the limits of our instructions; upon this point, therefore, the government must be consulted: one of the American ministers will, for the purpose, forthwith embark for America, provided the directory will suspend all farther captures on American vessels, and will suspend proceedings on those already captured, as well where they have been already condemned, as where the decisions have not yet been rendered; and that where sales have been made, but the money not yet received by the captors, it shall

shall not be paid until the preliminary questions, proposed to the ministers of the United States be discussed and decided:” which was read as a verbal answer; and we told them, they might copy it, if they pleased. M. Y. refused to do so; his disappointment was apparent; he said, we treated the money part of the proposition as if it had proceeded from the directory,—whereas, in fact, it did not proceed even from the minister, but was only a suggestion from himself, as a substitute to be proposed by us, in order to avoid the painful acknowledgement that the directory had determined to demand of us. It was told him, that we understood that matter perfectly; that we knew the proposition was in form to be ours, but that it came substantially from the minister. We asked what had led to our present conversation? And general Pinckney then repeated the first communication from M. X. (to the whole of which that gentleman assented); and we observed, that those gentlemen had brought no testimonials of their speaking anything from authority; but that, relying on the fair characters they bore, we had believed them when they said they were from the minister, and had conversed with them in like manner as if we were conversing with M. Talleyrand himself; and that we could not consider any suggestion M. Y. had made as not having been previously approved of; but yet, if he did not choose to take a memorandum, in writing, of our answer, we had no wish that he should do so, and farther, if he chose to give the answer to his proposition the form of a proposition from ourselves, we could only tell him, that we had no other

proposition to make, relative to any advance of money on our part, that America had sustained dear and heavy losses by French depredations on our commerce, and that France has alleged to many complaints against the United States, that on those subjects we came fully prepared, and were not a little surprized to find France unwilling to hear us, and making demands upon us which could never have been suspected by our government, and which had the appearance of our being the aggressing party. M. Y. expressed himself vehemently on the resentment of France; and complained, that, instead of our proposing some substitute for the reparations demanded of us, we were stipulating certain conditions to be performed by the directory itself; that he could not take charge of such propositions; and that the directory would persist in its demand of those reparations which he had at first stated. We answered, that we could not help it: it was for the directory to determine what course its own honour and the interests of France required it to pursue: it was for us to guard the interests and honour of our country. M. Y. observed, that we had taken no notice of the first proposition, which was, to know whether we were ready to make the disavowal, reparations, and explanations, concerning the president’s speech. We told him, that we supposed it to be impossible that either he or the minister could imagine that such a proposition could require an answer; that we did not understand it as being seriously expected, but merely as introductory to the subjects of real consideration. He spoke of the respect which the directory required, and repeated,

repeated, that it would exact as much as was paid to the ancient kings. We answered, that America had demonstrated to the world, and especially to France, a much greater respect for her present government than for her former monarchy; and that there was no evidence of this disposition, which ought to be required, that we were not ready to give. He said, that we should certainly not be received, and seemed to shudder at the consequences.— We told him, that America had made every possible effort to remain on friendly terms with France; that she was still making them: that if France would not hear us, but would make war on the United States, nothing remained for us but to regret the unavoidable necessity of defending ourselves.

The subject of our powers was again mentioned; and we told him, that America was solicitous to have no more misunderstandings with any republic, but especially with France; that she wished a permanent treaty, and was sensible that no treaty could be permanent, which did not comport with the interests of the parties; and, therefore, that he might be assured that our powers were such as authorized us to place France on an equal ground with England, in any respects in which an inequality might be supposed to exist at present between them, to the disadvantage of France. The subject of the *role d'equipage* was also mentioned; and we asked what assurance we could have, if France insisted on the right of adding to the stipulations of our treaty, or of altering them by municipal regulations, that any future treaty we could make should be observed. M. Y. said, that he did not admit

the principle of changing treaties by municipal regulations; but that the directory considered its regulation concerning the *role d'equipage* as comporting with the treaty. We observed to him, that none of our vessels had what the French termed a *role d'equipage*; and that, if we were to surrender all the property which had been taken from our citizens, in cases where their vessels were not furnished with such a roll, the government would be responsible to its citizens for the property so surrendered; since it would be impossible to undertake to assert, that there was any plausibility in the allegation—that our treaty required a *role d'equipage*.

The subject of disavowals, &c. concerning the president's speech, was again mentioned; and it was observed, that the constitution of the United States authorized and required our president to communicate his ideas on the affairs of the nation; that, in obedience to the constitution, he had done so; that we had not power to confirm or invalidate any part of the president's speech; that such an attempt could produce no other effect than to make us ridiculous to the government, and to the citizens at large, of the United States, and to produce, on the part of the president, an immediate disavowal and recall of us, as his agents; that, independent of this, all America was acquainted with the facts stated by the president, and our disavowing them would not change the public sentiment concerning them. — We parted with mutual professions of personal respect, and with full indications, on the part of M. Y. of his expectation that we should immediately receive the threatened letter.

The

The nature of the above communication will evince the necessity of secrecy; and we have promised Messrs. X. and Y. that their names shall in no event be made public.

We have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient

Humble servants,

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

J. Marshall.

E. Gerry.

P S. October 27, 1797.—The definitive articles of peace are signed between the French republic and the emperor; the particulars you will find in the public prints. The Portuguese minister is ordered to quit France, as the treaty with Portugal has not been yet ratified by the queen. The treaty itself is declared by the directory to be void. Since our arrival at Paris, the tribunal of cassation has rejected captain Scot's petition, complaining of the condemnation of his vessel by the civil tribunal for the want of a *role d'équipage*. Mr —, in behalf of the owners of the American vessels, who have appealed in the last resort to the tribunal of cassation, informs, that notwithstanding the arguments — — to put off the hearing of the *Rofanna*, as a diplomatic case, till the issue of our negotiation is known, that case is set down for hearing, and will come on the 29th or 30th instant. The same — also says, that it is obvious that the tribunal have received instructions from the officers of government to hasten their decisions, and that it was hardly worth while to — for all our petitions in cassation would be rejected. Our advocates — decline giving their sentiments on

this subject — under an apprehension of committing themselves.

Colonel Pickering, Secretary
to the United States.

No. II.

Paris, November 8, 1797.

Dear Sir,

We now enclose you, in thirty-six quarto pages of cipher, and in eight pages of ciphered exhibits, the sequel to the details commenced in No. I. dated the 22d of last month; and have the honour to be

Your most obedient

Humble servants,

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

J. Marshall.

E. Gerry.

Colonel Pickering.

Oct. 27, 1797.—About twelve we received another visit from M. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the papers, and then said, that some proposals from us had been expected on the subject on which we had before conversed; that the directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided course with regard to America, if we could not soften them. We answered, that on that subject we had already spoken explicitly, and had nothing farther to add. He mentioned the change in the state of things which had been produced by the peace with the emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our system; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. M. X. urged, that the directory had, since this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with respect to us, and all other neutral nations, than had been before taken; that

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it had been determined, that all nations should aid them, or be considered and treated as their enemies. We answered, that such an effect had already been contemplated by us as probable, and had not been overlooked, when we gave to this proposition our decided answer: and farther, that we had no powers to negotiate for a loan of money: that our government had not contemplated such a circumstance in any degree whatever; that if we should stipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France, and expose ourselves. M. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the dangers of our situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The present men, he said, would very probably not continue long in power; and it would be very unfortunate, if those who might succeed, with better dispositions towards us, should find the two nations in actual war. We answered, that if war should be made on us by France, it would be so obviously forced on us, that, on a change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accommodated: we added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than a declared war would be; that at present our commerce was plundered, unprotected; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. M. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connection with Britain; and we answered, that we hoped so too; that we had all been engaged in our revolution war, and felt its inju-

ries; that it had made the deepest impression on us; but that if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defence. M. X. again returned to the subject of money: said he, gentlemen, you do not speak to the point—it is money; it is expected that you will offer money. We said, we had spoken to that point very explicitly; we had given an answer. No, said he, you have not; What is your answer? We replied, It is, No; no; not a sixpence. He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and asked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in our favour? He said, we ought to consider what men we had to treat with; that they disregarded the justice of our claims, and the reasoning with which we might support them; that they disregarded their own colonies; and considered themselves as perfectly invulnerable with respect to us; that we could only acquire an interest among them by a judicious application of money; and it was for us to consider, whether the situation of our country did not require that these means should be resorted to. We observed, that the conduct of the French government was such as to leave us much reason to fear, that, should we give the money, it would effect no good purpose, and would not produce a just mode of thinking with respect to us. He said, that when we employed a lawyer we gave him a fee, without knowing whether the cause could be gained or not; but it was necessary to have one, and we paid for his services, whether those services were successful or

not: so in the present state of things, the money must be advanced for the good offices the individuals were to render, whatever might be the effect of those good offices. We told him there was no parallel in the cases; that a lawyer, not being to render the adjudgement, could not command success: he could only endeavour to obtain it; and consequently, we could only pay him for his endeavours: but the directory could decide on the issue of our negociation. It is only to order that no more American vessels should be seized, and to direct those now in custody to be restored, and there could be no opposition to the order. He said, that all the members of the directory were not disposed to receive our money: that Merlin, for instance, was paid from another quarter and would touch no part of the *douceur* which was to come from us. We replied, that we understood that Merlin was paid by the owners of the privateers; and he nodded an assent to the fact. He proceeded to press this subject with vast perseverance. He told us that we paid money to obtain peace with the *Algerines* and with the *Indians*; and that it was doing no more to pay France for peace. To this it was answered, that when our government commenced a treaty with either *Algiers* or the *Indian tribes*, it was understood that money was to form the basis of the treaty, and was its essential article; that the whole nation knew it, and was prepared to expect it as a thing of course; but that, in treating with France, our government had supposed that the proposition, such as he spoke of, would,

if made by us, give mortal offence.

He asked, if our government did not know that nothing was to be obtained here without money? We replied, that our government had not even suspected such a state of things.—He appeared surprized at it, and said, there was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information. We told him that the letters of our minister had indicated a very contrary temper in the government of France; and had represented it as acting entirely upon principle, and as feeling a very pure and disinterested affection for America. He looked somewhat surprized, and said briskly to general Pinckney, Well, sir, you have been a long time in France and in Holland—what do you think of it? General Pinckney answered, that he considered M. X. and M. Y. as men of truth and of consequence; he could but have one opinion on the subject.—He stated, that *Hamburg*, and other states of Europe, were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for our interest to do so. Once more he spoke on the danger of a breach with France, and of her power, which nothing could resist. We told him, that it would be in vain for us to deny her power, or the solicitude we felt to avoid a contest with it; that no nation estimated her power more highly than America, or wished more to be on amicable terms with her; but that one object was still dearer to us than the friendship of France—which was our national independence: that America had taken a neutral station; she had a right to take it; no nation had a right to force us out.

out of it; that to lend a sum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in every thing requisite for war but money, was to relinquish our neutrality, and take part in the war; to lend this money, under the lash and coercion of France, was to relinquish the government of ourselves, and to submit to a foreign government, imposed upon us by force; that we would make, at least, one manly struggle before we thus surrendered our national independence; that our case was different from that of some of the minor nations of Europe; they were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do so: America was a great, and, so far as concerned her self-defence, a powerful nation; she was able to maintain her independence, and must deserve to lose it, if she permitted it to be wrested from her; that France and Britain had been at war for near fifty years of the last hundred, and might, probably, be at war for fifty years of the century to come; that America had no motives which could induce her to involve herself in those wars; and that, if she now preserved her neutrality and her independence, it was most probable that she would not, in future, be afraid, as she had been for four years past; but if she now surrendered her rights of self-government to France, or permitted them to be torn from her, she could not expect to recover them, or to remain neutral in any future war. He said that France had lent us money during our revolution war, and only required that we should now exhibit the same friendship for her. We answered, that the cases were very different: that America soli-

cited a loan from France, and left her at liberty to grant or refuse it; but that France demanded it from America, and left us no choice on the subject. We also told him there was another difference in the cases; that the money was lent by France for great national and French objects; it was lent to maim a rival, and an enemy whom she hated; that the money, if lent by America, would not be for any American objects, but to enable France to extend still farther her conquests. The conversation continued for nearly two hours; and the public and private advance of money was pressed and repelled in a variety of forms. At length M. X. said that he did not blame us; that our determination was certainly proper, if we could keep it; but he showed, decidedly, his opinion to be, that we could not keep it. He said that he would communicate, as nearly as he could, our conversation to the minister, or to M. Y. to be given by him to the minister; we are not certain which. We then separated. On the 22d of October, M. Z. a French gentleman of respectable character, informed Mr. Gerry, that M. Talleyrand, minister of foreign relations, who professed to be well-disposed towards the United States, had expected to have seen the American ministers frequently in their private capacities; and to have conferred with them individually on the objects of their mission; and had authorized M. Z. to make this communication to Mr. Gerry. The latter sent for his colleagues, and a conference was held with M. Z. on the subject, in which general Pinckney and general Marshall expressed their opinions, that, not being acquainted with M. Talleyrand, they

they could not, with propriety, call on him; but that, according to the custom of France, he might expect this of Mr. Gerry, from a previous acquaintance in America. This Mr. Gerry reluctantly complied with on the 23d, and with M. Z. called on M. Talleyrand, who, not being then at his office, appointed the 28th for the interview. After the first introduction, M. Talleyrand began the conference. He said, that the directory had passed an *arrête*, which he offered for perusal, in which they had demanded of the envoys an explanation of some parts, and a reparation for others, of the president's speech to Congress of the 16th of May last: he was sensible, he said, that difficulties would exist on the part of the envoys, relative to the demand; but that by their offering money he thought he could prevent the effect of the *arrête*. M. Z. at the request of Mr. Gerry, having stated that the envoys had no such power, M. Talleyrand replied, they can, in such case, take a power on themselves, and proposed that they should make a loan. Mr. Gerry then addressed M. Talleyrand distinctly in English, which he said he understood, and stated, that the uneasiness of the directory, resulting from the president's speech, was a subject unconnected with the objects of the mission; that M. Barras, in his speech to Mr. Monroe, on his recall, had expressed himself in a manner displeasing to the government and citizens of the United States; that the president, as the envoys conceived, had made such observations on M. Barras's speech as were necessary to vindicate the honour of the United States; that this was not considered by our government

as a subject of dispute between the two nations; that having no instructions respecting it, we could not make any explanations or reparations relating to it; and that M. Talleyrand himself was sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the United States to be convinced of the truth of these observations.

Mr. Gerry farther stated, that the powers of the envoys, as they conceived, were adequate to the discussion and adjustment of all points of real difference between the two nations; that they could alter and amend the treaty, or, if necessary, form a new one; that the United States were anxiously desirous of removing all causes of complaint between themselves and France, and of renewing their former friendship and intercourse on terms which would be mutually honourable and beneficial to the two nations, but not on any other terms; that as to a loan, we had no powers whatever to make one; that if we were to attempt it, we should deceive himself and the directory likewise, which, as men of honour, we could not do; but that we could send one of our number for instructions on this proposition, if deemed expedient, provided that the other objects of the negotiation could be discussed and adjusted; that as he had expressed a desire to confer with the envoys individually, it was the wish of Mr. Gerry that such a conference should take place, and their opinions thus be ascertained, which he conceived corresponded with his own in the particulars mentioned. M. Talleyrand, in answer, said, he should be glad to confer with the other envoys individually, but that this matter, about

about the money, must be settled directly, without sending to America; that he would not communicate the arrête for a week; and that if we could adjust the difficulty respecting the speech, an application would, nevertheless, go to the United States for a loan. A courier arrived at this moment from Italy, and M. Talleyrand appearing impatient to read the letters, Mr. Gerry took leave of him immediately. He followed to the door, and desired M. Z. to repeat to Mr. Gerry what he, M. Talleyrand, had said to him. Mr. Gerry then returned to his quarters with M. Z. took down the particulars of this interview as before stated, sent for generals Pinckney and Marshall, and read it to them in the presence of M. Z. who confirmed it. Generals Pinckney and Marshall then desired M. Z. to inform M. Talleyrand that they had nothing to add to this conference, and did not wish that the arrête might be delayed on their account.

October 29th. M. X. again called on us. He said M. Talleyrand was extremely anxious to be of service to us, and had requested that one more effort should be made to induce us to enable him to be so. A great deal of the same conversation which had passed at our former interviews was repeated. The power and the haughtiness of France was again displayed to us. We were told that the destruction of England was inevitable; and that the wealth and arts of that nation would naturally pass over to America, if that event should find us in peace. To this observation we replied, that France would probably forbid America to receive them, in

like manner as she had forbid to Switzerland to permit the residence in its country of a British minister. We told him, also, that we were sensible of the value of peace, and therefore sought it unremittingly, but that it was real peace we sought for, and real peace only which could be desirable.

The sum of his proposition was, that if we would pay, by way of fees, (that was his expression) the sum of money demanded for private use, the directory would not receive us; but would permit us to remain in Paris as we now were; and we should be received by M. Talleyrand, until one of us could go to America, and consult our government on the subject of the loan. These were the circumstances, he said, under which the minister of Portugal had treated. We asked him if, in the mean time, the directory would order the American property, not yet passed into the hands of the privateer's men, to be restored. He said, explicitly, that they would not. We asked him, whether they would suspend farther depredations on our commerce? he said they would not: but M. Talleyrand observed, that on this subject we could not sustain much additional injury, because the winter season was approaching, when few additional captures would be made. We told him that France had taken violently from America more than fifty millions of dollars, and treated us in every respect as enemies, in return for the friendship we had manifested for her; that we had come to endeavour to restore harmony to the two nations, and to obtain compensation for the injuries our countrymen sustained; and that, in lieu of this compensation, we were told

that if we would pay twelve hundred thousand livres, we might be permitted to remain in Paris, which would only give us the benefit of seeing the plays and operas of Paris for the winter, that we might have time to ask from our country to exhaust her resources for France, whose depredations would be continued. He again stated, that, by this procedure, we should suspend a war; and that, perhaps, in five or six months, power might change hands.

We told him that what we wished to see in France was a temper sincerely friendly to the United States, and really disposed to do us justice; that if we could perceive this, we might not so much regard a little money, such as he stated to be usual, although we should hazard ourselves by giving it; but that we saw only evidences of the most extreme hostility towards us: war was made upon us so far as France could make it in the present state of things; and it was not even proposed, that, on receiving our money, this war should cease: we had no reason to believe that a possible benefit could result from it; and we desired him to say, that we would not give a shilling, unless American property unjustly captured was previously restored, and farther hostilities suspended; and that, unless this was done, we did not conceive that we could even consult our government concerning a loan: that if the directory would receive us and commence negotiations, and any thing occurred which rendered a consultation of the government necessary, one of us would return to America for that purpose. He said, that, without this money, we should be obliged to quit Paris; and that we ought to consider the consequences: the property of the

Americans would be confiscated, and their vessels in port embargoed. We told him, that, unless there was a hope of a reconciliation, these evils could not be prevented by us; and the little delay we might obtain would only increase them; that our mission had induced many of our countrymen to trust their vessels into the ports of France, and that, if we remained in Paris, that very circumstance would increase the number; and, consequently, the injury which our countrymen would sustain, if France could permit herself so to violate her own engagements and the laws of nations. He expressed a wish that M. Y. should see us once more. We told him, that a visit from M. Y. as a private gentleman, would always be agreeable to us; but if he came only with the expectation that we should stipulate advances of money, without previously establishing a solid and permanent reconciliation, he might save himself the trouble of the application, because it was a subject we had considered maturely, and on which we were immoveable. He parted with us, saying, if that was the case it would not be worth while for M. Y. to come. In the evening, while general Pinckney and general Marshall were absent, M. Y. and M. X. called, and were invited by Mr. Gerry to breakfast with us the next morning.

October 30. Immediately after breakfast the subject was resumed. M. Y. spoke without interruption for near an hour. He said that he was desirous of making a last effort to serve us, by proposing something which might accommodate the differences between the two nations: that what he was now about to mention had not, by any means the
appre-

approbation of the directory; nor could M. Talleyrand undertake farther than to make from us the proposition to the directory; and use his influence for its success; that, last week M. Talleyrand could not have ventured to have offered such propositions; but that his situation had been very materially changed by the peace with the emperor. By that peace he had acquired, in a high degree, the confidence of the directory, and now possessed great influence with that body; that he was also closely connected with Buonaparte and the generals of the army in Italy, and was to be considered as firmly fixed in his post, at least for five or six months; that, under these circumstances, he could undertake to offer, in our behalf, propositions which before this increase of influence he could not have hazarded. M. Y. then called our attention to our own situation, and to the force France was capable of bringing to bear upon us. He said that we were the best judges of our capacity to resist, so far as depended on our own resources, and ought not to deceive ourselves on so interesting a subject. The fate of Venice was one which might befall the United States. But he proceeded to observe, it was probable we might rely on forming a league with England. If we had such a reliance, it would fail us. The situation of England was such as to compel Pitt to make peace on the terms of France. A variety of causes were in operation, which made such an effect absolutely certain. To say nothing of the opposition in England to the minister and to the war, an opposition which the fears of the nation would increase; to say nothing of a war

against England which was preparing in the north; an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of Buonaparte, spread upon the coast of France, and aided by all the vast resources of his genius, would most probably be enabled to invade England: in which event their government would be overturned; but should this invasion not be absolutely effected, yet, the alarm it would spread through the nation, the enormous expence it must produce, would infallibly ruin them, if it was to be continued, and would drive them to save themselves by a peace; that, independent of this, France possessed means which would infallibly destroy their bank, and their whole paper system. He said, he knew very well it was generally conjectured that Buonaparte would leave Italy, and the army which had conquered under him, and which adored him; he assured us that nothing could be more unfounded than the conjecture; that Buonaparte had for more than ten days left Italy for Rastadt, to preside over the congress which was formed for adjusting the affairs of the empire. He said that Pitt himself was so confident of the absolute necessity of peace, that, after the naval victory over the Dutch, he had signified his readiness to treat on the same terms he had offered before that action; we could not then rely on the assistance of England. What, he asked, would be our situation if peace should be made with England before our difference with France would be accommodated? but, he continued, if even England should be able to continue the war, and America should unite with her, it would not be in our power to injure France.

We might, indeed, wound her allies; but, if we did, it would be so much the worse for us. After having stated the dangers attending us, if we should engage in the war, he proceeded to the advantages we might derive from a neutral situation; and insisted at large on the wealth which would naturally flow into our country from the destruction of England.

He next proceeded to detail the propositions, which are in substance in the paper annexed, marked (A), except that he insisted that we should engage to use our influence with our government for the loan. He stated, expressly, that the propositions were to be considered as made by us; that M. Talleyrand would not be responsible for the success of any one of them; he would only undertake to use his influence with the directory in support of them. The proposition, he said, concerning a suspension of hostilities on the part of France, was one which proceeded entirely from himself; M. Talleyrand had not been consulted upon it; and he could not undertake to say that that gentleman would consent even to lay it before the directory. The proposition for an advance to the government of France, of as much money as was due from it to our citizens on contract, and as might be determined to be due for vessels improperly captured and condemned, was, he said, indispensable; unless we made that, it was unnecessary to make any other; for the others would not be received.

He expatiated on the vast advantages we should derive from delay; it was, he said, absolutely to gain our cause. He returned to the danger of our situation, and

the policy of making with France any accommodation which France would assent to. Perhaps, said he, you believe that in returning and exposing to your countrymen the unreasonableness of the demands of this government, you will unite them in their resistance to those demands; you are mistaken—you ought to know that the diplomatic skill of France, and the means she possesses in your country, are sufficient to enable her, with the French party in America, to throw the blame which will attend the rupture of the negotiations on the federalists, as you term yourselves, but on the British party, as France terms you; and you may assure yourselves this will be done. He concluded with declarations of being perfectly disinterested; and declared that his only motives for speaking thus freely were his friendship for M. Talleyrand, and his wish to promote the interests and peace of the United States.

We told him that the freedom with which he had spoken, and which was agreeable to us, would induce us to speak freely also; and for once to accompany our view of the present state of things with a retrospect of the past: that America was the only nation upon earth which felt and had exhibited a real friendship for the republic of France; that among the empires round her, which were compelled to bend beneath her power, and to obey her commands, there was not one which had voluntarily acknowledged her government, or manifested for it spontaneously any mark of regard. America alone had stepped forward, and given the most unequivocal proofs of a pure and sincere friendship, at a time when al-

most

most the whole European world, when Austria, Germany, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Sardinia, Holland, and Britain, were leagued against France: when her situation was in truth hazardous, and it was dangerous to hold even friendly intercourse with her, America alone stood forward, and openly and boldly avowed her enthusiasm in favour of the republic, and her deep and sincere interest in her fate.

From that time to the present, the government and people of the United States have uniformly manifested a sincere and ardent friendship for France, and have, as they conceive, in no single instance given to this republic just cause of umbrage: if they have done so, they wish it to be pointed out to them. After the determination of France to break off all regular intercourse with them, they have sent three envoys extraordinary to endeavour to make such explanations as might produce reconciliation; these envoys are prepared to investigate, and wish to investigate any measures which may have given offence—and are persuaded that they can entirely justify the conduct of their government.

To this distant, unoffending, friendly republic, what is the conduct and the language of France? Wherever our property can be found, she seizes and takes it from us; unprovoked, she determines to treat us as enemies, and our making no resistance produces no diminution of hostilities against us. She abuses and insults our government, endeavours to weaken it in the estimation of the people, recalls her own minister, refuses to receive

ours; and, when extraordinary means are taken to make such explanations as may do away misunderstandings, and such alterations in the existing relations to the two countries, as may be mutually satisfactory, and may tend to produce harmony, the envoys who bear these powers are not received; they are not permitted to utter the amicable wishes of their country; but, in the haughty style of a master, they are told, that unless they will pay a sum, to which their resources scarcely extend, that they may expect the vengeance of France, and, like Venice, be erased from the list of nations: that France will annihilate the only free republic upon earth, and the only nation in the universe which has voluntarily manifested for her a cordial and real friendship. What impression must this make upon the mind of America, if, without provocation, France was determined to make war upon us, unless we purchased peace? We could not easily believe that even our money would serve us—our independence would never cease to give offence, and would always furnish a pretext for fresh demands. On the advantages of neutrality it was unnecessary to say any thing; all the efforts of our government were exerted to maintain it; and we would never willingly part with it. With respect to a political connection with Britain, we told him, that America had never contemplated it. Whether the danger that he represented that government to be in, was or was not real, we would not undertake to decide. Britain, we believed, had much reason to wish for peace; and France had much reason to wish for peace also: if
peace

peace already existed, it would not change the course America would pursue.

M. Y. manifested the most excessive impatience; he interrupted us, and said, This eloquent dissertation might be true; America might have manifested, and he believed had manifested great friendship for France, and had just complaints against her; but he did not come to listen to those complaints. The minister would, on our request, make for us certain propositions to the directory; he had stated them to us; and all the answer he wished was, Yes or no. Did we or did we not solicit the minister to make the proposition for us? We told him, that, without going farther into the discussion, we chose to remark one or two things; they were, that the existing treaties gave to France certain advantages, which were very essential; that especially the American coast afforded a protection, near two thousand miles in extent, to the prizes made by France on her enemies, and refused that protection to the prizes taken from her; that she might be assured, that in case of war these advantages would be lost for ever. We also told him, we were convinced that France miscalculated on the parties in America; that the extreme injustice offered to our country would unite every man against her. M. X. informed us, that M. Talleyrand would not consent even to lay this proposition before the Directory without previously receiving the 50,000*l.* or the greater part of it.

M. Y. left in writing his propositions, and we returned the answer annexed, and marked B.

November 1st. It was at length

agreed, that we would hold no more indirect intercourse with the government.

November 3d. M. X. called on us, and told general Pinckney and general Marshall (Mr. Gerry not being within), that M. Y. wished once more to see us. We answered, that we should at any time be glad to see M. Y. as a private gentleman; but that if his object was only to repeat his propositions for money, it was perfectly unnecessary to do so; because on that subject it was impossible for us to change the answer we had already given. We told him farther, that we considered it as degrading our country to carry on farther such an indirect intercourse as we had for some time submitted to, and had determined to receive no propositions, unless the persons who bore them had acknowledged authority to treat with us. He said, that perhaps M. Y. might have written powers from the minister; and we replied, that, if he had, we should receive his communications with pleasure. He spoke of a probable peace with England, and, having requested us to be at home in the afternoon, left us.

About three o'clock he came, and, after some conversation, in which we repeated in substance what is stated above, he shewed us a paper, which he said was a copy of a letter prepared for us by M. Talleyrand, requesting an explanation of part of the president's speech, and which he said would be sent, unless we came into the propositions which had been made us. We wished to take a copy of it, which he declined permitting; saying, he was forbidden to allow it. We spoke of the letter coming to

to us as a measure we had no expectation of preventing; and he said, he could not understand that we wished it delayed. To which we answered, that the delay of a few days could not be desired, unless a hope existed, that the directory might become more friendly to our country.

He said, that intelligence had been received from the United States, that if colonel Burr and Mr. Madison had constituted the mission, the differences between the two nations would have been accommodated before this time. He added, as a fact he was not instructed to communicate, that M. Talleyrand was preparing a memorial to be sent out to the United States, complaining of us as being unfriendly to an accommodation with France. We replied to this intelligence from the United States, that the minister's correspondents in America took a good deal on themselves, when they undertook to say how the directory would have received colonel Burr and Mr. Madison; and that with respect to the memorial of M. Talleyrand, it would not be easy for him to convince our countrymen, that the statements we should make were untrue; if, however, we were confident that our conduct would be condemned, M. Talleyrand might be assured, that the fear of censure would not induce us to deserve it, but that we should act in a manner which our own judgements and consciences would approve of; and we trusted we should be supported by the great body of candid and honest men. In this conversation we again stated, that America had taken a neutral position; that she had faithfully sought to preserve it;

that a loan of money to one of the belligerent powers was directly to take part in the war; and that to take part in the war against her own judgement and will, under the coercion of France, was to surrender our independence.

Exhibit A.

[Enclosed in the Envoys' Letter of November 8, 1797, No. II.]

THE American envoys shall remain here for six months, in the same manner, and upon the same footing with regard to etiquette, as did M. d'Aranjo, the envoy of Portugal.

II. There shall be named a commission of five members, agreeably to a form to be established for the purpose of deciding upon the reclamations of the Americans, relative to the prizes made on them by the French privateers.

III. The American envoys will engage, that their government shall pay the indemnifications, or the amount of the sums already decreed to the American creditors of the French republic, and by the commissioners. This payment shall be made under the name of an advance to the French republic, who shall repay it in a time and a manner to be agreed upon.

IV. One of the American envoys shall return to America, to demand of his government the necessary powers to purchase, for cash, the thirty-two millions of Dutch inscriptions belonging to the French republic, in case the envoys should conclude a treaty which shall be approved by the two nations.

V. In the interval the definitive treaty shall proceed, for the termination of all differences existing between

tween the French republic and the United States, so as that the treaty may be concluded immediately on the return of the deputy.

VI. The question of the *role d'équipage* shall remain suspended until the return of the deputy, and the commission shall not pronounce upon any reclamation where this point shall be in question.

VII. During the six months granted for the going and returning of the deputy, hostilities against the Americans shall be suspended, as well as the process for condemnation before the tribunals: and the money of the prizes already condemned, in the hands of the civil officers of the nation, shall remain there, without being delivered to the privateer's men, until the return of the deputy.

Exhibit B.

[*Received with the Envoys' Letter, No. II. dated 8th November, 1797.*]

THE envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, cannot avoid observing the very unusual situation in which they are placed, by the manner in which they are alone permitted to make communications on the objects of their mission: they are called upon to pledge their country to a very great amount; to answer demands, which appear to them as extraordinary as they were unexpected, without being permitted to discuss the reason, the justice or the policy on which those demands are founded, and not only without assurances, that the rights of the United States will, in future, be respected, but without a document to prove, that those to whom they are required to open themselves

without reserve, and at whose instances they are called on to sacrifice so much, are empowered, even by the minister, to hold any communication with them: yet such is the anxious and real solicitude of the envoys to seize any occasion which may afford a hope, however distant, of coming to those explanations which they so much wish to make with this republic, that they pass over the uncommon and informal modes which have been adopted, and will only consider the propositions themselves.

I. The ministers of the United States will permit no personal considerations to influence their negotiations with the French republic. Although they expected the extraordinary means adopted by their government to reconcile itself to that of France would have been received with some degree of attention, yet they are too solicitous to enter upon the important and interesting duty of their mission, to permit themselves to be restrained by forms and etiquette.

II. On this article it is believed there can be no disagreement.

III. This article, as explained, would oblige the United States to advance, not to their own citizens, but to the government of France, sums equivalent to the depredations made by the corsairs of the republic on the American commerce, and to the contracts made with their citizens of France; and this advance, instead of benefiting the citizens of the United States, would leave them precisely what they now are, the creditors of the French republic: the more extensive the depredations, and the more considerable the contracts uncomplished with, the more would the government of France re-

ceive from the United States. Independent of these objections, the ministers of the United States cannot engage to assume, in any form, the debts due from France to their fellow-citizens: they have no such power.

IV. If the negotiations be opened, and the propositions for a loan, or any other propositions, exceeding the powers of the ministers, be made, the government of the United States will be consulted thereon with expedition.

V. This, or any other proposition, having for its object the claims of the two nations on each other, or an accommodation of differences, will be embraced with ardour by the ministers of the United States.

VI. It cannot escape notice, that the question of the *role d'équipage* may involve in it every vessel taken from the United States: the ministers however, consider it, and wish to take it up as a subject of negotiation.

VII. On this article it is only to be observed, that the season of the year is such, as probably to render a return within six months, of the envoy who might sail to the United States, impracticable: provision should be made for such an event.

If the difficulties attending the propositions for a loan, and a compensation for past injuries, be such as to require time for their removal, the ministers of the United States propose, that the discussions on the relative situation of the two countries may commence in the usual forms; that the relation to each other may be so regulated, as to obviate future misunderstandings; and that the adjustment of the claims of the citizens of the United States,

whose vessels have been captured, may be made after a decision on the point first mentioned.

No diplomatic gratification can precede the ratification of the treaty.

No. III.

Paris, November 27, 1797.

Dear Sir,

On the 11th instant we transmitted the following official letter to the minister of foreign affairs.

"Citizen minister.

"The undersigned envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the French republic, had the honour of announcing to you officially, on the 6th of October, their arrival at Paris, and of presenting to you on the 8th a copy of their letters of credence. Your declaration at that time, that a report on American affairs was then preparing, and would in a few days be laid before the directory, whose decision thereon should, without delay, be made known, has hitherto imposed silence on them. For this communication they have waited with that anxious solicitude which so interesting an event could not fail to excite, and with that respect which is due to the government of France. They have not yet received it; and so much time has been permitted to elapse, so critical is the situation of many of their countrymen, and so embarrassing is that of the undersigned, both as it respects themselves and the government they represent, that they can no longer dispense with the duty of soliciting your attention to their mission.

"The United States, citizen minister, at an epoch which evinced their

their sincerity, have given incontestable proofs of their ardent friendship, of their affection for the French republic: these were the result, not of their unparalleled prowess and power, but of their confidence in her justice and magnanimity; and in such high estimation was the reciprocity of her friendship held by them, as to have been a primary object of national concern. The preservation of it was dear to them; the loss of it, a subject of unfeigned regret; and the recovery of it, by every measure which shall consist with the rights of an independent nation, engages their constant attention. The government of the United States, we are authorized to declare, has examined, with the most scrupulous justice, its conduct towards its former friend. It has been led to this by a sincere desire to remove of itself every just cause of complaint; conceiving that, with the most upright intentions, such cause may probably exist: and although the strictest search has produced no self-reproach, although the government is conscious that it has uniformly sought to preserve, with fidelity, its engagements to France; yet, far from wishing to exercise the privilege of judging for itself on its own course of reasoning, and the lights in its own possession, it invites fair and candid discussion; it solicits a reconsideration of the past; it is persuaded its intentions, its views, and its actions, must have been misrepresented and misunderstood; it is convinced, the essential interests of both nations will be promoted by reconciliation and peace, and it cherishes the hope of meeting with similar dispositions on the part of the directory.

"Guided by these sentiments, the

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president of the United States has given it in charge to the undersigned to state to the executive directory, the deep regret which he feels at the loss or suspension of the harmony and friendly intercourse which subsisted between the two republics, and his sincere wish to restore them; to discuss candidly the complaints of France, and to offer frankly those of the United States; and he has authorized a review of existing treaties, and such alterations thereof, as shall consist with the mutual interest and satisfaction of the contracting parties.

"This task the undersigned are anxious to commence: and truly happy will they be, if their exertions can in any degree contribute to restore that friendship, that mutual interchange of good offices, which it is alike their wish and their duty to effect between the citizens of the two republics.

"The undersigned pray you, citizen minister, to present this communication to the executive directory, and to receive the assurances of their most perfect consideration.

(Signed)

"Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

"J. Marshall.

"Elbridge Gerry.

"Paris, Nov 11, in the 22d year of the American independence.

"To the minister of foreign affairs of the French republic."

No answer having been given to it on the 21st instant, we requested major Rutledge to wait on the minister, and inquire of him whether he had communicated the letter to the directory, and whether we might expect an answer: he replied, that he had submitted our letter to them,

them, and that they would direct him what steps to pursue, of which we should be informed. We have not, however, hitherto received any official intimation relative to this business: we are not yet received; and the condemnation of our vessels for want of a *role d'équipage* is unremittingly continued: Frequent and urgent attempts have been made to inveigle us again into negotiation with persons not officially authorized, of which the obtaining money is the basis; but we have persisted in declining to have any farther communication relative to diplomatic business with persons of that description; and we mean to adhere to this determination. We are sorry to inform you, that the present disposition of the government of this country appears to be as unfriendly towards ours as ever, and that we have very little prospect of succeeding in our mission.

We have the honour to be
Your most obedient

Humble servants,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.
J. Marshall.
E. Gerry.

Colonel Pickering.

No. IV.

Paris, Dec. 24, 1797.

Dear Sir,

We have not yet received any answer to our official letter to the minister of foreign affairs, dated the 11th of last month, and mentioned in No. III.; but reiterated attempts have been made to engage us in negotiation with persons not officially authorized; and you will find, by the exhibits marked A, B, and C, herewith sent, some important information relative to the views and

intentions of the French government with respect to ours. We are all of opinion, that if we were to remain here for six months longer, without we were to stipulate the payment of money, and a great deal of it, in some shape or other, we should not be able to effectuate the objects of our mission, should we be even officially received; unless the projected attempt on England was to fail, or a total change take place in the persons who at present direct the affairs of this government. In this situation of matters, we are determined, by the 10th of next month, should they remain as they are, to transmit another letter to the minister, representing, as far as may be expedient, the views of our government.

We have the honour to be

Your most obedient

Humble servants,

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
J. Marshall.
E. Gerry.

Exhibit A.

[Enclosed in the *Envoy's* Letter,
No. IV.]

On the 14th of December, M. X. called on me, in order, as he said, to gain some information relative to some lands in——purchased by——for whom——. Soon afterwards general Marshall came in, and then Mr. Gerry's carriage drove into the yard. "Here's Mr. Gerry," said general Marshall. "I am glad of it," said M. X. "for I wished to meet all of you gentleman, to inform you that M. Y. had another message to you from M. Talleyrand," I immediately expressed my surprize at it, as M. Talleyrand, M. Y. and he, all knew our determination to

to have no farther communication on the subject of our mission, with persons not officially authorized. He replied, that determination was made six weeks ago; and it was presumed that we had changed our opinion. I said that I had not; and I did not believe my colleagues had. At that moment Mr. Gerry entered the room, and I privately acquainted him with the object of M. X's visit. General Marshall, Mr. Gerry, and myself, then withdrew into another room, and immediately agreed to adhere to our former resolution. M. X. was then called in: when I acquainted him, in a few words, with our determination; and Mr. Gerry expatiated more at large on the propriety of our acting in this manner, and on the very unprecedented way in which we had been treated since our arrival.

On the 20th of December, a lady, who is well acquainted with M. Talleyrand, expressed to me her concern that we were still in so unsettled a situation; "But," adds she, "why will you not lend us money? If you would but make us a loan, all matters would be adjusted:" and she added, "When you were contending for your revolution, we lent you money." I mentioned the very great difference there was between the situation of the two countries at that period and the present; and the very different circumstances under which the loan was made us, and the loan demanded from us. She replied—"We do not make a demand: we think it more delicate that the offer should come from you. But M. Talleyrand has mentioned to me (who am surely not in his confidence) the necessity of your making us a loan; and I know that he has mentioned it

to two or three others, and that you have been informed of it. And I will assure you, that if you remain here six months longer, you would not advance a single step farther in your negotiation without a loan."—"If that is the case," I replied, "we may as well go away now."—"Why that possibly," said she, "might lead to a rupture, which you had better avoid; for we know we have a very considerable party in America, who are strongly in our interest." There is no occasion to enter into a farther detail of the conversation. I have only noted this part of it as expressive of what I believe (as far as relates to the loan and party in America in their favour) to be the sentiments of the French government with regard to us.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.
Dec. 21, 1797.

Exhibit B.

*[Enclosed in the Envoy's Letter,
No. IV.]*

EXTRACT from general Marshall's journal, Dec. 17, 1797.—I stepped into Mr. Grey's apartment, where I saw M. Y. He expressed his regret at having been disabled to dine with us at M. de Beaumarchais', by an inveterate tooth-ach. He then asked me whether I had seen M. de Beaumarchais lately: I told him, not since he dined with us; and that he had left us much indisposed. He then observed, that he had not known till lately that I was the advocate for that gentleman in his cause against the state of Virginia; and that M. de Beaumarchais, in consequence of that circumstance, had expressed sentiments of high regard

for me. I replied, that M. de Beaumarchais' cause was of great magnitude, very uncertain issue, and, consequently, that a portion of the interest he felt in it would, very naturally, be transferred to his advocate. He immediately said, (low and apart) that M. de Beaumarchais had consented, provided his claim could be established, to sacrifice fifty thousand pounds sterling of it, as the private gratification which had been required of us, so that the gratification might be made without any actual loss to the American government. I answered, that a gratification on any terms, or in any form, was a subject which we approached with much fear and difficulty, as we were not authorized by our government to make one; nor had it been expected that one would be necessary; that I could not undertake to say whether my colleagues would consent to it in any state of things; but I could undertake to say, no one of us would consent to it, unless it was preceded or accompanied by a full and entire recognition of the claims of our citizens, and a satisfactory arrangement on the object of our mission. He said it was in the expectation of that event only that he mentioned it. We parted; and I stated the conversation to general Pinckney, who was disinclined to any stipulation of the sort, and considered it as a renewal of the old reprobated system of indirect, unauthorized negotiation.

Having been originally the counsel of M. de Beaumarchais, I had determined, and so I informed general Pinckney, that I would not, by my voice, establish any agreement in his favour; but that I would positively oppose any admission of

the claim of any French citizen, if not accompanied with the admission of the claims of the American citizens of property captured and condemned for want of a *role d'équipage*. My reason for conceiving that this ought to be stipulated expressly was a conviction that, if it was referred to commissioners, it would be committing absolutely to chance as complete a right as any individuals ever possessed. General Pinckney was against admitting the claim at any rate.

After my return, Mr. Gerry came into my room, and told me that M. Y. had called on him, to accompany him on a visit to M. Talleyrand; that he proposed seeing M. Talleyrand, and returning the civility of the dinner; and endeavouring to bring about some intercourse between him and us.

Dec. 18.

General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry met in my room; and Mr. Gerry detailed to us the conversation mentioned in our public letter. The proposition relative to the claim of M. de Beaumarchais is entirely different from my understanding of it in the very brief statement made to me by M. Y. We resolved that we would rigidly adhere to the rule we had adopted, to enter into no negotiation with persons not formally authorized to treat with us. We came also to the determination to prepare a letter to the minister of foreign relations, stating the object of our mission, and discussing the subjects of difference between the two nations, in like manner as if we had been actually received; and to close the letter with requesting the government to open the negotiation with us, or to grant us our passports.

Exhibit C.

[*Enclosed in the Envoys' Letter,
No. IV.*]

Dec. 13.

MR. Gerry, accidentally calling on general Pinckney, found M. X. and was soon informed that his object was to obtain another interview between the ministers and M. Y. on the affairs of their mission. General Marshall happening also to be there, we retired into another room, and immediately agreed to adhere to our former determination, not to have any more informal communication. M. X. having been called in, general Pinckney briefly communicated our determination: and Mr. Gerry observed, that he was much hurt by this proposition; that the ministers had already proceeded farther in this mode of communication than perhaps they could justify; that they had refused, six weeks ago, to renew it; and that some regard ought to be paid to their feelings, which had been sufficiently mortified; that the proposition was disrespectful to the envoys, as it betrayed a belief that they had lost a sense of their dignity, and were indeed incompetent to their office; that, had there been but one envoy extraordinary, he ought to have had an audience in a few days; and that for three to remain between two and three months in this situation, was too humiliating, too debasing, for any nation to submit to it; that, for his own part, had he been sent to any other nation in Europe, with two other envoys, he would not have consented to have remained in such a state ten days; that, knowing the great desire of the government and nation of the United States to be

at peace with France, he had, with his colleagues, submitted to this indignity, at the risk of the severe censure of the former. Having also inquired of M. X. at what time M. Talleyrand could be seen, the former said, he would inquire of M. Y. who, on the 16th, in the evening, sent, in Mr. Gerry's absence from his lodgings, a billet, as follows:

" M. Y. has the honour to present his respects to Mr. Gerry, to inform him that he will have the honour to wait on him to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, to go together to the minister of foreign relations.

" He is, with respect," &c.

On the morning of the 17th, M. Y. came in while Mr. Gerry was at breakfast, not having received an answer to his note; and Mr. Marshall coming in, M. Y. took him aside, and conferred with him a considerable time; after which the former and the rest of the family left the room, and M. Y. and Mr. Gerry being together, Mr. G. told him, that his object in seeing M. Talleyrand was to return a civility, by requesting him to fix a day for dining with Mr. G. who intended to invite his colleagues; by this interview to promote, if possible, a better understanding between the minister and the American envoys: and Mr. G. also proposed to confer with the minister on the disagreeable situation the envoys were in, and to state to him some reports which appeared to be founded, respecting a proposition before the directory for sending off all Americans in a short period; but Mr. Gerry added, that he could

not

not hear a word on the subject of the million, or the preliminaries to a negotiation; as the envoys had determined, unanimously, against any informal communications on the subject. M. Y. in answer, said, that Mr. Marshall had just heard him on a subject of this kind; and that we might consider it as he did, merely as a conversation between ourselves. He then stated, that two measures which M. Talleyrand proposed being adopted, a restoration of friendship between the republics would follow immediately; the one was a gratuity of 50,000*l.* sterling, the other a purchase of thirty-two millions of Dutch rescriptions; that as to the first, M. de Beaumarchais had received, in a cause depending in Virginia, between that state and himself, 145,000*l.* sterling; that there was an appeal from the judgment; that he would sign an act to relinquish 45,000*l.* if the whole should be finally recovered, leaving only 100,000*l.* for himself; that the 45,000*l.* might accrue to the United States, who would, in that case, lose but a small part of the 50,000*l.*; that the purchase of sixteen millions of rescriptions would amount to but 1,353,000*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling; which, with an interest of five per cent. would be certainly paid by the government of Holland to the United States, and leave them without any loss; that more than half the sum may now be hired in Holland, on the credit of the rescriptions, and an easy arrangement be made for payment by short instalments, which might be obtained also by a loan; that it was worthy the attention of the envoys to consider whether, by so small a sacrifice, they would establish a peace with France, or whether they would risk the con-

sequences; that if nothing could be done by the envoys, arrangements would be made forthwith to ravage the coasts of the United States by frigates from St. Domingo; that small states which had offended France were suffering by it; that Hamburg, and other cities in that quarter, would, within a month or two, have their governments changed; that Switzerland would undergo the same operation; and that Portugal would probably be in a worse predicament: that the expedition against England would be certainly pursued; and that the present period was the most favourable, if we wished to adopt any measure for a pacification.

Mr. Gerry, in answer, said, that if the French were disposed to pursue, with vengeance, the United States, they might, perhaps, ravage their coasts, and injure them in this way, but they never could subdue them: the measure he thought utterly impracticable, even if attempted by France and her allies. To which M. Y. assented. Mr. Gerry observed farther, that the ravages alluded to would undoubtedly closely connect the United States and Great Britain, and prevent the former from returning to the friendship which they had ever had for France; that as to the propositions, he should express no opinion on them; that his situation, and that of his colleagues, was extremely difficult; that the directory was exclusively prejudiced against the government of the United States, and considered them as the friends of Great Britain; that if the envoys could have an opportunity of being heard, they could remove such impressions, and show that the government were the friends of France as
X 2 much

much as of Great Britain; but that the envoys were now in the most painful situation; that they were treated, in the eyes of all Europe, and of the American government and nation, with the utmost contempt, and were submitting to indignities which they could not reconcile to their feelings, or justify to their constituents.

M. Y. said, that the observations were just; but that the American envoys had not experienced worse treatment than other ministers, nor, indeed, as bad; that the envoy of Portugal was again ordered to depart; and that but little ceremony was observed to the envoys in general. M. Y. and Mr. Gerry then took a ride to M. Talleyrand's bureau, who received them politely: and, after being seated, Mr. Gerry observed to M. Talleyrand, in English, slowly, that M. Y. had stated to him, that morning, some propositions as coming from M. Talleyrand, respecting which Mr. G. could give no opinion: that his object, at this interview, was, to request of him information whether he would fix a time for taking a dinner with Mr. Gerry, at which he proposed to invite his colleagues; that he wished for more frequent interviews, of some kind or other, between himself and the envoys, conceiving that many imaginary difficulties, which obstructed the negotiation, would vanish by this means; and that those which were real would be surmounted; that, conceiving the delicate part which the minister of France had to act, at this time, he did not wish M. Talleyrand to accept the invitation, if it would subject him to inconveniencies: that he wished to speak on another subject, and it was pain-

ful to him to acknowledge that the precarious situation of the envoys was such as to render it impossible for them to take measures for decent arrangements; that a short time since he had supposed measures were taking a favourable turn; but that lately he had received, from various quarters, information of a report made by the minister of the interior, and under the consideration of the directory, for sending all Americans from Paris in twenty-four hours; that he could not be responsible for the truth of the information; but it appeared to him, as well from the various quarters from which it came, as from the intelligence of the person who gave it, to be highly probable; that, if this was the case, it was unnecessary for the directory, as he conceived, to pass any arrête, as it respected the envoys, for that they would depart from Paris whenever it was hinted as the wish of the directory; that, for his own part, he should feel more at ease until we were received, to reside in a city of some other nation than that of France; and to return to Paris on notice that the directory were disposed to open the negotiation.

M. Talleyrand appeared to be very uneasy at this declaration; but avoided saying a word on it. He said, that the information M. Y. had given me was just, and might always be relied on; but that he would reduce to writing his propositions, which he accordingly did; and, after he had shown them to Mr. Gerry, he burnt the paper. The substance was as follows: See No. 1. below.)

He then said, that he accepted of the invitation; that he would dine with him, the decade, after the

the present, in which he was engaged.

Mr. Gerry did not repeat all that he had said to M. Y. having no doubt he would communicate the whole to M. Talleyrand. And, after expressing a friendship for the French republic, and a warm desire to renew the former attachment of the two republics, which M. Talleyrand warmly reciprocated, Mr. Gerry bid M. Talleyrand adieu, leaving with him M. Y.

No. 1.

That the envoys should come forward generally, and say—"France has been serviceable to the United States, and now they wish to be serviceable to France: understanding that the French republic has sixteen millions of Dutch rescriptions to sell, the United States will purchase them at par, and will give her farther assistance, when in their power.

"The first arrangement being made, the French government will take measures for reimbursing the equitable demands of America, arising from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ships in future."

*Message of the President to Congress,
on the 5th June, 1798.*

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I Now transmit, to both houses, the communications from our envoys at Paris, received since the last, which have been presented by me to congress.

John Adams.
United States, 5th June, 1798.

Paris, March 9th, 1798.

Dear sir,

Agreeably to what we represented to you, in our No. IV. we prepared a letter to the minister of foreign affairs, on the subject of the late law, authorizing the capture of neutral vessels, on board of which any productions of Great Britain, or its possessions, should be laden, shewing how incompatible such law was with the rights of neutral nations, and the treaty between France and America; its direct tendency to destroy the remaining commerce of our country; and the particular hardships to which it would subject the agricultural as well as commercial interests of our countrymen, from the peculiar situation of the United States. We added, that, under existing circumstances, we could no longer resist the conviction, that the demands of France rendered it entirely impracticable to effect the objects of our mission; and that, not being permanent ministers, but envoys extraordinary, with full powers for particular purposes, we deemed it improper to remain longer in France, after the impossibility of effecting those purposes had been demonstrated. Before, however, we took this measure, and explicitly demanded our passports, we deemed it expedient to desire major Rutledge to call on M. Talleyrand, on the 19th ult. to know if he had any communication to make to us, in consequence of our letter, dated the 17th, and delivered the 31st of January. To this M. Talleyrand replied, that he had no answer to make, as the directory had not given any order on the subject; and, when they did, he would inform us of it. Still being anxious to hear explicitly from M. Talleyrand himself,

X 3

before

before we sent our final letter, whether there were no means within our power of accommodating our differences with France on just and reasonable grounds, we wrote to him on the 27th of February, soliciting a personal interview on the subject of our mission; he appointed the 2d of March following. You will find, in the exhibit A, herewith inclosed, what passed on that occasion. On the 4th instant, we requested another interview: we have detailed in the latter part of the same exhibit, for your information, the substance of that conversation.

From these accounts you may observe, that the views of France, with regard to us, are not essentially changed, since our communications with its unofficial agents, in October last. We have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient

Humble servants,

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

J. Marshall.

E. Gerry.

Colonel Pickering, secretary
of the United States.

(A)

March the 2d.

At three o'clock we waited on M. Talleyrand, and were almost immediately introduced to him.—General Pinckney commenced the conversation, by saying, that our government and ourselves were extremely anxious to remove the subsisting difference between the two republics; that we had received many propositions, through M. Y. to which we had found it impracticable to accede; and that we had now waited on him for the purpose of inquiring, whether other means might not be devised, which would

effect so desirable an object. The minister replied, that without doubt the directory wished very sincerely, on our arrival, to see a solid friendship established between France and the United States, and had manifested this disposition, by the readiness with which orders for our passports were given; that the directory had been extremely wounded by the last speech of general Washington, made to congress, when about to quit the office of president of the United States; and by the first and last speech of Mr. Adams: that explanations of these speeches were expected, and required of us. General Pinckney expressed his surprise, that the speech of general Washington was complained of, and said, this was a new complaint. M. Talleyrand merely observed, that the directory was wounded at it, and proceeded: he said, that the original favourable disposition of the directory had been a good deal altered by the coldness and distance which we had observed; that, instead of seeing him often, and endeavouring to remove the obstacles to a mutual approach, we had not once waited on him. General Pinckney observed, that, when we delivered him our letters of credence, he informed us that the directory, in a few days, would decide concerning us, and that, when the decision was made, he would communicate it to us; that this had, for some time, suspended any procedure on our part. He answered, that this related only to our public character, and not to private visits. General Pinckney said, that on an application, made by his secretary, for a passport for an American under his care, he was told that he must apply to the office of police, for that
America

America had no minister in France, since the recall of Mr. Monroe. The minister said, that was very true; and then proceeded to say, that the directory felt itself wounded by the different speeches of Mr. Washington and Mr. Adams, which he had stated, and would require some proof, on the part of the United States, of a friendly disposition, previous to a treaty with us. He then said, that we ought to search for and propose some means which might furnish this proof; that, if we were disposed to furnish it, there could be no difficulty in finding it; and he alluded, very intelligibly, to a loan. He said, he had several conferences with Mr. Gerry, on this subject, who had always answered, that we had no power. Mr. Gerry said, he had stated other objections: that he had particularly urged, that it would involve us in a war with Great Britain. He made no reply: and general Pinckney observed, that a loan had been suggested to us, but that we had uniformly answered, that it exceeded our powers.

M. Talleyrand replied, that persons at such a distance as we were from our government, and possessed as we were of the public confidence, must often use their discretion, and exceed their powers, for the public good; that there was a material difference between acting, where instructions were silent, and doing what was particularly forbidden; that, if indeed a loan was positively forbidden, we might consider ourselves as incapable of making one; but if, as he supposed was the case (he looked the question), our instructions were only silent, that it must be referred to us to act, in a case not provided for, according to the best of our judgement,

for the public good; that in almost all the treaties, made during the revolution, the negociators had exceeded their powers, although the government appointing them was at no considerable distance. He particularized the treaty with Prussia, and several others. General Pinckney told him, that our powers did not extend to a loan, and perhaps might forbid it. The minister still urged the difference between an express prohibition and mere silence. He then proceeded to state, that the principal objection, on the part of our government, to a loan, must be, that it would draw us out of the neutral situation in which we wished to continue; that there were various means, thus; first, the secrecy of France, which might be relied on; and, secondly, means of disguising the loan might be devised, which would effectually prevent its being considered as an aid during the present war; that, if we were truly and sincerely desirous of effecting the thing, we should experience no difficulty in finding the means. He again stated a proposition of this sort, on our part, as being absolutely necessary to prove, that the government was not about entering into a treaty with persons of a temper hostile to it. Mr. Gerry, not well hearing M. Talleyrand, who spoke low, asked him to explain himself with respect to the proposition which he had alluded to, supposing it to be a new one; and he answered, that one of them was secrecy; but that there were, besides, various ways, which might easily be suggested, to cover the loan as an immediate one, by limiting the time of advancing it to distant instalments. Mr. Gerry observed, that Dutrimond had suggested,

gested, that a loan was proposed to be made payable after the war, and in supplies to St. Domingo. M. Talleyrand signified, that that might be one of the means used; and said, that if we were only sincere in our wish, it would be easy to bring about the end.

General Marshall told M. Talleyrand, that if the ministers of the United States had manifested any unwillingness to take all proper means to reconcile the two republics, or any indifference on the subject, they had very badly represented the feelings and wishes of their government; that the government of the United States was most sincerely desirous of preserving the friendship of France, and had, in his opinion, unequivocally manifested that desire, by having deputed us under the extraordinary circumstance attending our mission, and by having so long patiently borne the immense loss of property which had been sustained; that we had endeavoured, according to the best of our judgment, to represent truly the disposition of our government; but that we understood, that France would consider nothing as an evidence of friendship, but an act that would transcend and violate our powers, and at the same time operate the most serious injury to our country; that neutrality, in the present war, was of the last importance to the United States, and they had resolved faithfully to maintain it; that they had committed no act, voluntarily, which was a breach of it, and could do nothing in secret, which, if known, would justly arrange them among the belligerent powers; that, in the present state of things, if America was actually leagued with France in the war, she

would only be required to furnish money; that we had neither ships of war or men to be employed in it, and could, consequently, as a belligerent power, only be asked for money; that, therefore, to furnish money, was in fact to make war, which we could by no means consent to do, and which would absolutely transcend our powers, being an act altogether without the view and contemplation of our government, when our mission was decided on; that, with respect to supplies to St. Domingo, no doubt could be entertained that our merchants would furnish them very abundantly, if France would permit the commerce; and a loan, really payable after the close of the war, might then be negotiated. M. Talleyrand again marked the distinction between silence of instructions and an express prohibition, and again insisted on the necessity of our proving, by some means which we must offer, our friendship for the republic. He said, he must exact from us, on the part of his government, some proposition of this sort; that, to prove our friendship, there must be some immediate aid, or something which might avail them; that the principles of reciprocity would require it. General Pinckney and general Marshall understood him, by this expression, to allude to the loan formerly made by France to the United States. Mr. Gerry, at the time, thought he alluded to the treaty to be made, and said, all treaties should be founded in reciprocity, and then asked him, whether a loan was the ultimatum of this government. M. Talleyrand did not give a direct answer to the question; he said, as he was understood, that the government insisted

on some act which would demonstrate our friendly disposition towards, and our good wishes for the republic; this once done, he said, the adjustment of complaints would be easy; that would be matter of inquiry; and, if France had done us wrong, it would be repaired; but that, if this was refused, it would increase the distance and coldness between the two republics. The conversation continued, in this style, until four o'clock, when we took our leave, and agreed to meet in the evening. In the course of it, and in reply to some observations of M. Talleyrand, respecting the proofs of friendship required by France, general Pinckney observed, that our being here was a mark of the friendly disposition of our government; and that, while we were here, the government had passed a decree for seizing neutral vessels, having on board any article coming out of England, which in its operation would subject to capture all our property on the ocean. M. Talleyrand replied, that this was not particular to us, but was common to all the neutral powers. At another time, in answer to his demand of some mark of our friendship, general Marshall observed, that we considered the mutual interests of the two nations as requiring peace and friendship, and we relied on finding sufficient motives in the interest of France to preserve that friendship, without forcing us to an act which transcended our powers, and would be so injurious to our country. As we were taking our leave M. Talleyrand again noticed our not visiting him, and said, that he conceived our not having had an audience from the directory, ought

not to have prevented it. General Marshall told him, that our seeing the directory or not was an object of no concern to us; that we were perfectly indifferent with regard to it, but that we conceived that until our public character was in some degree recognized, and we were treated as the ministers and representatives of our government, we could not take upon ourselves to act as ministers, because, by doing so, we might subject ourselves to some injurious circumstances to which we could not submit. He said, that was very true, but we might see him as private individuals, and discuss the object of difference between us.

We requested of M. Talleyrand another interview, at such hour as might be convenient to him, on the 6th instant. He answered, that he would receive us at half past eleven, at which hour we attended him.

Immediately after our arrival at his office, we were introduced to the minister; and general Pinckney stated, that we had considered, with the most serious attention, the conversation we had the honour of holding with him, a few days past; that the propositions he had suggested, appeared to us to be substantially the same with those which had been made by M. X. by M. Y. and also to Mr. Gerry, with an intention that they should be communicated to his colleagues: that we considered it as a proposition that the United States should furnish aid to France, to be used during the present war; that, though it was unusual to disclose instructions, yet we would declare to him, that, in addition to its being a measure amounting to a declaration of war

war against Great Britain, we were expressly forbidden by our instructions to take such a step.

The minister said, in the tone of question, he supposed our instructions were, to do nothing which would amount to a departure from our neutrality. General Pinckney said, that we were so instructed, and that they were still more particular. M. Talleyrand then proceeded to argue, that it would be no departure from neutrality, to stipulate a loan payable after the war, and spoke of it clearly as admitting of application to immediate use. He said a good deal of the secrecy with which the transaction might be clothed; and observed, farther, that a loan, payable after the war, would be a proof of our faithful observance of the duties of neutrality, since it would be considered as proving that we had rejected propositions for an immediate loan. General Marshall replied, that we thought differently; that, in our opinion, any act on the part of the American government, on which one of the belligerent powers could raise money for immediate use, would be furnishing aid to that power, and would be taking part in the war. It would be, in fact, to take the only part which, in the existing state of things, America could take. This was our deliberate opinion, and, in addition to it, we considered our instructions as conclusive on this point.

He observed, that we had claims on the French government for property taken from American citizens. Some of those claims were probably just. He asked, if they were acknowledged by France, whether we could not give a credit as to the payment; lay for two years.—We

answered, that we could. He then insisted that it was precisely the same thing; that, by such an act, we should consent to leave, in the hands of France, funds, to which our citizens were entitled, and which might be used in the prosecution of the war. General Pinckney said, there was a difference between the cases; that such prizes were now actually in the power of the French, without our consent; we could not prevent it, or get them out; but the granting or not granting a loan was in our power. He repeated his observation; and general Marshall said, that the property for which money was due to American citizens, from the French government, was taken into the possession of that government without any co-operation on the part of the United States.

No act of any sort was performed by our government, which in any degree contributed to place those funds in the hands of France, nor was there any consent towards it; but, in the case proposed, the act would be the act of the government: the government could itself place funds in the hands of France, and thereby furnish means which might be employed in the prosecution of the war. This was the distinction between the cases; and, in a question of neutrality, it appeared to us to be all important. The minister then proceeded to state the case of our assuming the debt of our citizens, and of paying the money in that manner; but general Pinckney and Mr. Gerry told him we were positively forbidden to assume the debt to our own citizens, even if we were to pay the money directly to them. He seemed surprised at this. General

neral Pinckney observed, that, contrary to usage, we had deemed it proper, in the existing state of things, to state candidly our powers to him, that he might know certainly, that we could not secretly, or under any disguise whatever, make a loan which might be used during the war.

M Talleyrand said, he must resume his position, that, there was a difference, which he must insist upon, between a loan payable immediately and a loan payable in future; and he still insisted there was no difference between a loan payable in future and a credit for the money which might be due to our citizens. Mr. Gerry observed, that his colleagues had justly stated the distinction between the debt which will be due to the citizens of the United States from France, in case of her recognizing the claims which we shall make in their behalf, and a debt which might arise from a loan by the government of the United States to that of France, during the war. The one is the result of an arrest of their property, without their consent; the other would be a voluntary act of the United States, and a breach of their neutrality. There is an additional objection to the latter; if the United States should make such a loan, it would give too much reason to suppose that their government had consented, in a collusive manner, to the capture of the vessels of their citizens, and had thus been furnishing France with supplies to carry on the war. Our instructions are express, not to stipulate for any aids to France, either directly or indirectly, during the war.

With respect to a secret stipula-

tion, a loan cannot be made without an act of the legislature: but, if the executive were adequate to it, we have had an instance of an injunction of secrecy on the members of the senate, on an important subject, which one of the members thought himself warranted in publishing in the newspaper; and of frequent instances of secrets which have otherwise escaped: secrecy, in this instance, might, therefore, be considered, if the measure was in itself admissible, as being impracticable. General Marshall observed, that we had considered the subject with great solicitude, and were decidedly of opinion, that we could not, under any form, make a loan which could be used during the war; that we could not tell what our government would do, if on the spot; but were perfectly clear, that, without additional orders, we could not do what France requested. Mr. Gerry observed, that the government and nation of the United States, as well as ourselves, were earnestly solicitous to restore friendship between the two republics; that, as general Marshall had stated, we could not say what our government would do, if on the spot; but if this proposition met the wishes of the government of France, general Marshall and himself had agreed immediately to embark for the United States, and lay before our government the existing state of things here, as it respected our nation, to enable them to determine, whether any, and what other, measures on their part were necessary. M. Talleyrand made no observations on this proposition; but inquired whether we expected soon to receive orders. Mr. Gerry mentioned an answer he had received to a letter

letter sent by him in November; and general Marshall stated, that our first dispatches were sent on board two vessels at Amsterdam, on the 20th of November; from which M. Talleyrand could form as just an idea as we could when an answer might be expected: but he did not think it probable one would arrive before a month to come. General Marshall told him, we knew that our government had not received our dispatches on the 8th of January, and we could not tell when they might be received. He asked whether our intelligence came through England. General Marshall answered, that it did not: and general Pinckney said, that American papers as late as the 8th of January mentioned the fact.

There was some conversation about the time when these instructions might be expected; and general Marshall suggested a doubt whether our government might give any instructions. He asked, with some surprise, whether we had not written for instruction? and we answered, that we had not: and Mr. Gerry said, that we had stated facts to our government, and conceived that nothing more was necessary. General Pinckney observed, that the government, knowing the facts, would do what was proper; and that our applying or not applying for instructions would not alter their conduct. M. Talleyrand then inquired, whether we had not sent any one to the United States. General Pinckney said, no: and Mr. Gerry added, that, soon after our arrival, we had made propositions to send one of our number, which were not accepted. And general Marshall farther added, that those who had communicated with

us, had told us, we should be ordered out of France immediately; and we had supposed that we should be ordered out before our letters could reach the government. Mr. Gerry then observed, that the government of France must judge for itself; but that it appeared to him, that a treaty on liberal principles, such as those on which the treaty of commerce between the two nations was first established, would be infinitely more advantageous to France than the trifling advantages she could derive from a loan. Such a treaty would produce a friendship and attachment, on the part of the United States to France, which would be solid and permanent, and produce benefits far superior to those of a loan, if we had powers to make it. To this observation M. Talleyrand made no reply. We parted without any sentiment delivered by the minister on the subject of our going home to consult our government.

As we were taking our leave of M. Talleyrand, we told him that two of us would return immediately, to receive the instructions of our government, if that would be agreeable to the directory; if it was not, we would wait some time, in the expectation of receiving instructions.

Message from the President to Congress.

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

WHILE I congratulate you on the arrival of general Marshall, one of our late envoys extraordinary

ordinary to the French republic, at a place of safety, where he is justly held in honour, I think it my duty to communicate to you a letter received by him from Mr. Gerry, the only one of the three who has not received his congé: this letter, together with another from the minister of foreign relations to him, of the third of April, and his answer of the fourth, will shew the situation in which he remains, his intentions, and prospects.

I presume that, before this time, he has received fresh instructions (a copy of which accompanies this message) to consent to no loans; and therefore the negotiation may be considered at an end.

I will never send another minister to France, without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured; as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.

John Adams.
United States, June 21st, 1798.

Message from the President to the Senate of the United States, July 18, 1798.

Gentlemen of the senate,

BELIEVING that the letter received this morning from general Washington, will give high satisfaction to the senate, I transmit them a copy of it, and congratulate them and the public on this great event, the general's acceptance of his appointment, as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the army.

John Adams.
United States, July 17, 1798,

Mount Vernon, July 13, 1798:

Dear sir,

I had the honour, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed me "lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, for the service of the United States."

I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication; at the same time, I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

You know, sir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode; you will therefore be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the directory of France towards our country; their insidious hostility to its government; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it; the evident tendency

tendency of their acts, and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations; their war upon our defenceless commerce; their treatment of our ministers of peace; and their demands amounting to tribute; could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from congress such laws and means, as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favoured the people of these United States.

Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to re-

quire my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charges upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expence.

The secretary of war being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

With very great respect and consideration,

I have the honour to be,

Dear sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

G. Washington.

John Adams,

President of the United States.

Speech of the President of the United States of America to both Houses of Congress, on Saturday, December 8, 1798.

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

WHILE with reverence and resignation we contemplate the dispensations of divine Providence, in the alarming and destructive pestilence with which several

of our cities and towns have been visited, there is cause for gratitude and mutual congratulations, that the malady has disappeared, and that we are again permitted to assemble in safety at the seat of government for the discharge of our important duties. But when we reflect that this fatal disorder has, within a few years, made repeated ravages in some of our principal sea-port towns, and with increased malignancy; and when we consider the magnitude of the evils arising from the interruption of public and private business, whereby the national interests are deeply affected; I think it my duty to invite the legislature of the union to examine the expediency of establishing suitable regulations in aid of the health-laws of the respective states; for these being formed on the idea, that contagious sickness may be communicated through the channels of commerce, there seems to be a necessity that congress, who alone can regulate trade, should frame a system which, while it may tend to preserve the general health, may be compatible with the interests of commerce and the safety of the revenue.

While we think on this calamity, and sympathize with the immediate sufferers, we have abundant reason to present to the supreme Being our annual oblations of gratitude for a liberal participation in the ordinary blessings of his providence. To the usual subjects of gratitude, I cannot omit to add one of the first importance to our well-being and safety—I mean that spirit, which has arisen in our country, against the menaces and aggression of a foreign nation. A manly sense of national honour, dignity, and independence, has ap-

peared, which, if encouraged and invigorated by every branch of the government, will enable us to view, undismayed, the enterprizes of any foreign power, and become the sure foundation of national prosperity and glory.

The course of the transactions in relation to the United States and France, which have come to my knowledge during your recess, will be made the subject of a future communication. That communication will confirm the ultimate failure of the measures which have been taken by the government of the United States towards an amicable adjustment of differences with that power. You will at the same time perceive, that the French government appears solicitous to impress the opinion, that it is averse to a rupture with this country, and that it has, in a qualified manner, declared itself willing to receive a minister from the United States, for the purpose of restoring a good understanding. It is unfortunate for professions of this kind, that they should be expressed in terms which may countenance the inadmissible pretension of a right to prescribe the qualifications which a minister from the United States should possess; and that, while France is asserting the existence of a disposition on her part to conciliate with sincerity the differences which have arisen, the sincerity of a like disposition on the part of the United States, of which too many demonstrative proofs have been given, should even be indirectly questioned. It is also worthy of observation, that the decree of the directory, alleged to be intended to restrain the depredations of French cruizers on our commerce, has not given, and cannot

cannot give, any relief; it enjoins them to conform to all the laws of France relative to carrying and prizes, while these laws are themselves the sources of the depredations, of which we have so long, so justly, and so fruitlessly complained.

The law of France enacted in January last, which subjects to capture and condemnation neutral vessels and their cargoes, if any portion of the latter are of British fabric or produce, although the entire property belong to neutrals, instead of being rescinded, has lately received a confirmation, by the failure of a proposition for its repeal. While this law, which is an unequivocal act of war on the commerce of the nations it attacks, continues in force, those nations can see in the French government only a power regardless of their essential rights, of their independence and sovereignty; and if they possess the means, they can reconcile nothing with their interest and honour but a firm resistance.

Hitherto, therefore, nothing is discoverable in the conduct of France, which ought to change or relax our measures of defence; on the contrary, to extend and invigorate them is our true policy. We have no reason to regret that these measures have been thus far adopted and pursued; and in proportion as we enlarge our view of the portentous and incalculable situation of Europe, we shall discover new and cogent motives for the full development of our energies and resources.

But in demonstrating by our conduct that we do not fear war, in the necessary protection of our rights and honour, we shall give no room to infer that we abandon the desire

of peace. An efficient preparation for war can alone ensure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perseveringly cultivated, and harmony between us and France may be restored at her option. But to send another minister, without more determinate assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the United States ought not to submit; it must therefore be left with France, if she is indeed desirous of accommodation, to take the requisite steps. The United States will steadily observe the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. They will respect the sacred rights of embassy; and, with a sincere disposition on the part of France to desist from hostility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore committed on our commerce, and to do justice in future, there will be no obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse. In making to you this declaration, we give a pledge to France and the world, that the executive authority of this country will attend to the humane and pacific policy which has invariably governed its proceedings, in conformity with the wishes of the different branches of the government and of the people of the United States. But considering the late manifestations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion, that, whether we negotiate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable. These alone will give to us an equal treaty, and ensure its observance.

Among the measures of preparation which appear expedient, I take the liberty to recall your attention

tion to the naval establishment. The beneficial effects of the small naval armament provided under the acts of the last session are known and acknowledged. Perhaps no country ever experienced more sudden and remarkable advantages from any measure of policy, than we have derived from the arming for our marine protection and defence. We ought, without loss of time, to lay the foundation for an increase of our navy, to a size sufficient to guard our coast, and protect our trade. Such a naval force, as it is doubtless in the power of the United States to create and maintain, would also afford to them the best means of general defence, by facilitating the safe transportation of troops and stores to every part of our extensive coast.

To accomplish this important object, a prudent foresight requires that systematical measures be adopted for procuring at all times the requisite timber and other supplies. In what manner this shall be done, I leave to your consideration.

I will now advert, gentlemen, to some matters of less moment, but proper to be communicated to the national legislature.

After the Spanish garrisons had evacuated the posts they occupied at the Natchez and Walnut-Hills, the commissioner of the United States commenced his observations to ascertain the point near the Mississippi, which terminated the northernmost point of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. From thence he proceeded to run the boundary line between the United States and Spain. He was afterwards joined by the Spanish commissioner, where the work of the former was con-

finied; and they proceeded together to the demarcation of the line. Recent information renders it probable that the southern Indians, either instigated to oppose the demarcation, or jealous of the consequences of suffering white people to run a line over lands to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, have, ere this time, stopped the progress of the commissioners. And, considering the mischiefs which may result from continuing the demarcation, in opposition to the will of the Indian tribes, the great expence attending it, and that the boundaries which the commissioners have actually established, probably extend at least as far as the Indian title has been extinguished, it will perhaps become expedient and necessary to suspend farther proceedings, by recalling our commissioner.

The commissioners appointed in pursuance of the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic majesty, to determine what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein described, have finally decided that question. On the twenty-fifth of October, they made their declaration, that a river called Schoodiac, which falls into Passamaquoddy-Bay, at its north-western quarter, was the true St. Croix intended in the treaty of peace, as far as its great fork, where one of its streams comes from the westward, and the other from the northward; and that the latter stream is the continuation of the St. Croix to its source. This decision, it is understood, will pre-

clude all contention among individual claimants, as it seems that the Schoodiac and its northern branch bound the grants of lands which have been made by the respective adjoining governments. A subordinate question, however, it has been suggested, still remains to be determined. Between the mouth of the St. Croix, as now settled, and what is usually called the bay of Fundy, lie a number of valuable islands. The commissioners have not continued the boundary lines through any channel of these islands; and unless the bay of Passamaquoddy be a part of the bay of Fundy, this farther adjustment of boundary will be necessary. But it is apprehended that this will not be a matter of any difficulty.

Such progress has been made in the examination and decision of cases of captures and condemnations of American vessels, which were the subject of the seventh article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, that it is supposed the commissioners will be able to bring their business to a conclusion in August of the ensuing year.

The commissioners acting under the twenty-fifth article of the treaty between the United States and Spain, have adjusted most of the claims of our citizens, for losses sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his catholic majesty, during the late war between France and Spain.

Various circumstances have concurred to delay the execution of the law for augmenting the military establishment; among these, the desire of obtaining the fullest in-

formation to direct the best selection of officers. As this object will now be speedily accomplished, it is expected that the raising and organizing of the troops will proceed without obstacle, and with effect.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I have directed an estimate of the appropriation which will be necessary for the service of the ensuing year to be laid before you, accompanied with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to a recent period. It will afford you satisfaction to infer the great extent and solidity of the public resources, from the prosperous state of the finances, notwithstanding the unexampled embarrassments which have attended commerce. When you reflect on the conspicuous examples of patriotism and liberality which have been exhibited by our mercantile fellow-citizens, and how great a proportion of the public resources depends on their enterprise, you will naturally consider whether their convenience cannot be promoted and reconciled, with the security of the revenue, by a revision of the system by which the collection is at present regulated.

During your recess, measures have been steadily pursued for effecting the valuations and returns, directed by the act of the last session, preliminary to the assessment and collection of a direct tax. No other delays or obstacles have been experienced, except such as were expected to arise from the great extent of our country, and the magnitude and novelty of the operation; and enough has been accomplished to assure the fulfilment of the views of the legislature.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I cannot close this address without once more adverting to our political situation, and inculcating the essential importance of uniting

in the maintenance of our dearest interests; and I trust that, by the temper and wisdom of your proceedings, and by a harmony of measures, we shall secure to our country that weight and respect to which it is so justly entitled.

John Adams.

CHARACTERS.

Particulars of the Life of the late Edmund Burke, Esq. abridged from Dr. Bisset's Life of that celebrated Character.

EDMUND Burke was born in Dublin, January 1, 1730. His father was a protestant and an attorney, and is supposed to have descended from the same root as Bourke, the present earl of Mayo. The early part of his education Edmund received under Abraham Shackleton, a quaker, at Balymore, near Carlow; and he applied with ardor and industry to his studies, and here laid the foundation of a classical erudition, which alone would have entitled ordinary men to the character of great scholars, though it was but a small portion of his multifarious knowledge. Like all other great men, Burke manifested, even in his boyish days, a distinguished superiority over his contemporaries. His master foreboded every thing that was great from his genius; and though Edmund's brother, Richard, who was educated at the same school, was esteemed, by many, the foremost of the two in point of ability, yet their master and their father entertained a dif-

ferent opinion:—they allowed that Richard was bright, but maintained that Edmund would be wise.

Taking leave of his good old schoolmaster, for whom he retained, through life, a great degree of gratitude and affection, and whom, for forty years, during which he went annually to Ireland, he travelled many miles to visit,—Edmund was entered a student at Dublin-college, and was contemporary with Goldsmith. At college, he did not render himself eminent in the performance of his academical exercises. Even in mathematics, which at Dublin-college were much the object of attention, Burke made no great progress; he applied himself so much to that branch of study as to give him a competent knowledge of those parts that were most subservient to the purposes of life, but there is no evidence that he devoted himself to the more abstruse and profound parts of that science.

In 1749, Mr. Lucas, a zealous advocate of the chartered rights of the city of Dublin, and who acquired as great popularity in that city as Wilkes afterwards did in London, published some papers against the government;* Burke,

* He might, indeed, be styled the Wilkes of Ireland: but he was a much more steady character. He afterwards became M. D. and represented the city of Dublin in parliament.

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perceiving the noxious tendency of levelling doctrines, wrote several essays in the style of Lucas, imitating it so completely as to deceive the public; pursuing Lucas's principles to consequences obviously resulting from them, and, at the same time, shewing their dangerous tendency.

That Burke was bred a catholic, or studied at St. Omers, as some have asserted, Dr. Bisset positively denies; assuring us that he was bred, and always continued, a member of the protestant episcopal church, though he entertained a very high opinion of the dissenters, and a particular esteem for the catholics.

While Burke was accumulating knowledge, he did not neglect the means of rendering himself agreeable in the varied intercourse of life. His company was sought among the gay and fashionable, for the sake of his pleasing conversation and deportment; as well as among the learned, for the force and brilliancy of his genius, and the extent and depth of his knowledge. He abounded in anecdote, and had an inexhaustible fund of discourse. With all these advantages, however, not seeing much chance of acquiring in Ireland an independent situation, he made an attempt to obtain permanent employment in another country. Soon after he had finished his academical studies, a vacancy took place in the professorship of logic at Glasgow. A considerable intercourse had long subsisted between the universities of Glasgow and Dublin, owing in a great degree to the fame of the eminent Hutcheson, who had been educated at Dublin-college. Burke applied for the professorship, but was too late. — Disappointed in Glasgow, he repaired to London,

and, on his arrival in the metropolis, entered himself a member of the Temple.

Various accounts are given of his finances at the outset of life: but it is probable that they were in no very flourishing state; because, when he had entered at the Temple, he submitted to the drudgery of writing for the periodical papers; to which he contributed essays on subjects of general literature and politics: but which, however replete with information and genius, did not immediately enable their author to emerge from obscurity. Of his leisure time, much was passed in the company of Mrs. Wollington, a celebrated actress, whose conversation was not less sought by men of wit and genius than by men of pleasure. In the mean time, Mr. Burke giving himself up, with the most rigorous industry, to writing essays, and increasing his knowledge, particularly in history, ethics, politics, pneumatology, poetry, and criticism, his health became gradually impaired, and he applied to Dr. Nugent, a skilful and benevolent physician. Dr. Nugent, considering the unsuitableness of Temple-chambers for an invalid, invited Mr. Burke to occupy a room in his house. He accepted the invitation, and experienced, during his illness, such particular tenderness from Miss Nugent, as well as kindness from the rest of the family, that a passion was soon excited in his heart, and he offered her his hand, which was accepted. Shortly afterward, he sent into the world his first acknowledged production, "A Vindication of Natural Society;" an ironical work, in which, imitating the style of Bolingbroke, he attacks the false philosophy of
that

that writer, which he thought had a tendency to overturn virtue and every established mode of religion and government. Burke was still at the Temple: but it does not appear that he had been studying law with very great zeal, as a profession. Homer and Longinus occupied his mind more than Littleton or Montaigne. Soon after his "Vindication," just mentioned, he published his "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful:" a work which speedily became generally known, and was so much admired that it were superfluous to describe or to praise it. To the author it produced the most beneficial consequences. Mr. (sir Joshua) Reynolds and Samuel Johnson were among the first who now sought his acquaintance. The house of Reynolds was at that time the favourite resort of men of talents; several of whom afterward constituted the famous literary club at the Turk's Head, Gerrard-street, Soho. The original members were, Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Topham Beauclerk, Dr. Nugent, sir John Hawkins, Mr. Chamier, and Mr. Bennet Langton. Johnson, it is said, soon discovered Burke's great superiority over common men; and in the club, as well as in other situations, he justified the sagacity of Johnson. He frequently indulged in punning; but his efforts in that way generally produced some resemblance of thought, imagery, or sentiment, not merely a play of words.

Mr. Burke having made himself completely master of our history, particularly from the revolution, he, in 1758, proposed to Mr. Dodley the plan of an "Annual Register," which his historical and general learning so well qualified him to

form and to conduct. Dodley approved the proposal, and the work was carried on during many years, either by Mr. Burke, or under his immediate inspection.

Not long after this period, Mr. Burke accompanied Mr. Hamilton (with whom he had early become acquainted) to Ireland, whither Mr. Hamilton went as secretary to lord Halifax, lord-lieutenant of that country. This gentleman was called "single-speech Hamilton," from the circumstance of his having made once an uncommonly excellent speech in the English house of commons. In the Irish house of commons, also, he made one speech only. From the paucity of these exertions in eloquence, and from his intimacy with Mr. Burke, Mr. Hamilton was supposed to have borrowed the talents of the latter for the composition of both these speeches; but the supposition is at least unnecessary, for Mr. Hamilton is known to have possessed talents and literary attainments fully adequate to the production of the speeches in question.

By the friendship of Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Burke obtained a pension of 300*l.* per annum, on the Irish establishment; by which, on his return to England, he felt himself raised above the necessity of frittering his genius in ephemeral productions. He still, however, occasionally wrote political essays in periodical publications. The Public Advertiser was then the paper to which men of literature most frequently contributed; and Burke's writings, in that paper, attracted the notice of the marquis of Rockingham, who remarked their uncommon excellence, and soon sought the acquaintance of the author.

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In 1765, he was introduced to the marquis by Mr. Fitzherbert, father of the present lord St. Helen's; and from this epoch in the life of Burke, commenced what may be termed his political career.

About this time, the public mind in England was greatly agitated by the measures which government had taken respecting Mr. Wilkes. Discontent was also growing in America, at the attempt of Great Britain to tax the colonies. Two parties had been lately in opposition to government, that of Mr. Pitt, and that of the duke of Newcastle; and of the latter, the marquis of Rockingham was considered as the leader, on account of the age and infirmities of the duke. Their efforts were directed against the growing system of court-favouritism: but the parties were not heartily united. Overtures were made by the court to Mr. Pitt: but he boldly rejected them, and insisted that all secret advisers should be excluded from any share in the direction of affairs. The court not fully acceding to these terms, proposals were made to the marquis and the duke; both of whom, with their party, closed with the offer. In consequence, the marquis of Rockingham was appointed prime minister, and the duke of Newcastle president of the council. It was at this time that Mr. Burke was introduced to the marquis, who appointed him his private secretary. Shortly afterward, Burke seceded from his old friend Mr. Hamilton; principally in consequence of the indolent disposition of the latter. From this moment, Mr. Burke became a professed party-man. His biographer says, 'he ought not to have stooped to patronage, but,

like his great contemporaries, Johnson and Hume, have depended upon himself. Johnson in his garret, the abode of independence, was superior to Burke in his villa, the see of a party.' During the Rockingham administration, Burke was returned member in parliament for Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, a borough under the patronage of lord Verney, between whom and Burke a close intimacy had been formed. On his entrance into parliament, Mr. Burke employed his time most industriously in qualifying himself for a splendid and useful discharge of his new duty. He applied to every source of knowledge which might by possibility be useful to him; he did not neglect even writings of the fathers, and the subtlety of the school divines. From this fountain, probably, did Mr. Burke draw the deep veneration which he afterward felt for the very errors of antiquity; and that zeal for old establishments by which his latter years were so strongly marked. His industry even descended to the perusal of precedents and records; and he condescended to improve himself in eloquence at the Robin-Hood society, where he is said to have derived very important advantages from his contests with a baker! Of the language of his speeches he was remarkably careful; he always attentively revised and frequently re-wrote them. He was not less studious of excellence in the management of his voice and his action. He procured his seat in parliament in 1765; and his first speech was at the opening of the ensuing session, on the usual motion for an address. The principal subject was the stamp-act, and the consequent disturbances in America; and

and it had the honour of attracting the notice and obtaining the praise of Mr. Pitt. On the affairs of America, which now occupied the Rockingham administration, Mr. Burke was consulted by the marquis. His advice was "to choose a middle course between the opposite extremes of coercion and relinquishment of the right of taxation; neither to precipitate affairs with the colonists by rash counsels, nor to sacrifice the dignity of the crown and nation by irresolution and weakness." Consonant to this opinion, a plan was formed. The stamp-act was repealed: but a law was passed declaring a right in Great Britain to legislate for and to tax America. The event has shewn how feeble and short-sighted was this policy.

In 1768, Burke was re-elected for Wendover. The famous expulsion of Wilkes, and the consequent proceedings, now occupied much of the public attention. Burke was generally adverse to the severe measures which had been adopted with regard to that gentleman, though he by no means approved his general and moral character. The Grafton ministry, which was now in power, was opposed by the Rockingham party, of which Burke was the principal orator, and by that party of which Mr. Grenville was the principal mover. During this session, Mr. Burke made an able speech to prove the eligibility of Wilkes, notwithstanding his prior expulsion.

Mr. Burke was now in possession of his pleasant villa at Beaconsfield, which he purchased for 23,000*l.*; 10,000*l.* of which had been advanced by the marquis of Rockingham, and 5000*l.* lent on mortgage by Dr. Saunders, of Spring-gardens; how

the remaining 8000*l.* were procured, the doctor could not learn.

A very animated and strong petition was at this time drawn up by Mr. Burke for the electors of Buckinghamshire, concerning the Middlesex election. His political opinions and principles were soon afterward published at considerable length, in a pamphlet intitled "Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents:"—which was levelled principally against the "inner cabinet," the "secret influence" which was supposed to be the cause of all the false and oppressive measures that had been adopted; and it contains a bold and faithful picture of what a house of commons ought to be.

Lord North, who was now minister, meaning to tranquilize America, proposed the repeal of the obnoxious laws: but he wished to reserve the duty on tea, as a mark of the authority of parliament over the colonies. This plan was as short-sighted as that which had been proposed by Mr. Burke himself; and Burke, whose mind, was becoming more and more matured by experience, and less and less attentive to questions of abstraction, opposed and ridiculed it, in a speech of the most sarcastic humour. In the debates relating to the freedom of the press, he took a very distinguished part. When Almon was prosecuted for republishing Junius's letter to the king, it was contended that the attorney general's official power of sifting informations was too extensive to be compatible with freedom; and a bill was proposed by opposition to modify and limit that officer's power. The other side dwelt principally on the antiquity of the power, which they contended was an integral

gral and original part of the British constitution. Mr. Burke whose fondness for ancient establishments, if adverse to freedom, was not then so strong as it afterward became, placed this argument in a variety of ridiculous lights; comparing this absurd veneration on account of antiquity, to the respect of Scriblerus for the rust and canker of the brazen pot-lid.

From this period, till the end of the American war, we find Mr. Burke among the most zealous, able, and eloquent opponents of the minister; and one of the warmest and most energetic defenders of the rights of the people.

Burke still continued his habits of industry. Unaccustomed to dissipation of every kind, and, above all, to gaming, he directed to reading and conversation those hours which were not employed in parliamentary duty, in exercise, or in the discharge of necessary business. He generally read with a pen in his hand, though he had a memory wonderfully tenacious. Among the Latin poets, he preferred Virgil and Lucretius: the first for his philosophy, the latter for his just and forcible descriptions of superstition. Of Horace, he esteemed the satires and the critical and ethical epistles more than the odes. Neither the Latin historians nor even the Latin orators were his favourites. In Homer he was delighted with the pictures of characters and manners; and he read the *Odyssey* more frequently than the *Iliad*, on account of its more minute delineation of ancient manners. Of the Greek orators, Demosthenes was his favourite, and among the dramatic writers he preferred Euripides to Sophocles. Human nature was the favourite study of Burke; he ac-

cordingly read with pleasure Bacon and Shakspeare, Fielding, Le Sage, and Addison. Differing from Johnson, he preferred Fielding to Richardson. Swift he did not relish, because that author gave only one side of the picture. Of Gay's "*Beggar's Opera*," he entertained a poor opinion: its intellectual excellence he deemed small, and totally overbalanced by the great moral defect of arraying vice in agreeable colours. There was perhaps more novelty as well as more justness in Gibbon's remark on that performance, when he said, "it has had a beneficial effect in refining highwaymen, and making them less ferocious, more polite, in short, more like gentlemen."

Much of Mr. Burke's leisure was spent at the house of his friend Reynolds, who deemed him the best judge of pictures that he ever knew. The amusement in which he most delighted was the Theatre; for he did not, like Johnson, condemn scenical performances. Part of the recess he spent at Beaconsfield, where his taste displayed itself in various improvements of its natural beauties; and he bestowed much attention on farming. The whole of his estate would let at about 600*l.* a year: three-fourths of it he cultivated himself; and as a farmer he was the most successful of the neighbourhood, without any unusual expence. When in town he had his mutton, poultry, and other meats, except beef, as well as the various productions of the dairy and gardens, from his own estate, brought by his own horses and carts; and the same horses which served for his carriage were employed on his farms. He was remarkable for hospitality—the hospitality of real benevolence,

benevolence, which gives what is plain and substantial with kind looks, kind manners, and a hearty welcome. He liked a cheerful glass, but never drank to excess. During dinner, his beverage was water, and afterward generally claret or some light wine, of which he seldom exceeded a bottle. His conversation, indeed, was always so animated that wine could add nothing to it. He was liberal even to the common mendicants; and used to attribute inattention to their requests rather to the love of money than to the professed policy of discouraging beggars. He had always been an early riser, and often dispatched business before some of his political friends had recovered from the effects of the last night's intemperance. Part of the summer was frequently devoted to re-visiting his native country, and sometimes he would make excursions in the stage-coach to different parts of England. His general knowledge of the physical and moral history of the places through which he passed on those occasions, as well as his fund of anecdote, made him a most agreeable companion. In the summer of 1772 he visited the continent, and there first saw the fair Marie Antoinette, whose beauty and accomplishments struck his imagination so forcibly that, after the lapse of twenty-three years, the impression was yet deep, and productive of his well-known exuberant eulogiums. It was during this visit that he made those observations on the tendency of the philosophy then cultivated in France, which he disclosed in his "Reflections;" where he attributes to this philosophy the subsequent fall of the religious and political establishments of that kingdom. With some of

the prime sages of that country, Mr. Burke was engaged in a discussion on the merit of Mr. Beattie's "Essay on Truth;" he appears to have been as partial to Beattie as prejudiced against Hume.

How much the religious scepticism and political theories of these men impressed the mind of Burke, we learn from a speech delivered in the next session of parliament; of which, though a regular report of it was not taken, yet a copy is still extant; the summary is thus given by the editors of his posthumous works: "He pointed out the conspiracy of atheism to the watchful jealousy of government. He professed he was not over fond of calling in the aid of the secular arm to suppress doctrines and opinions: but if ever it was to be raised, it should be against those enemies of their kind who would take from us the noblest prerogative of our nature, that of being a religious animal." "Already, (said he,) I see many of the props of good government beginning to fail. I see propagated principles which will not leave to religion even a toleration, and will leave virtue herself less than a name." In his support of sir Harry Houghton's motion during this session, for the relief of dissenters, Mr. Burke uttered sentiments most favourable to that body, and the most liberal in themselves. The toleration which they enjoyed by connivance, he said, was "but a temporary relaxation of slavery"—a sort of liberty "not calculated for the meridian of England." Sir Harry's motion passed the commons, but was lost in the house of lords.

While Mr. Burke was exerting in parliament his splendid and improving powers, in opposition to the

the war, and to procure a reformation of affairs in India, the friendship between him and Johnson, continued. In the recess, after the session of 1774, Johnson visited Beaconsfield for the first time. On viewing that beautiful villa, he exclaimed in the words of Virgil,

"Non equidem invideo, miror magis!"

Though Johnson and Burke had differed in politics since the commencement of the war, yet here their differences were forgotten. Nothing remarkable, however, is recorded of this visit, except the rough compliment of the guest at his departure:—Burke being to set out for Bristol, to stand a candidate for that city, of which a great majority of the electors had invited him. Johnson, at parting, took him by the hand — "Farewel my dear sir!" said he; "and remember that I wish you all the success which ought to be wished you, which can possibly be wished you by an honest man!"

Mr. Burke had already been elected for Malton, in Yorkshire, when the Bristol merchants invited him to stand for their city; and he acceded to the request with the consent of his new constituents. He and Mr. Cruger were elected; though the latter had so little of the orator to recommend him, that he could express his approbation and adoption of Mr. Burke's principles only by exclaiming, "I say ditto to Mr. Burke! I say ditto to Mr. Burke!"

Charles James Fox, second son of lord Holland, was now rising to the first rank of senators. He had hitherto been a supporter of lord North: but his indolence, and his habit of associating with several mem-

bers of opposition procured his dismissal. He now became an opposition leader himself, and soon taught his lordship how much he had lost. American affairs growing still worse, petitions against the war came in from every quarter; and among the rest, one from the manufacturers of Birmingham, praying that the house would take their sufferings into consideration. This petition was ably though unsuccessfully supported by Mr. Burke, to whom, for his zeal, the petitioners presented a very flattering address of thanks on the 5th of February, 1775. On the 22d of March, in the same year, Mr Burke brought forwards his resolution for reconciliation, which he prefaced by what is generally called his 'Speech of Conciliation';—one of the greatest efforts of his great mind, and from which, combined with his speech on American taxation, the reader may derive more acquaintance with the history and impolicy of the American contest, than from any other work extant. Previously to the next session, hostilities with America were commenced: Parliament opened with a speech declaring the necessity of coercion: Burke opposed the address; demonstrating that the minister had deceived the nation. He was seconded by Mr. Fox. On the 16th of November, Burke brought forwards a new conciliatory bill, the object of which was to renounce the future exercise of taxation, without discussing the abstract question of right: to repeal all the laws of which the colonies complained; and to pass an immediate amnesty. He supported this proposition in a speech as eloquent as any of those of the two last sessions, but unhappily attended with as little effect. The majorities of the

the minister were more weighty than Mr. Burke's arguments.

Dean Tucker's publication on American affairs now called Mr. Burke's attention. The doctor had formerly asserted that the opposition of the minority to the Stamp-Bill here encouraged the Americans to resistance; and Burke, in his speech on American taxation, had denied the fact, in terms which charged Dr. Tucker with being the tool of a faction, and acting from sinister motives. The dean replied, and did more than reply; he exerted himself, but without success, to prevent Burke's election for Bristol. Dr. T. now proposed a plan for American affairs, different both from that of Burke and that of the minister; and this was not less than a total relinquishment of the colonies by the mother country. Both Burke and his friend Johnson treated this proposal with contempt: but the event has proved that it was founded in wisdom. At length, America declared her independence; an event to which Paine's pamphlet of *Common Sense* is supposed to have greatly contributed.

The efforts of the opposition continuing to be ineffectual, Mr. Burke, and some other leading members of it, withdrew from the house on the discussion of all questions relating to America. Secession being uncommon, though not unprecedented, Burke thought himself required to justify his conduct; and he therefore drew up an address to the king, which, though printed in some of the newspapers, has never been avowed as the production of Mr. Burke. He laid similar sentiments before the public in a letter to the electors of Bristol, his constituent city; and this letter

was answered by the earl of Abingdon and by Ed. Topham, esq.

This year brought out Robertson's *History of America*. Burke gave an admirable and philosophical account of that able work in the *Annual Register*.

In the session of 1777, he returned to parliamentary business with renewed vigour. General Burgoyne had been recently captured; and the affairs of Ireland, as well as the disasters of America, now occupied parliament. Burke now grounded his opposition rather on the management and expence of the war than on its original policy. The capture of Burgoyne was attributed to the incapacity of the minister. The employment of the Indians, too, excited the most severe animadversions of Mr. Burke; and its cruelty, he said, exceeded any thing recorded in ancient or in modern history. Lord North himself, on the 17th of March, came forwards with a conciliatory plan, namely, to renounce the exercise of the right of taxation, and to appoint commissioners to treat with America. Burke contended that it was now too late for these measures, as nothing less than independence would satisfy America, and that no terms coming from that administration would be received. The bills passed, but the event shewed the truth of Burke's reasoning.

About this period, Burke was defendant in a chancery suit, instituted against him by his old friend lord Verney. His lordship charged Burke, his brother, and cousin, with being engaged with him in a stock-jobbing speculation, by which great loss had been incurred; and his lordship stated that he, who had been

the ostensible person, had been obliged to make good the engagements, and that, on applying to Burke to defray his share of the debt, it was refused. Mr. Burke, on oath, disclaimed any connection with his lordship in that transaction, and the bill was therefore dismissed.—In the attack of opposition on lord Shelburne, on the inquiry into the conduct of the Howes, and on the declaration of war by Spain, Mr. Burke successively distinguished himself. In the debates on Irish affairs, which were again resumed, he was still more conspicuous. The troubles of that country, he considered as much more dangerous than they really were; for his mind was so formed, that whatever subject he considered made a very deep impression. His subsequent history fully confirms this observation. At last, however, the minister agreed to remove the restraints on Irish commerce. Mr. Burke and the opposition applauded, but not, it is said, with that warmth which the merit of the measure deserved.

On the 11th of February, 1780, Mr. Burke communicated, to the house of commons, his plan of reform in the constitution of the several parts of the public economy. His speech, on that occasion, Dr. Bisset highly praises, both for eloquence and humour: it deserves praise not less for its principle.—During the remainder of this parliament, which was dissolved in July, 1780, Mr. Burke, though he continued to exert himself with his party, seems to have added nothing to his celebrity. In consequence of the difference of opinion between him and the electors of Bristol, on Irish affairs, he resolved to decline

standing again for that city, and, previously to the dissolution, delivered a very masterly speech, comprehending an account of the proceedings in parliament, and the principles on which he himself had acted.

On the 19th of February, 1781, he revived his plan of economy. This attempt was principally marked by the present William Pitt having made, on that occasion, his first speech in parliament, who was then only twenty-two years of age, and who, in some measure, joined the party which was headed by Burke and Fox, but maintained the sentiments of his father respecting the independence of America. Mr. Sheridan appeared in the house of commons about the same time.

We next find Mr. Burke opposing lord North in certain regulations of the profits and territorial acquisitions of the India company: which, he contended, was a violation of chartered rights; and, in the end of the session, we find him making a motion concerning the extreme rigour that had been used towards the inhabitants of St. Eustatius after the capture of that island. Burke united his talents with those of Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, and Dunning, for an inquiry into the American war: but the motion was rejected, and the session ended.

In 1782, the opposition recommenced their attack on the ministry, by Mr. Fox moving an accusation against lord Sandwich. Mr. Burke supported the motion; and, though it was lost, the minority appeared so strong as to indicate the speedy fall of the minister. General Conway, a few days afterward, led on another assault, by moving for an address to his majesty to put an
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end to the war. Burke supported this motion also with all his powers, and it was lost by a majority of *one* only. — Five days afterwards the same motion, in a different form, was moved, and carried by a majority of nineteen: the minister then resigned, and a new administration was formed, of which the marquis of Rockingham was the nominal and Mr. Fox the real head. Burke was appointed paymaster-general.

Of the new ministry, the first step was to offer peace to the Dutch, which they received very coldly; the next was a message from his majesty recommending a retrenchment of expences, which was followed by an adoption (with several modifications) of Mr. Burke's economical reform-bill. — The proceedings of the house on the Middlesex election were expunged from the journals, and the legislature of Ireland was declared independent. The head of this popular administration lived not long to enjoy the thanks of his country; the marquis dying July 1, 1782. The celebrated inscription on his mausoleum, in Wentworth-Park, was the composition of Mr. Burke.

On the death of the marquis, it was supposed, by the party; that the duke of Portland was to succeed him. Lord Shelburne, however, without consulting the other members of administration, procured the appointment for himself. — Messrs. Fox and Burke immediately resigned; each, in an able speech, detailing the reasons of his resignation.

Lord Shelburne was known to be adverse to the independence of America, which Mr. Burke and

Mr. Fox considered as a necessary preliminary to peace. In the Rockingham administration, Mr. Pitt had been offered a high appointment; which he did not accept, his sentiments, on the subject of American independence, being opposite to those of that party. He abstained from much connection with Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and, while they were in power, he brought forwards his celebrated motion for a reform in parliament. When lord Shelburne was made first lord of the treasury, Mr. Pitt was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. He did not *then* repeat his motion for reform.

During the winter, a negotiation was opened for peace, which was concluded in January, 1783. Previously to the meeting of parliament, in December, 1782, the coalition of Mr. Fox and lord North was arranged, and commenced their opposition to the new ministry by an attack on the principles on which it was formed; and, sometime afterward, they severely arraigned the terms of peace. Though the coalition of two parties, which had so virulently opposed each other on principles, was odious to the nation, it was yet strong in the house; and a vote of censure was passed on the ministry, in consequence of which the ministers resigned. A new administration was again formed, consisting of the duke of Portland, lords Loughborough and North, Messrs. Fox, Burke, and their friends: — Burke filling his former place of paymaster-general, which, we are told, he accepted for the sake of reform. Several popular and useful measures marked their first session. East-India affairs began

gan to be a subject of discussion, but no bill on that subject was yet propose.

However strong this administration appeared, from its numerous supporters, and its great weight of aristocratic influence, there yet was a latent flaw in its constitution: it was forced on the sovereign; and we may add, that it had lost, by the coalition, the confidence of the people. Mr. Fox's India bill put its strength to the trial. With the history of that measure, the public are well acquainted: the object of the bill was to vest the management of the territorial and commercial affairs of the company in the hands of commissioners appointed by the legislature, and approved by the crown, and who were to hold their offices by the same tenure as the judges of England. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas opposed the bill in the commons (where however it passed), as an infringement of the company's charter, and as dangerous to the crown and constitution, by the establishment of an influence independent of the legislature. Burke made, at the second reading of the bill, a speech equal to any that he had ever spoken, and alluded to those crimes of the company's servants which afterward formed the ground of his impeachment of Mr. Hastings. In the house of peers, without any new arguments against it, it was thrown out. It was understood in the house of commons, that many peers had been told, by authority, that those would not be considered as friends of the sovereign who should vote for the bill. Of this most unconstitutional influence, the commons complained, but ineffectually: a change of administration was then resolved: the principal members

were dismissed, and a general resignation of employments followed. Mr. Pitt was again made chancellor of the exchequer, and became the first instance of a new minister without a majority to support him. The house of commons remonstrated, but Mr. Pitt continued in office. To ascertain the sense of the people parliament was dissolved; and the experiment succeeded: for, in the new parliament, Mr. Pitt had a considerable majority.

The new parliament met in May, 1784; and Mr. Burke's first business was to oppose a scrutiny into Mr. Fox's election; which, however, was carried. Soon afterward, he made a motion for a representation to the king, vindicating opposition, and censuring the minister: this motion was negatived without a division. Mr. Pitt was now engaged in preparatory measures to smooth the way for his India-bill, which he afterward introduced. He differed from Mr. Fox's bill, in allowing the company to retain the management of their commercial concerns, and placed the territorial possessions under the conduct of the executive government, instead of the independent board of Mr. Fox. This gentleman and Mr. Burke opposed it, as tending to increase the influence of the crown, while it was inefficient as to its great object.

From this period, Mr. Burke's reputation seems to have begun its decline. His talents and eloquence were treated, by many in the house, with a disrespect which they never before experienced; and, indeed, the prolixity and inaptitude of the orator's 'luxuriant expatiations' were sometimes an interruption to the public business. His passion and irritability, which often hurried him
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into the most violent expressions, tended to provoke the treatment which he experienced. While he spoke, several members made a point of coughing, beating the ground with their feet, and even hooting; which increased his irritation to such a degree, that he frequently fell into the most outrageous fits of passion.

In the beginning of July, he began his attack on Mr. Hastings, by proposing a string of resolutions, as a foundation for an inquiry into the conduct of that gentleman. Mr. Pitt opposed the resolutions, because there were not proofs of the facts which Burke had stated. Mr. Burke, however, persevering in a declamatory re-assertion of his charges, was at length overpowered by a loud and continual clamour. During the remainder of the session, he made no considerable exertions.

Dr. Johnson being now near his end, Burke frequently visited him. One day he went in company with Mr. Windham and several other gentlemen; and Burke expressing his fear lest so much company should be oppressive to the invalid, "No, sir (said Johnson), it is not so; and I must be in a wretched state indeed, when your company would not delight me." He continued, in a tremulous voice, "My dear sir, you have always been too good to me!" This was the last meeting of the two friends.

In this year (1784) Mr. Burke was chosen lord-rector of the university of Glasgow. Jan. 25, 1785, parliament met, and Burke exerted himself in a speech, on the payment of the nabob of Arcot's debts, which the board of controul had directed to be charged on the Carnatic revenues. On April 18, Mr.

Pitt made a motion for a parliamentary reform. He was supported by Mr. Fox; but Mr. Burke declared himself inimical to any change in the representation, and strongly reprobated the dissemination of doctrines which tended to persuade the people that the inequality of franchises was a grievance. The bill was lost by a large majority. The commercial propositions, for an adjustment of trade with Ireland, the object of which was to allow the mutual importation of the manufactures of each country into the other on equal terms, were in this session discussed and supported by Mr. Burke. They passed the British parliament, but were not accepted by the parliament of Ireland.

Previously to the session, which began Jan. 1786, Mr. Hastings had returned to Europe; and, on the 17th of February, Mr. Burke again called the attention of the house to that gentleman's conduct in India, and his labours on that subject terminated in the parliamentary impeachment of Mr. Hastings. His motives, in the commencement and prosecution of that measure, have not escaped censure: by some he is charged with malice, by others with the hope of gain. Dr. Bisset vindicates him from entertaining any dishonourable view in that business, and shews, that the prosecution of Mr. Hastings became necessary, from what was disclosed before the select committee of the house of commons, to whom was referred the consideration of certain petitions on the usurpation of the judicial power in India.

The attention of the public was diverted from the impeachment, to the contest excited by the question of regency. On its being ascer-

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tained that a temporary incapacity existed for exercising the functions of government, Mr. Fox's idea was, that during the incapacity there was a temporary demise of the crown; and that, therefore, the next heir should assume, for the time, the powers of government. Mr. Pitt's opinion was, that in such a case it rested with parliament to supply the deficiency. Burke supported the opinion of Mr. Fox, in language the most intemperate, and by conduct the most violent. So intemperate indeed, and so violent was he, that even his associates and coadjutors expressed their disapprobation. He drew up the questions addressed to Mr. Gill, the lord-mayor, which contained very bitter invectives against administration; he also wrote an answer to Mr. Pitt's letter to the prince; and in both of these compositions, he seems to be in possession of his former powers.

Of his private affairs, we are told he was not careful. Although free from the extravagance of profligacy, he was habitually liable to the waste of inattention; and, consequently, he was generally embarrassed. Several reports, of unjustifiable means used by him to recruit his finances, had been circulated by his enemies, but of such assertions there is no evidence. Burke had a beneficent mind. In a desire to be extensively useful, he studied physic; but, in a mistake of practice, he was near poisoning his wife. Mrs. Burke being ill, her husband undertook to make up a draught which had been ordered for her: but, unfortunately mistaking one phial for another, he gave her *laudanum*. The immediate application of antidotes saved her life.

Mr. Burke now lost his last sur-
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viving friend, sir Joshua Reynolds: among whose papers was found a cancelled bond, from Burke, for 2000*l.*: and sir Joshua bequeathed to him 2000*l.* more. Concerning sir Joshua's elegant discourses to the royal academy, Dr. Bisset denies that Mr. Burke was the author.—Burke wrote a character of Reynolds, which deserves praise for its composition, and bespeaks the warmth of the writer's friendship.

A short time before the demise of sir Joshua, another of Burke's early friends, Mr. Gerrard Hamilton, departed this life. He was a man to whom Mr. Burke owed much: from whom he early separated, and with whom he afterward refused to be intimate. The judgement which he very early passed on Burke, deserves to be known, because it continued to be just, when applied to him at the latest time of life. "Whatever opinion (said Mr. Hamilton), Burke, from any motive, supports, so ductile is his imagination that he soon conceives it to be right."

We now come to the last and most important epoch in the life of Mr. Burke—the French revolution: that point, whence, if he did not really turn back in the orbit in which he had hitherto shone so brightly, as the able advocate of popular right and liberty, he certainly appeared, at least to common eyes, to become retrograde.

Mr. Burke was now the declared enemy of the French revolution. He had applied himself, with much industry, to collect information respecting the events which took place at Paris; and he received letters, among others, from Thomas Paine, Mr. Christie, and Baron Cloots. It was in answer to one of these letters, which endeavoured to trick out the

the revolution in its most gaudy colouring, that he wrote his celebrated "Reflections." The sentiments declared by Messrs. Fox and Sheridan in the house of commons, and in Dr. Price's sermon at the Old Jewry, induced him to enlarge the first sketch of that work, until it assumed the form in which it appeared before the public in October, 1790.

The first public mark of approbation, with which this extraordinary composition was honoured, was an address from the university of Oxford. It was proposed, by many members of that learned body, that the university should confer the degree of LL.D. on the author: but the proposal was rejected by seven to six, from an apprehension, it is said, that the degree would not have met with the unanimous votes of the members of convocation. The address, which came from the resident graduates, was conceived in terms very flattering to Mr. Burke and his performance. It was conveyed by Mr. Wudham, of Norfolk, through whom Mr. Burke returned his answer. The ministry and their friends conceived an opinion not less favourable than that of the university of Oxford, with respect to Mr. Burke's publication; but several men of the highest talents, the majority of Mr. Burke's former associates, the very ablest of those in the house of commons, and some of the ablest in the house of peers, and all those who entertained high speculative notions of liberty, while they admired the execution, condemned the tendency of the "Reflections." The first answer to this work came from the ready pen of Dr. Priestley, who vindicated Dr. Price's opinion, concerning the source and tenure of monarchical

power in England, and gave a prediction very different from that of Burke as to the effects to be expected from the principles which produced the French revolution; from which he foreboded "the enlargement of liberty, the melioration of society, and the increase of virtue and of happiness." This reply was followed by the much more celebrated one of T. Paine, intitled, "The Rights of Man," the plain perspicuity of whose language, the force of whose expressions, and the directness of whose efforts, wore so much the appearance of clear and strong reasoning, that numbers, borne down by his bold assertions, supposed themselves convinced by his arguments. The next publication of Mr. Burke was his "Second Letter to a Member of the National Assembly," in which, after having retouched the several topics of the "Reflections," he now carries his view to the effects of the revolution on private and social happiness, and labours to prove that the plans of education and civil regulations, which the assembly had formed, sprang from the same source of untried theory, and tended to the same disorder and misery.—Knowing that Rousseau was the model held up to the imitation of their youth, he analyses the character of Jean Jaques, along with those of Voltaire and Helvetius.

In 1791, in discussing the bill for forming a constitution for Canada, Burke again introduced the subject of the French revolution, of which he talked in the same strain as formerly. Mr. Fox replied; and, after having declared his attachment to the constitution of this country, he repeated his praises of the French revolution, expressed his dissent from Mr. Burke's opinions on that subject,

ject, and contended, that they were inconsistent with his former principles. Mr. Burke complained that he had been treated by Mr. Fox with "harshness and malignity," denied the charge of inconsistency, defended his opinions relative to the French revolution, and said that, though Mr. Fox and he had often differed, there had been no breach of friendship: but, he added, "there is something in this cursed French constitution which envenoms every thing." Mr. Fox whispered, "there is no breach of friendship between us." Burke answered, "there is! I know the price of my conduct; our friendship is at an end!" Thus prompt was Mr. Burke to terminate a friendship which had been cemented by so many ties, and had lasted for so many years! It is said that the animosity arising from political differences had been aggravated by some critical observations that Mr. Fox had made on the "Reflections," which he called rather "the effusion of poetic genius, than a philosophical investigation." This difference between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke was noticed by the whig club; who, by a publication in the Morning Chronicle, of May 12, 1791, declared Mr. Fox to have maintained the pure doctrines by which the whigs of England were bound together. That publication gave rise to Mr. Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs;" in which he defends his reasonings on the French revolution, and endeavours to prove them to be consistent with the principles that he always professed, and with those which distinguished the old whigs.

On the annunciation by the French ambassador of the accept-

ance of the new constitution by the king, Burke wrote his "Hints for a Memorial," to be delivered to M. de Montmorin; which went to prove, first, that no revolution is to be expected in France from internal causes solely; secondly, that the longer the present system exists, the greater will be its strength; and, thirdly, that, as long as it exists, it would be the interest of the revolutionists to distract and revolutionize other countries.

The process of affairs in France had now greatly increased the violence of those who in this country demanded parliamentary reform. Burke opposed every idea on that subject which was delivered in parliament, with great vehemence and perseverance; and soon after the retreat of the king of Prussia and the successes of the republicans, he wrote the "Second Memorial," contained in his posthumous work; in which he exhorts this country to take the lead in forming a general combination for the repression of French power and French principles.

At the commencement of the war, he had sent his son (with the approbation of government) to Coblenz, in order to collect information relative to the disposition of the allied powers; and from him he learned how little was to be expected from them without the interposition of Great Britain. During this period, in which Burke, though now at his grand climacteric, continued to make the most brilliant display of his parliamentary eloquence, he appeared peculiarly desirous of impressing Mr. Fox with his own notions on the French revolution: but, disappointed in these attempts, he felt the most extreme
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displeasure: to which he gave vent in his letter to the duke of Portland, "on the Conduct of domestic Parties." This letter, it is said, was not designed for publication: but a rough draft having been copied by the amanuensis whom he employed, it was printed in the beginning of the year 1797, under the title of "Fifty-four Articles of Impeachment against the Right Hon. Charles James Fox." On hearing of the publication, Burke disclaimed nothing but the intention of giving it to the world; and he said that it was written in consequence of the whig club's declaration respecting the difference between him and Mr. Fox, which had induced Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, and some others, to withdraw their names from the club. The asperity with which Burke censures the conduct and principles of Mr. Fox, in this pamphlet, cannot possibly be justified.

Towards the close of the year 1793, he wrote the third Memorial, intituled, "Remarks on the Policy of the Allies with respect to France." In this work, he complains that the object of the allies is private aggrandizement, instead of the support of legitimate government; and he advises, as the only means of restoring order, religion, and property in France, that the chief direction of every thing relative to her internal affairs should be committed to the emigrants, whom he calls "Moral France!"

Agreeably to the resolution which Mr. Burke had long formed, of retiring from parliament when the trial of Mr. Hastings should be finished, he, in this summer, resigned his seat:—a sentence having been passed on Mr. Hastings.

On the 2d of August, 1794, Mr. Burke lost his son, a gentleman who is said to have given proofs of considerable abilities, and for whom his father entertained the most enthusiastic affection. Another letter from Mr. Burke, defending his conduct and his celebrated "Reflections," in answer to some observations which had fallen from the duke of Norfolk in parliament, is the only publication, besides those that we have mentioned, which he gave to the world until royal bounty rewarded his services by a pension settled on him and Mrs. Burke. The duke of Bedford and lord Lauderdale, in the beginning of 1796, made some observations on Burke's pension: which called forth a letter to lord Fitzwilliam, in which Mr. Burke boldly and confidently asserts his own services, while he takes a retrospect of those by which the duke's ancestors acquired their property.

From this period, Mr. Burke's time was spent in the bosom of his family; his hospitality to the emigrants, the establishment, by his influence, of a school for their children; and his promotion of friendly clubs among the poor in his neighbourhood; are the most striking features that distinguish the period of his retirement. His next work was intituled, "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace," published when the first overtures were made by government for an accommodation. Mr. Burke's bad state of health now made it necessary for him to visit Bath, whence, however, he returned in the ensuing spring. He then proceeded in the plan of which the "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace" were a part: but he did not live to finish it.

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His health, from the beginning of June, rapidly declined; but his body only, not his mind, was affected. His understanding operated with undiminished force and uncontracted range: his dispositions retained their sweetness and amiableness. He continued regularly and strenuously to perform the duties of religion and benevolence. Although his body was in a state of constant and perceptible decay, yet was it without pain. The week in which he died he conversed with literary and political friends, on various subjects, and especially on the awful posture of affairs. He repeatedly requested their forgiveness, if ever he had offended them, and conjured them to make the same request in his name to those of his friends that were absent. Friday, July the 7th, he spent the morning in a recapitulation of the most important acts of his life, the circumstances in which he acted, and the motives by which he was prompted; shewed that his comprehensive mind retained the whole series of public affairs, and discussed his own conduct in the arduous situation he had had to encounter. He expressed his forgiveness of all who had, either on that subject, or for any other cause, endeavoured to injure him. The evening he spent in less agitating conversation, and in listening to the essays of Addison; his favourite author. He frequently had, during his last illness, declared, what his intimates knew well before, his thorough belief of the Christian religion, his veneration for true Christians of all persuasions; but his own preference of the articles of the

church of England. In that mode of faith he was educated, and that he preserved through life. He had conversed for some time, with his usual force of thought and expression, on the gloomy state of his country, for the welfare of which his heart was interested to the last beat. His young friend, Mr. Nagle, coming to his bed-side, after much interesting and tender conversation, he expressed a desire to be carried to another apartment. Mr. Nagle, with the assistance of servants, was complying with this request, when Mr. Burke faintly uttering, "God bless you!" fell back, and breathed his last, Saturday, July 8th, 1797, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.*

On Saturday, the 15th, he was interred in Beaconsfield church: his funeral being attended by many noblemen and gentlemen, with whom his latter habits had led him to intimacy. In his will, which is written thoroughly in his own style, he bequeathed all his property to his wife, with the exception of one or two legacies. She was constituted sole executrix; the testator soliciting for her, however, the assistance of Dr. King and Dr. Lawrence.

Treatment of their Cows, by the Mountaineers of Switzerland; from Ebel's Description of the Tribes which inhabit the Mountainous Parts of Switzerland.

THE mountaineer lives with his cows in a constant exchange of reciprocal acts of gratitude: the lat-

* We refer our readers to the Chronicle of our Register for 1797, for some farther particulars of his death, and to the department of Characters in the same volume for Mr. Burke's will.

ter affording him almost whatever he wants; and the *Senn* in return providing for and cherishing them sometimes more than his own children. He never ill-treats his cattle, nor makes use of a stick or a whip: a perfect cordiality seems to prevail between both; and the voice of the keeper is sufficient to guide and govern the whole herd. The cow, in the canton of Appenzell, enjoys more of that regard which is due to every useful creature, and is altogether more comfortable, than millions of human beings in Europe; who, placed under the influence of the cudgel and the *knout*, have too much reason to curse their existence. Is it possible that, at the end of the eighteenth, or (as it is termed) the philosophical century, this parallel should be correct to such a revolting degree! Shocking reality!

Fine cattle are the pride of the cow-keeper who inhabits the Alps; but, not satisfied with their natural beauty, he will likewise please his vanity. He adorns his best cows with large bells suspended from broad thongs; and the expence in such bells is carried even to a luxurious excess. Every *Senn* has an harmonious set of at least two or three bells, chiming in with the famous *ranz des vaches*. The inhabitants of the Tyrol bring a number of such bells, of all sizes, to every fair kept in the canton of Appenzell. They are fixed to a broad strap, neatly pinked, cut out, and embroidered; which is fastened round the cow's neck by means of a large buckle. A bell of the largest size measures upwards of a foot in diameter, is of an uniform width at top, swells out in the middle, and tapers towards the end. It costs from forty to fifty gilders; and the

whole peal of bells, including the thongs, will sometimes be worth between 140 and 150 gilders, while the whole apparel of the *Senn* himself, when best attired, does not amount to the price of twenty gilders. The finest black cow is adorned with the largest bell, and those next in appearance have two smaller. These ornaments, however, are not worn on every day, but only on solemn occasions, viz. when, in the spring, they are driven up the Alps, or removed from one pasture to another; or when they descend in the autumn, or travel in the winter to the different farms, where their owner has contracted for hay. On such days, the *Senn*, even in the depth of winter, appears dressed in a fine white shirt, of which the sleeves are rolled up above the elbow; neatly embroidered red braces keep up his yellow linen trowsers, which reach down to the shoes; a small leather cap, or hat, covers his head; and a new milk bowl, of wood skilfully carved, hangs across the left shoulder. Thus arrayed, the *Senn* precedes singing the *ranz des vaches*, and followed by three or four fine goats; next comes the handsomest cow with the great bell; then the two other cows with smaller bells; and these are succeeded by the rest of the cattle walking one after another, and having in their rear the bull with a one-legged milking stool hanging on his horns; the procession is closed by a *traineau*, or sledge, on which are placed the implements for the dairy. It is surprising to see how proud and pleased the cows stalk forth when ornamented with their bells. Who would imagine that even these animals are sensible of their rank; nay, touched with vanity and jealousy! If the leading
cow,

cow, who hitherto bore the largest bell, be deprived of her honours, she very plainly manifests her grief at the disgrace, by lowing incessantly, abstaining from food, and growing lean. The happy rival, on whom the distinguishing badge of superiority has devolved, experiences her marked vengeance, and is butted, wounded, and persecuted by her in the most furious manner; until the former either recovers her bell, or is entirely removed from the herd. However singular this phenomenon may appear, it is placed beyond all doubt by the concurring testimony of centuries.

The cows, when dispersed on the Alps, are brought together by the voice of the *Senn*, who is then said to allure them (*locken*). How well the cattle distinguish the note of their keeper appears from the circumstance of their hastening to him, though at a great distance, whenever he begins to hum the *ranz des vaches*. He furnishes that cow which is wont to stray farthest with a small bell, and knows by her arrival that all the rest are assembled.

The famous pastoral song of the Swiss mountaineers, known by the name of *Kuhrcihen*, or *ranz des vaches*, is very frequently heard in Innerooden. It neither consists of articulated sounds, nor is it ever sung by the cowherds with words to it: all the tones of it are simple, and mostly formed within the throat. Hence the tune produces very little or no motion of the jawbones, and its sounds do not resemble those which commonly issue from the human throat, but rather seem to be the tones of some wind instrument; particularly as scarcely any

breathing is perceived, and as the cowherds sometimes sing for minutes together without fetching breath.

Progress of the Turks in various Branches of Literature; from Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire.

ASTRONOMY.] From the musti to the peasant it is generally believed, that there are seven heavens, from which the earth is immoveably suspended by a large chain; that the sun is an immense ball of fire, at least as big as a whole Ottoman province, formed for the sole purpose of giving light and heat to the earth; that eclipses of the moon are occasioned by a great dragon attempting to devour that luminary: that the fixed stars hang by chains from the highest heaven, &c. These absurdities are in part supported by the testimony of the koran; and the astronomers, as they are called, themselves all pretend to astrology, a profession so much esteemed, that an astrologer is kept in the pay of the court, as well as of most great men.

Geography.] Of the relative situation of countries they are ridiculously ignorant, and all their accounts of foreign nations are mixed with superstitious fables.

Before the Russian fleet came into the Mediterranean, the ministers of the Porte would not believe it possible for them to approach Constantinople but from the Black Sea. The captain pasha [great admiral] affirmed that their fleet might come by the way of Venice. From this and a thousand similar and authentic anecdotes, their ignorance of the situation of countries is evident.

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and as to the stories which they universally believe, they are such as the following: that India is a country far distant, where there are diamonds, fine muslins, and other stuffs, and great riches; but that the people are little known; that they are mostly Mohammedans, but do not acknowledge the kalifat of their sultan; that the Persians are a very wicked people, and will be all damned, and changed into asses in hell, and that the Jews will ride on them; that the European nations are all wicked infidels, knowing an art of war, which is sometimes dangerous, but will all be conquered in time, and reduced to the obedience of the sultan; that their women and children ought to be carried into captivity, that no faith is to be kept with them, and that they ought all to be massacred, which is highly meritorious, if they refuse to become Mohammedans; yet they have among them a prophecy, that the sons of yellowness, which they interpret to be the Russians, are to take Constantinople; that the English are powerful by sea, and the French and Germans by land; that the Russians are the most powerful, and they call them the great infidels; but they are acquainted with no details of these countries.

Ancient History.] They have heard of an Alexander, who was the greatest monarch and conqueror, and the greatest hero in the world. The sultans often compare themselves to him in their writings. Sultan Mohammed IV. in his letter to the Russian Tzar Alexius Michailovitch, calls himself "Master of all the universe, and equal in power to Alexander the Great." They

talk of him always as the model of heroism to be imitated, but they know not who he was. Solomon, they say, was the wisest man, and the greatest magician that ever existed. Palmyra and Balbek, they say, were built by spirits at the command of Solomon.

Poetry and general Literature.] They have a few poets, as they are called, whose compositions are mostly little songs and ballads; but in these, as well as their prose writings, they differ widely from the simplicity of the Arabs, as they abound with false conceits; and the language is a barbarous mixture of the Turkish with Persian and Arabic, not unlike that "Babylonish dialect" of our puritans, which Butler compares to "fustian cut on fatten."—This will best be demonstrated by an example: supposing the Latin to be Arabic, and the Persian French, a Turkish musti, or doctor, would write, if English were his language, in the following manner:

"I do not love *deplorare vitam*, as many, and *ii docti, saepe fecerunt*; nor do I repent that I have lived at all, because I have *ainsi vécu*, as not *frustra me natum existimem*: I do not assert that *tedium vite* proceeds more from want of steadiness in our true religion than from *atra bilis*. If a man destroys himself, he is either *insanus*, and a holy fool, or one possessed *demonis*, or he is *un athée*—an infidel; or a Frank. Pray *Deum* that he may preserve you against those who blow on *nudes funum*, and whisper in the ear."

Language of a Turkish poet.] "The eyes of *l'abbreuveuse** inebriate me more than *le vin*, and *les*

* She who pours out the wine.

flèches penetrate la moëlle de mes os quicker than those from the bow."— This is the first couplet of a song in pure Arabic (composed by an Arabian) which I have thus written, to shew how a Turk would express the same sentiment with respect to the language: the genuine Turkish compositions are ridiculously hyperbolic.

It must be observed, that very few of those, who lard their writings, or discourses, with Arabic or Persian phrases, are much acquainted with those languages: but they have learnt the phrases and terminations most in use, and know the meaning of a sentence, without understanding each word separately, or having much idea of the grammar.

Interesting Anecdotes of the Princess Tarrakanoff, Daughter of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia: from Tooke's Life of Catharine II.

IT has already been mentioned, that the empress Elizabeth had three children by her clandestine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoffsky. The youngest of these children was a girl, brought up under the name of princess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil, informed of this secret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furnish him with a signal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he opposed to the sovereign, whose armies were spreading desolation over his unhappy country, a rival whose mother's name should render her dear

to the Russians. Perhaps his ambition might suggest to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himself with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanoff. However this be, he gained over the persons to whom the education of this princess was committed, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome.*

Catharine having intelligence of this transaction, took immediate steps to frustrate the designs of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumstance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, she caused all his estates to be seized, and reduced him to the necessity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. These supplies were soon exhausted. Radzivil set out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leaving the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the care of a single *gouvernante*, and in circumstances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to restore him his possessions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Russia. He refused to submit to so disgraceful a proposal; but he had the weakness to promise that he would give himself no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

Alexèy Orloff, charged with the execution of the will of the empress, seized the first moment, on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a snare for the princess Tarrakanoff.

* In 1767 mademoiselle Tarrakanoff was about twelve years of age.

One * of those intriguers, who are so common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having discovered the lodgings of the young Russian, he introduced himself to her in a military dress, and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the sole desire of paying homage to a princess whose fate and fortunes were highly interesting to all her countrymen. He seemed very much affected at the state of destitution in which he found her. He offered her some assistance, which necessity forced her to accept; and the traitor soon appeared to this unfortunate lady, as well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a saviour whom heaven had sent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had sufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was commissioned, by count Alexius Orloff, to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catharine; that Orloff especially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny; and that, if the young princess would accept of the services of that general, and recompense him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere she saw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Proposals so brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princess Tarrakanoff, and shewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience, and her candour, permitted her not to

suspect any guile. Besides, the language of the emissary of Alexius Orloff seemed analogous with the notions she had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herself destined to the throne; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herself up to these flattering hopes, and, with a grateful heart, concurred in the designs of him who addressed her only to her destruction.

Some time after this, Alexius Orloff came to Rome. His emissary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However, some persons to whom the princess and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promised them, advised them to be on their guard against the designs of a man whose character for wickedness had been long established, and who, doubtless, had too much reason to remain faithful to the empress to think of conspiring against her. Far from profiting by this good counsel, the princess was so imprudently frank as to speak of it to Alexius Orloff, who, with great ease, delivered his justification, and thenceforth threw a deeper shade of dissimulation and address into his speeches and behaviour. Not satisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Russian, he put on the semblance of a passion for her, and succeeded so far as to inspire her with a true one. So soon as he was assured of it, he conjured her to enter into an union with him by the most sacred ties.

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Russia, where he married mademoiselle Anastasia, reputed daughter of M. de Betskoi, and has since been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

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She unhappily consented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promised to solemnize a marriage which must consummate her ruin. She thought that the title of spouse of count Alexis Orloff would shelter her invincibly from those treacheries which, she was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the least suspicion that a man could make religion, and the most sacred titles, subservient to the destruction of an innocent victim. But, alas! Was any religion, was any title, sacred to the barbarian into whose snares she had fallen? He who could strangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to dishonour the daughter of Elizabeth?*

Feigning a desire that the marriage ceremony should be performed according to the ritual of the Greek church, he suborned subaltern villains to disguise themselves as priests and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with imposture against the unprotected and too confident Tarrakanoff.

When Alexis Orloff was become the husband, or rather the ravisher, of this unhappy princess, he represented to her that their stay at Rome exposed her to too close observation, and that it would be advisable for her to go to some other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the conspiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, she answered that she would follow him wherever he chose to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Pisa, where he had previously

hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tenderness and respect. But he permitted none to come near her except persons who were entirely at his devotion; and when she went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himself.

The division of the Russian squadron, under the command of admiral Greig, had just entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princess, Alexis Orloff told her that his presence was necessary at Leghorn, for the purpose of giving some orders, and offered to take her with him. To this she the more readily consented, as she had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn, and the magnificence of the Russian ships. Imprudent lady! the nearer she approached the catastrophe of the plot, the more she trusted to the tenderness and the sincerity of her faithless betrayer.

She departed from Pisa with her customary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, she landed at the house of the English consul, who had prepared for her a suitable apartment, and who received her with the marks of the profoundest respect. Several ladies were early in making their visits, and sedulously attended her on all occasions. She saw herself presently surrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her desires, and seeming to make it their only study incessantly to procure her some new entertainment. Whenever she went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre, all eyes were direct-

* The fate of the young Tarrakanoff may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus; " terminis laqueum juxta compressam" Tacit. Ann. lib. v. ed

ed to her box. All circumstances conspired to lull her into a fatal security. All tended to dispel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is, doubtless, impossible to believe that an English consul, an English admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be so base, so inhuman, as to draw into the snare, by deceitful respect and caresses, a victim whose youth, whose beauty, whose innocence, was capable of affecting the most insensible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived against her, and that they studiously inspired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

The young Tarrakanoff was so far from suspecting her unfortunate situation, that, after having passed several days in a round of amusements and dissipation, she asked of herself to be shewn the Russian fleet. The idea was applauded. The necessary orders were immediately given; and the next day, on rising from table, every thing was ready at the water-side for receiving the princess. On her coming down, she was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The consul and several ladies seated themselves with her. A second boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orloff; and a third, filled with Russian and English officers, closed the procession. The boats

put off from shore in sight of an immense multitude of people, and were received by the fleet, with a band of music, salutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princess came alongside the ship of which she was to go on board, a splendid chair was let down from the yard, in which, being seated, she was hoisted upon deck; and it was observed to her, that these were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no sooner was she on board than she was handcuffed. In vain she implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom she still called her husband. In vain she threw herself at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No answer was even vouchsafed to her lamentations. She was carried down into the hold; and the next day the vessel set sail for Russia.

On arriving at Petersburg, the young victim was shut up in the fortress; and what became of her afterward was never known.*

Character of Prince Potemkin; from the same.

PRINCE Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was one of the most extraordinary men of his times; but in order to have played so conspicuous a part, he must have been in Russia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other

* It was affirmed by some that the waters of the Neva, six years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the prison, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind, at S. S. W. raised the waters of the gulph of Finland, towards the Neva, with a violence so extraordinary, that it swelled that river to the height of ten feet above its level, and drove many vessels on shore. The author of the interesting "*Mémoires secrets sur l'Italie*," who, some time since, printed a part of these particulars, surmises that the young Tarrakanoff fell in prison by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very slight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

country,

country, in any other times, with any other sovereign, he would have been misplaced; and it was a singular stroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and brought together and combined all the circumstances with which he could tally.

In his person were collected the most opposite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and ostentacious, despot and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and superstitious, bold and timid, ambitious and indiscreet: lavish of his bounties to his relations, his mistresses, and his favourites; yet, frequently paying neither his household nor his creditors. His consequence always depended on a woman, and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But the success of an enterprize always brought on disgust.

He wearied the empire by the number of his posts and the extent of his power. He was himself fatigued with the burden of his existence; envious of all that he did not do, and sick of all that he did. Rest was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleasing. Everything with him was desultory;—business, pleasure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarrassed air, and his presence was a restraint on every company. He was morose to all that stood in awe of him, and caressed all such as accosted him with familiarity.

Ever promising, seldom keeping

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his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read less than he; few people were better informed. He had talked with the skilful, in all professions, in all the sciences, in every art. None better knew how to draw forth and appropriate to himself the knowledge of others. In conversation he would have astonished a scholar, an artist, an artisan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extensive. He never dived into a subject, but he spoke well on all subjects.

The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his desires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming duke of Courland; at another he thought of bestowing on himself the crown of Poland. He frequently gave intimations of an intention to make himself a bishop, or even a simple monk. He built a superb palace and wanted to sell it before it was finished. One day he would dream of nothing but war; and only officers, Tartars, and kozaks were admitted to him: the next day he was busied only with politics; he would partition the Ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing in his head but the court, dressed in a magnificent suit, covered with ribbons presented him by every potentate, displaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brilliance, he was giving superb entertainments without any cause.

He was sometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to pass whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, seeming to have alike forgot all business

business and all decorum. Sometimes, also, for several weeks successively, shut up in his room with his neices and several men of his intimates, he would lounge on a sofa, without speaking, playing at chess, or at cards, with his legs bare, his shirt-collar unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eyebrows knit, and presenting to the view of strangers, who came to see him, the figure of a rough and squalid kozak.

All these singularities often put the empress out of humour, but rendered him more interesting to her. In his youth he had pleased her by the ardour of his passion, by his valour, and by his masculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity, he charmed her still by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehensions, by confirming her power, by caressing her fancies of Oriental empire, the expulsion of the barbarians, and the restoration of the Grecian republics.

At eighteen, an under-officer in the horse-guards, he persuaded, on the day of the revolution, his corps to take arms, and presented to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her sword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed for his sovereign whatever the most romantic passion could inspire. He put out his eye to free it from a blemish which diminished his beauty. Banished by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A successful lover, he quickly shook off the hypocritical farce, whose catastrophe held out to him the prospect of an obscure disaster. He himself gave favourites to his mistress, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her minister.

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Panin was president of the council, and was a stickler for the alliance of Prussia. Potemkin persuaded his mistress that the friendship of the emperor would be of more use to her in realising her plans against the Turks. He connected her with Joseph II. and thereby furnished himself with the means of conquering the Crimea, and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Restoring to these regions their sonorous and ancient names, creating a maritime force at Kerfon and Sevastopol, he persuaded Catharine to come and admire herself this new scene of his glory. Nothing was spared for rendering this journey renowned to the latest posterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, provisions, and horses. The highways were illuminated. The Borysthene was covered with magnificent galleys. A hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were newly equipped. The Kozaks were brought together: the Tartars were disciplined. Deserts were peopled for the occasion; and palaces were raised in the trackless wild. The nakedness of the plains of the Crimea was disguised by villages built on purpose, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wildernesses were transformed into English gardens. The king of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned him, and who afterwards struck him from the throne. The emperor Joseph II. came himself to attend the triumphal progress of the empress Catharine; and the result of this brilliant journey was another war, which the English and the Prussians impolitically

tically instigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a fresh instrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occasion to conquer Otenakof, which remained to Russia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But these latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almost by a sudden stroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and a small number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide his spoils, and was very soon followed by a total oblivion.

Like the rapid passage of those shining meteors which astonish us by their lustre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing; disordered the finances, disorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deserts. The fame of the empress was increased by his conquests. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raised, for her minister. Posterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the successes and the severity of the reproaches. It will not bestow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary person: and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be represented as a real emblem; as the living image of the Russian empire.

For, in fact, he was colossal like Russia: in his mind, as in that country, were cultivated districts and desert plains. It also partook of the Asiatic, of the European, of the Tartarian, and the Kozak; the rudeness of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eigh-

teenth; the surface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloisters; an outside of civilization, and many traces of barbarism. In a word, if we might hazard so bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one open and the other closed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the northern ocean so long shut up with ice.

This portrait may appear gigantic: but those who knew Potemkin will bear witness to its truth. That man had great defects; but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the mastery of his sovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance precisely such as he ought to be for preserving so long his power over so extraordinary a woman.

Singular Custom among the Inhabitants of New South Wales; from Collins's Account of the Colony in New South Wales.

THE shedding of blood is always followed by punishment, the party offending being compelled to expose his person to the spears of all who choose to throw at him; for, in these punishments, the ties of consanguinity or friendship are of no avail. On the death of a person, whether male or female, old or young, the friends of the deceased must be punished, as if the death were occasioned by their neglect. This is sometimes carried farther than there seems occasion for, or than can be reconcilable with humanity.

After the murder of Yel-lo-way by Wat-te-wal, his widow Noo-roo-ing being obliged, according to the custom of her country, to avenge

avenge her husband's death on some of the relations of the murderer, meeting with a little girl, named Go-nang-goo-lie, who was some-way related to Wat-ae-wal, walked with her and two other girls to a retired place, where, with a club and a pointed stone, they beat her so cruelly, that she was brought into the town almost dead. In the head were six or seven deep incisions, and one ear was divided to the bone, which, from the nature of the instrument with which they beat her, was much injured. This poor child was in a very dangerous way, and died in a few days afterwards. The natives, to whom this circumstance was mentioned, expressed little or no concern at it, but seemed to think it right, necessary, and inevitable; and we understood, that whenever women have occasion for this sanguinary revenge, they never exercise it but on their own sex, not daring to strike a male. Noo-roo-ing, perceiving that her treatment of Gonang-goo-lie did not meet our approbation, denied having beaten her, and said it was the other girls; but such men as we conversed with on the subject, assured us it was Noo-roo-ing, and added, that she had done no more than what custom obliged her to. The little victim of her revenge was, from her quiet, tractable manners, much beloved in the town; and, what is a singular trait of the inhumanity of this proceeding, she had every day, since Yel-lo-way's death, requested that Noo-roo-ing might be led at the officer's hut, where she herself resided. Savage indeed must be the custom and the feelings which could arm the hand against this child's life! Her death was not avenged, perhaps because

they considered it as an expiatory sacrifice.

Account of the political Condition of the Levantine Valley, in Switzerland; from Miss Williams's Tour in Switzerland.

THE Levantine Valley contains several well-built villages; and the number of inhabitants, who are all Italians, is computed at about twelve thousand. They have, in general, a look of intelligence, and something of mountain-independence in their manner; but are under complete subjection to the democracy of the canton of Uri. The valley is divided into eight vicinanze, or districts, about a league each in extent. The village of Faido, which is situated in the midst of the valley, is the residence of the bailiff, or governor, who is elected to this office by the canton of Uri, or who, rather agreeably to the established mode of election in these democracies, purchases the place of his fellow-citizens, who know too well the value of money not to make a good bargain of their rights. Once in four years, the inhabitants of this valley behold the cortege of their new sovereign descending from St. Gothard, perhaps with somewhat of the same sensations as the defenceless timid bird views the downward flight of the pouncing hawk, darting on his prey.

These rustic monarchs of Uri, in coming to govern a people, of whose language, manners, and customs, they are ignorant, do not appear to be animated by the ambition which led Cæsar to wish rather to be the first man in a village than the second at Rome. They have

more

more solid views than those of power; that of replenishing their treasury, exhausted in rewards to their brother sovereigns, for their free suffrages; and, no sooner are they installed at Barataria, than fines, exactions, and rapacities, of every kind, follow in their train, and every resistance to lawful authority meets with condign punishment: as the history of each of these subject-vallies can tell, the hearts of whose inhabitants have sometimes swelled beyond endurance at the extortion of their harpy governors.

The people of the valley revolted against their sovereign of Uri, in the beginning of this century, and obtained certain privileges, which their descendants, by another revolt, thirty or forty years since, have imprudently forfeited. Stung into disobedience, by some act of proconsular tyranny, they took up arms against their sovereign, and put themselves into a most open and daring insurrection. The canton of Schweitz had, on a former occasion, undertaken to reduce the insurgents, and had succeeded; but the present rebellion bore symptoms so alarming, that the whole of the cantons armed, to bring the valley to obedience. Agreeably to the maxims of most governments, that the governors are always in the right, and the governed in the wrong, no canton can interfere in any disputes between the sovereign and the subjects, unless to punish the presumption of the latter.

The whole Helvetic body felt the cause of the sovereign of Uri to be their own, and with heart and hand, with an alacrity worthy of the cause, coalesced together, to put a decisive stop to such heretical

and dangerous pretensions. Had the rebels only had to contend with their masters of Uri, it is possible they might have shaken their authority; but, when the insurgents beheld the cohorts of every regular government in Switzerland pouring down from the mountains in warlike array; heard the loud blast of their trumpets, repeated by a thousand echoes amidst their cliffs and rocks; saw terror in the van, and annihilation in the rear; they very prudently gave up a contest, which must have ended in their utter destruction.

The grievances of the insurgents were redressed in the mode that might rationally be expected: their form of government, and all their laws, were abolished, and they were deprived of every privilege, municipal, civil, and judicial: the use of arms, to which every Swiss is accustomed, however low his rank in the scale of society, was strictly forbidden; and this sage precaution has perpetuated their dominion, by destroying not only the means, but the knowledge of resistance, since he who never handles arms must remain ignorant of the exercise.

Political Character of Lord Bolingbroke; from Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole

FROM the versatility of Bolingbroke's political life, no fundamental principle of action could be expected; for where is that principle which at some period he had not violated? Where was the party to which he had not rendered himself obnoxious? Nothing then remained for him, but to form a political creed as versatile as his life, and which.

A a

Proteus.

Proteus-like, adapted itself to all times, situations and circumstances.

His doctrines are principally reduced under three heads. A government by prerogative, rather than by influence; coalition of parties; the supposed perfection of the human species in particular instances.

The leading principle of his writings was, that a government by prerogative was better than a government by influence. In enforcing this topic, the author betrays his aversion to the revolution, while he affects to praise it, by an assertion no less remarkable for its audacity than its untruth; namely, that the rights of the subject were more endangered by the system of influence, which had taken place since, than by that of arbitrary power which was pursued before that æra. That the crown had acquired more sources of power by the establishment of the funds, and nomination of revenue officers, and enjoyed the means of invading liberty more effectually by the constitution of the revenue, than it ever had been invaded by prerogative. He characterises prerogative as a mere chimera, and influence as a new and undefinable monster, far more dangerous to our liberties. He avers that national corruption, which he makes the necessary consequence of investing the crown with the nomination of the officers employed in managing the revenue, is become universal, and that the loss of liberty is the natural and necessary consequence

of national corruption. From these premises he draws the obvious conclusion, that it becomes highly necessary to save the ruin of the constitution, by reducing the power of the king, by means of an independent house of commons; and declares that the only method of effecting this, was to lessen the means of corruption, to revive frequent parliaments, and to insure their purity by introducing self-denying ordinances.

This tenet could only be supported by the other two doctrines, equally absurd and extravagant. The second of these doctrines was to enforce the coalition of parties, by which he understood that all the invidious distinctions of whig and tory,* dissenter and churchman, which had so long troubled and distracted the kingdom, should be sunk into those of court and country; the first of which he considers as a faction and confederacy against the other; and the second he characterises under the denomination of constitutionalists.

With a view to effect this purpose in a free country, in which party is an essential requisite, he drew out a system of policy to artfully contrived, that any man, whatever were his political opinions, might, without appearing to desert his own private notions of government, enlist himself under the banners of any opposition, or vote in favour of any question, however repugnant to his real sentiments, under the notion of opposing or driving out a corrupt minister, and the sen-

* The impossibility of reconciling the whigs and the torys, and the different views of those parties, are fully shewn by his own confession, in a letter to sir William Windham, July 23, 1739. Correspondence, Period VII.

blance of laying aside all prejudice and party attachment.

In attempting to explode all former distinctions, to unite men of all denominations, and to change the narrow spirit of party into a diffusive spirit of public benevolence, he well knew that he contradicted the history of past ages, and the experience of his own; and he therefore broached the third doctrine, the supposed perfection of the human species in particular instances. Convinced of the absurdity of advancing, that an opposition composed of the most heterogenous parts could continue uniformly true to their professed principles, and would not be divided or desert each other at the instigations of ambition or self-interest, he turned his hopes of success from the many to the few; to those few who engross the whole reason of the species, who are born to instruct, to guide, and to preserve, and who are designed to be tutors and guardians of human kind. Forgetting his own complaint, that human passions are so strong, and human reason so weak, he described men as they ought to be, and not as they are, men whom he represented as stars still stuck in good plenty up and down our hemisphere, making virtue the foundation of their friendship, and merit the title to their favour; delighting rather to be thought good than great; just in all their dealings; moderate in their pleasures; not solicitous for a place because they want it, but because the place wants them.

But still conscious that he over-rated the number of those chosen few, he concentrated the virtues and wisdom of the whole species into one man a patriot king, whom he considered as born to form the

happiness and glory of England, under whose government the head, and all the members, should be united in one common cause, and animated by one common spirit.

In drawing this chimerical character, he laid down positions no less chimerical. He supposed that all distinctions of party, all cabals for favour, and all jealousy in individuals possessing, or contending for power, should be entirely suppressed by the wisdom and virtue of one man, whom he calls a sort of standing miracle; and that a whole nation should be so perfect in judgement, and just in practice, as to acknowledge that they were made happy by such exertions. In this extraordinary attempt to reconcile the ideas of a government by prerogative with those of liberty and happiness, he endeavours to bribe the imagination instead of convincing the judgement, by an artificial and brilliant display of all those scenes of splendour and domestic felicity which are so lavishly and exquisitely portrayed in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and Fenelon's *Telemachus*; scenes which adorn the page of the speculative philosopher, but must be considered as mere puerilities from a practical politician.

In giving these reveries to the public, he made use of a specious philosophical jargon, then novel, and calculated to make an impression on ignorant minds; since become more common, and justly exploded, as the cant of hypocrisy or enthusiasm. Its pretensions were founded on candour, liberality of sentiment, universal philanthropy, and a tender concern for the happiness of posterity.

Sketch of the Manners, and domestic Customs, of the Portuguese; from Murphy's general View of Portugal.

AMONG the middling and subordinate ranks, the females especially, there is very little intercourse; except fortuitous meetings in the churches and streets. Every class of tradesmen has a distinct oratory, supported by the voluntary contributions of their society; here they assemble every evening, before supper, to chaunt vespers. They rarely visit each other's houses but on particular occasions, as weddings and christenings; and then they entertain very sumptuously, or rather satiate with profusion.

Jealousy, and an innate disposition to secrecy, are assigned as the chief causes of this separation. They hold it as a maxim, that he who talks least thinks best; and that the most perfect man is not he who has most good qualities, but fewest bad ones. Pride might also operate, as they wish not to shew their apartments, no more than their wives and daughters, unless they be arrayed in their best attire.

Yet, however we may regret the many innocent enjoyments of which the females are thus deprived, their seclusion is productive of much domestic felicity. Their bland and simple manners are not liable to be corrupted, nor their attachments dissipated by an extensive communication with the world. The fond husband thus solaced, is happy, supremely happy in the society of a virtuous partner, whose sole affection is centered within the narrow circle of her family.

As to their persons in general, the women are rather below than

above the middle stature, but graceful and beautiful. No females are more studious of enhancing their attractions by artificial means, or counterfeiting, by paltry arts, the charms that nature has withheld. To the most regular features, they add a sprightly disposition and captivating carriage. The round face, and full sed form, are more esteemed in this country, than the long tapering visage and thin delicate frame. Most nations entertain some peculiar idea of beauty in the lineaments and cast of the face; that of the Portuguese will be best understood by their own description of a perfect beauty, which is as follows:

The forehead should be broad, smooth, and white. The eyes large, bright, and quick, but at the same time still and modest. With respect to the colour, there are divers opinions; some prefer the blue, some the black, and others the green. A Portuguese, named Villa-Real, wrote a treatise in praise of the last. The eyebrows should be large, of a black colour, and form an arch concentric with that of the eyelid. To be properly adjusted to the rest of the face, the nose should descend in a direct line from the forehead, and form a regular pyramid.

The mouth, the portal of the human structure through which the messengers of the intellect have constant egress, ought to be rather small than large. The lips rather full than thin; rather relieved than sunk, and the edge of a pure carnation. Teeth are accounted beautiful when they are white, regular, and of equal size, resembling a row of pearls set in an arch of ruby.

The cheeks must be smooth, and somewhat relieved; the centre of a pure carmine colour, fading insensibly

sibly into a lily white; both colours so perfectly blended and proportioned, that neither should predominate.

With respect to the neck, there is great majesty in one which is large and smooth, rising from the shoulders like an alabaster column.

But, among all the female charms, the most transcendent are the breasts. In form, they should resemble a lemon; in colour and smoothness, the orange blossom.

The most beautiful hands are long and white; the fingers full and tapering. Feet are not accounted pretty if they be not small.

Of the stature, the middle size is most admired. Without a graceful walk, the most perfect beauty appears awkward; whereas a modest, airy, and serene, movement, enhances every other charm; and bespeaks the tranquillity of a mind formed in the school of virtue and decorum.

There is one class of people in Portugal, than whom, perhaps, few nations can produce a more inoffensive and industrious, and, at the same time, a more degraded and oppressed; these are, the "pillars of the state," the peasantry, who are kept in a state of vassalage by a band of petty tyrants, assuming the title of *Fidalgos*.*

Among those to whom this title properly appertains, there are, undoubtedly, many who have a just claim to honour and respect; not from the antiquated immunities of feudal times, but from their personal

virtues. We intirely separate them from the ignorant, intolerant wretches, who grind the face of the poor, and depopulate the land.

Indeed, I am informed, by a Portuguese gentleman, of very high rank, who sincerely deplores the wretched state of the peasantry of his country, that the chief part of their miseries is owing not to government but to these gentry. I know not how to give the reader a just idea of them; by privilege they are gentlemen, in manners clowns; beggars in fortune, monarchs in pride. Too contemptible for the notice of the sovereign; to excite the jealousy of the nobles they are too weak; but too strong for the peasantry, from whom they exact adoration. They are to be seen in every town, in every village, and hamlet, wrapt up to the eyes in capots, brooding over their imaginary importance. The industrious husbandman must not address them but on his knees. His fate, and that of his family, are at their mercy. On the most trivial pretence, they cite him to the court of the next *camarca*, or shire. The wretched farmer, in vain, attempts to justify himself, and after exhausting his resources to see lawyers, he is sure to be cast at the end of a tedious and vexatious suit. His property is then seized upon, even to his very implements; and, if it be not found sufficient to answer all demands, he is doomed to perish in a prison. Many industrious families have been thus annihilated;

* *Fidalgo*, a gentleman, one nobly descended. From the Portuguese word *filho*, a son, and the Spanish *algo*, something; that is, the son of something, or a son to whom his father has something to leave; viz. an honour and estate; thence, for shortness, called *fidalgo*.—VIEIRA.

and others, apprehensive of sharing the same fate, have forsaken their lands, and often the kingdom, to seek protection in the colonies.

Beggars are a formidable class in this country. Several laws have been enacted, from time to time, to diminish the number and restrain the licentiousness of this vagrant train, but in vain. They ramble about, and infest every place, not intreating charity, but demanding it. At night they assemble in hordes at the best mansion they can find, and having taken up their abode in one of the out-offices, they call for whatever they stand in need of, like travellers at an inn; here they claim the privilege of tarrying three days, if agreeable to them.

When a gang of these sturdy fellows meet a decent person on the highways, he must offer them money; and it sometimes happens that the amount of the offering is not left to his own discretion. Saint Antony assails him on one side, Saint Francis on the other; having silenced their clamour in behalf of the favourite saints, he is next attacked for the honour of the Virgin Mary; and thus they rob him for the love of God.

Character of Gainsborough, the Painter; from Jackson's Four Ages.

IN the early part of my life I became acquainted with Thomas Gainsborough, the painter; and as his character was, perhaps, better known to me than to any other person, I will endeavour to divest myself of every partiality, and speak of him as he really was. I am the rather induced to this, by seeing

accounts of him and his works given by people who were unacquainted with either, and, consequently, have been mistaken in both.

Gainsborough's profession was painting, and music was his amusement—yet, there were times when music seemed to be his employment, and painting his diversion. As his skill in music has been celebrated, I will, before I speak of him as a painter, mention what degree of merit he possessed as a musician.

When I first knew him he lived at Bath, where Giardini had been exhibiting his then unrivalled powers on the violin. His excellent performance made Gainsborough enamoured of that instrument; and conceiving, like the servant-maid in the Spectator, that the music lay in the fiddle, he was frantic until he possessed the very instrument which had given him so much pleasure—but seemed much surprized that the music of it remained behind with Giardini!

He had scarcely recovered this shock (for it was a great one to him) when he heard Abel on the viol-di-gamba. The violin was hung on the willow—Abel's viol-di-gamba was purchased, and the house resounded with melodious thirds and fifths from "morn to dewy eve!" Many an adagio and many a minuet were begun, but none completed—this was wonderful, as it was Abel's own instrument, and, therefore, ought to have produced Abel's own music!

Fortunately, my friend's passion had now a fresh object—Fischer's hautboy—but I do not recollect that he deprived Fischer of his instrument; and, though he procured a hautboy, I never heard him make the least attempt on it. Probably

his

his ear was too delicate to bear the disagreeable sounds which necessarily attend the first beginnings on a wind instrument. He seemed to content himself with what he heard in public, and getting Fischer to play to him in private—not on the hautboy, but the violin—but this was a profound secret, for Fischer knew that his reputation was in danger, if he pretended to excel on two instruments.*

The next time I saw Gainsborough it was in the character of king David. He had heard a harper at Bath—the performer was soon left harpleless—and now Fischer, Abel, and Giardini were all forgotten—there was nothing like chords and arpeggios! He really stuck to the harp long enough to play several airs with variations, and, in a little time, would nearly have exhausted all the pieces usually performed on an instrument incapable of modulation (this was not a pedal-harp), when another visit from Abel brought him back to the viol-di-gamba.

He now saw the imperfection of sudden sounds that instantly die away—if you wanted a *staccato*, it was to be had by a proper management of the bow, and you might also have notes as long as you pleased. The viol-di-gamba is the only instrument, and Abel the prince of musicians!

This, and occasionally a little flirtation with the fiddle, continued some years; when, as ill luck would have it, he heard Crofdill—but, by some irregularity of conduct, for which I cannot account, he

neither took up, nor bought the violoncello. All his passion for the bass was vented in descriptions of Crofdill's tone and bowing, which was rapturous and enthusiastic to the last degree.

More years now passed away, when, upon seeing a theorbo in a picture of Vandyke's, he concluded (perhaps, because it was finely painted), that the theorbo must be a fine instrument. He recollected to have heard of a German professor, who, though no more, I shall forbear to name—ascended *per varios gradus* to his garret, where he found him at dinner upon a roasted apple, and smoking a pipe—*** says he, I am come to buy your lute—

‘To pay my lute!’

“Yes—come, name your price, and here is your money.”

‘I cannot shell my lute!’

“No, not for a guinea or two, but, by G—, you must sell it.”

‘May lute ish wert much monnay! it ish wert ten guinea!’

“That it is—see, here is the money.”

‘Well—if I musht—but you will not take it away yourshelf?’

“Yes, yes—good bye ***.”

(After he had gone down he came up again)

“*** I have done but half my errand—What is your lute worth, if I have not your book?”

‘Whad poog, maister Cainsborough?’

“Why, the book of airs you have composed for the lute.”

‘Ah, py Cot, I can never part wit my poog!’

* It was at this time that I heard Fischer play a solo on the violin, and accompany himself on the same instrument—the air of the solo was executed with the bow, and the accompaniment *pizzicato* with the unemployed fingers of his left hand.

"Poh! you can make another at any time—this is the book I mean (putting it in his pocket)."

' Ah, py Cot, I cannot'—

"Come, come, here's another ten guineas for your book—so, once more, good day t'ye—(descends again, and again comes up) but what use is your book to me, if I don't understand it?—and your lute—you may take it again, if you won't teach me to play on it. Come home with me, and give me my first lesson.—"

' I will come to morrow.'

"You must come now."

' I musht tresh myshelf.'

"For what? You are the best figure I have seen to-day—."

' I musht be shave—'

"I honour your beard!"

' I musht pud on my wrik—'

"D—n your wig! your cap and beard become you! do you think, if Vandyke was to paint you he'd let you be shaved?"

In this manner he frittered away his musical talents; and though possessed of ear, taste, and genius, he never had application enough to learn his notes. He scorned to take the first step, the second was of course out of his reach; and the summit became unattainable.

As a painter, his abilities may be considered in three different departments.

Portrait,

Landscape, and

Groups of figures—to which must be added his drawings.

To take these in the above-mentioned order.

The first consideration in a portrait, especially to the purchaser, is, that it be a perfect likeness of the sitter—in this respect, his skill was unrivalled—the next point is,

that it is a good picture—here, he has as often failed as succeeded. He failed by affecting a thin washy colouring, and a hatching style of pencilling: but when, from accident or choice, he painted in the manly substantial style of Vandyke, he was very little, if at all, his inferior. It shews a great defect in judgement, to be from choice, wrong, when we know what is right. Perhaps, his best portrait is that known among the painters by the name of the Blue-boy—it was in the possession of Mr. Buttall, near Newport-market.

There are three different æras in his landscapes—his first manner was an imitation of Ruysdael, with more various colouring—the second, was an extravagant looseness of pencilling; which, though reprehensible, none but a great master can possess—his third manner, was a solid firm style of touch.

At this last period, he possessed his greatest powers, and was (what every painter is at some time or other) fond of varnish. This produced the usual effects—improved the picture for two or three months; then ruined it for ever! With all his excellence in this branch of the art, he was a great mannerist—but the worst of his pictures have a value, from the facility of execution—which excellence I shall again mention.

His groups of figures are, for the most part, very pleasing, though unnatural—for a town-girl, with her clothes in rags, is not a ragged country-girl. Notwithstanding this remark, there are numberless instances of his groups at the door of a cottage, or by a fire in a wood, &c. that are so pleasing as to disarm criticism. He sometimes (like Murillo)

Murillo) gave interest to a single figure—his Shepherd's boy, Woodman, Girl and Pigs, are equal to the best pictures on such subjects—his Fighting Dogs, Girl warming herself, and some others, shew his great powers in this style of painting. The very distinguished rank the Girl and Pigs held at M. Calonne's sale, in company with some of the best pictures of the best masters, will fully justify a commendation which might else seem extravagant.

If I were to rest his reputation upon one point, it should be on his drawings. No man ever possessed methods so various in producing effect, and all excellent—his washy, hatching style, was here in its proper element. The subject which is scarce enough for a picture, is sufficient for a drawing, and the hasty loose handling, which in painting is poor, is rich in a transparent wash of bistre and Indian ink. Perhaps the quickest effects ever produced, were in some of his drawings; and this leads me to take up again his facility of execution.

Many of his pictures have no other merit than this facility; and yet, having it, are undoubtedly valuable. His drawings almost rest on this quality alone for their value; but possessing it in an eminent degree (and as no drawings can have any merit where it is wanting) his works, therefore, in this branch of the art, approach nearer to perfection than his paintings.

If the term *facility* explain not itself; instead of a definition, I will illustrate it.

Should a performer of middling execution on the violin contrive to get through his piece, the most that can be said, is, that he has not failed in his attempt. Should Cramer perform the same music, it would be so much within his powers, that it would be executed with ease. Now, the superiority of pleasure, which arises from the execution of a Cramer, is enjoyed from the facility of a Gainsborough. A poor piece performed by one, or a poor subject taken by the other, give more pleasure by the *manner* in which they are treated, than a good piece of music, and a sublime subject in the hands of artists that have not the means by which effects are produced, *in subjection to them*. To a good painter or musician this illustration was needless; and yet, by them *only*, perhaps, it will be felt and understood.

By way of addition to this sketch of Gainsborough, let me mention a few miscellaneous particulars.

He had no relish for historical painting—he never sold, but always gave away his drawings; commonly to persons who were perfectly ignorant of their value.* He hated the harpsichord and the piano-forte. He disliked singing, particularly in parts. He detested reading; but was so like Sterne in his letters, that, if it were not for an originality that could be copied from no one, it might be supposed that he had formed his style upon a close imitation of that author. He had as much pleasure in looking at a violin as in hearing it—I have seen him for many minutes surveying, in si-

* He presented twenty drawings to a lady, who passed them to the wainscot of her dressing-room. Some time after she left the house: the drawings, of course, become the temporary property of every tenant.

lence,

lence, the perfection of an instrument, from the just proportion of the model, and beauty of the workmanship.

His conversation was sprightly, but licentious—his favourite subjects were music and painting, which he treated in a manner peculiarly his own. The common topics, or any of a superior cast, he thoroughly hated, and always interrupted by some stroke of wit or humour.

The indiscriminate admirers of my late friend will consider this sketch of his character as far beneath his merit; but it must be remembered, that my wish was not to make it perfect, but just. The same principle obliges me to add—that as to his common acquaintance he was sprightly and agreeable, so to his intimate friends he was sincere and honest, and that his heart was always alive to every feeling of honour and generosity.

He died with this expression—*‘We are all going to heaven, and Vandyke is of the party.’*—Strongly expressive of a good heart, a quiet conscience, and a love for his profession, which only left him with his life.

Character of Mr. John Smeaton.

To the Account of this eminent and ingenious Person, inserted in our Register for 1793, we now add the following Particulars, in a Letter from his Daughter, lately published in a very important Work, intitled, “Reports of the late Mr. John Smeaton, F. R. S. made on various Occasions in the Course of his Employment as an Engineer,” Quarto.

The Committee of civil Engineers.

*Fellfoot, near Kendal,
30th Oct. 1797.*

Gentlemen,

THE advertisement relative to the publication of Mr. Smeaton's works recalls to my mind a request made from you, through Mr. Brooke, “that his daughters would assist in furnishing any anecdotes illustrative of his life and character.” And this recollection calls upon me to apologize for the apparent neglect, as well as to account why an office so pleasant could be delayed for a moment. The fact is, gentlemen, that, however immediate the impulse was to set about it, I soon found, in so doing, the task at once difficult and delicate.

The public ear, I am afraid, is satiated and fastidious; and the plain anecdotes of a plain man, like him, though interesting to individuals, could awaken little public curiosity, or perhaps, give still less satisfaction when awakened. And, extraordinary as it may seem, his family, probably less than others, are in possession of anecdotes concerning him; for, though communicative on all subjects, and stored with ample and liberal observations on others, of himself he never spoke. In nothing does he seem to have stood more single than in being devoid of that egotism, which, more or less, affects the world. It required some address, even in his family, to draw him into conversation directly relative to himself, his pursuits, or his success. Self-opinion, self-interest, and self-indulgence, seemed alike tempered in him by a modesty inseparable from merit; a moderation in pecuniary ambition; a habit of intense application;

plication; and a temperance strict beyond the common standard. And it is owing, perhaps, to this regulation, that, through a course of incessant fatigue and incredible exertion, from six years old to sixty, the multiplicity of business, and pressure of cares, never had power to deaden his affections, or injure his temper.

I say, six years old to sixty, because, while in petticoats, he was continually dividing circles and squares; all his playthings were models of machines which destroyed the fish in the ponds, by raising water out of one into another. At school; his exercises, in the law, to him not an agreeable destination; his dry, though useful attainments, occupied him through the day; but mechanics, and his favourite studies, engrossed the chief of every night. So that his mind appears to have endured an incessant exertion through that period.

It was his maxim, "that the abilities of the individual were a debt due to the common stock of public happiness or accommodation!" This appears to have governed his actions through life; for the claim of society (thus become sacred) his time was devoted to the cultivation of talents, by which he might benefit mankind; and thenceafter, to the unwearied application of them.

Indefatigable in the pursuits they led to, the public are in possession of all which nature intrusted to him, or the measure of life allowed.

His friends know well how to appreciate the honest man, who valued them! And what he was in his family, every member of it could speak, if called upon, with equal gratitude, pride, and pleasure!

The arrangement of his time was governed by a method as invariable as inviolable: for professional studies were never broken in upon by any one; and these (with the exception of stated astronomical observations) wholly ingrossed the forenoon. His meals were temperate, and for many years restricted, on account of health, to rigid abstinence, from which he derived great benefit.

His afternoons were regularly occupied by practical experiments, or some other branch of mechanics. And not more entirely was his mind devoted to his profession in one division of his time, than abstracted from it in another. Himself devoted to his family with an affection so lively, a manner at once so cheerful and serene, that it is impossible to say, whether the charm of conversation, the simplicity of instructions, or the gentleness with which they were conveyed, most endeared his home. A home, in which, from infancy, we cannot recollect to have seen a trace of dissatisfaction, or a word of asperity to any one. Yet with all this he was absolute! And it is for casuistry in education, or rule, to explain his authority; it was an authority as impossible to dispute as to define.

The command of his feelings, and submission of a temper, naturally warm, to reason and benevolence were strongly illustrated by a circumstance (in my recollection) peculiarly trying to him. It arose from the conduct of a man formerly employed as a clerk, in whom having the highest confidence and esteem, he procured him a similar, though more lucrative, situation in a public office; where he served with a fidelity which in time promoted

moted him to a station of high trust and responsibility (my father being bound, jointly with another gentleman, for his conduct, in a considerable sum). It were needless to say by what degrees in error this man fell; it suffices, that at last he forged a false statement, to meet the deficiency; that he was detected, and given up to justice. The same post brought news of the melancholy transaction; of the man's compunctions and danger; of the claim of the bond forfeited; and of the refusal of the other person to pay the moiety!—Being present when he read his letters, which arrived at a period of Mrs. Smeaton's declining health, so entirely did the command of himself second his anxious attention to her, that no emotion was visible on their perusal; nor, till all was put into the best train possible, did a word or look betray the exquisite distress it occasioned him. In the interim, all which could soothe the remorse of a prisoner, every means which could save (which did at least from public execution), were exerted for him, with a characteristic benevolence, "active and unobtrusive."

The disinterested moderation of his pecuniary ambition, every transaction in private life evinced; his public ones bore the same stamp: and after his health had withdrawn him from the labours of his profession, many instances may be instanced by those whose concerns induced them to press importunately for a resumption of it: and when some of them seemed disposed to enforce their entreaties by farther prospects of lucrative recompense, his reply was strongly characteristic of his simple manners and moderation. He introduced the old woman who

took care of his chambers in Gray's inn, and shewing her, asserted, "that her attendance sufficed for all his wants." The inference was indisputable, "for money could not tempt that man to forego his ease, leisure, or independence, whose requisites of accommodation were compressed within such limits."

Before this, the princess Dashkoff made an apt comment upon this trait of his character; when, after vainly using every persuasion to induce him to accept a *carte blanche* from the empress of Russia, (as a recompense for directing the vast projects in that kingdom) she observed, "Sir, you are a great man, and I honour you! You may have an equal in abilities, perhaps; but in character you stand single. The English minister, sir Robert Walpole, was mistaken, and my sovereign has the misfortune to find one man who has not his price!"

Early in life he attracted the notice of the late duke and duchess of Queensbury, from a strong resemblance to their favourite Gay, the poet. The commencement of this acquaintance was singular, but the continuance of their esteem and partiality lasted through life. Their first meeting was at Ranelagh, where, walking with Mrs. Smeaton, he observed an elderly lady and gentleman fix an evident and marked attention on him. After some turns, they at last stopped him; and the duchess (of eccentric memory) said, "Sir, I don't know who you are, or what you are, but so strongly do you resemble my poor dear Gay, we must be acquainted; you shall go home and sup with us; and if the minds of the two men accord, as do the countenance, you will find two cheerful old folks, who

who can love you well; and I think (or you are a hypocrite) you can as well deserve it." The invitation was accepted, and, as long as the duke and duchess lived, the friendship was as cordial as uninterrupted; indeed, their society had so much of the play which genuine wit and goodness know how to combine, it proved to be among the most agreeable relaxations of his life. A sort of amicable and pleasant hostility was renewed, whenever they met, of talent and good humour; in the course of which, he affected the abolition of that inconsiderate, indiscriminate play, amongst people of superior rank or fortune, which compels every one to join, and at their own stake too. My father detested cards, and, his attention never following the game, played like a boy. The game was *Pope Joan*; the general run of it was high, and the stake in "*Pope*" had accidentally accumulated to a sum more than serious. It was my father's turn, by the deal, to double it, when, regardless of his cards, he busily made minutes on a scrap of paper, and put it on the board. The duchess eagerly asked him what it was, and he as coolly replied, "Your grace will recollect the field in which my house stands may be about five acres, three roods, and seven perches, which, at thirty years purchase, will be just my stake; and if your grace will make a duke of me, I presume the winner will not dislike my mortgage." The joke and the lesson had alike their weight; they never after played but for the interest trifle.

The manly simplicity of deportment to his superiors, however,

was alike free from pretension and servility; and an invariable consideration and kindness to his inferiors, produced a singular sentiment of veneration in those who served him.

He always apprehended the stroke which terminated his life, as it was hereditary in his family; he dreaded it only as it gave the melancholy possibility of out-living his faculties, or the power of doing good: to use his own words, "lingering over the dregs, after the spirit had evaporated!"

When this really did happen, the composure with which he met it, his anxious endeavour to soften any alarm to his family, his resignation to the event, and his dignified thankfulness on finding at last his intellect was spared, were every way worthy of himself. Still his invariable wish was "to be released!"

In the interim (six weeks) all faculties, and every affection, were as clear and animated as at any period of his life. His memory was tenacious, and his ingenuity as active, to relieve the inconveniences of his then situation, as such situation gave what he termed, trouble to those about him.

He expressed a particular desire and pleasure in seeing the usual occupations resumed; and reading, drawing, music, and conversation, excited the same interest, the same cheerful and judicious observations, as ever.

He would sometimes complain of his own slowness (as he called it) of apprehension, and then would excuse it with a smile, saying, "It could not be otherwise, the shadow must lengthen as the sun went down!" There was no slowness,

in

in fact, to lament; for he was as ready at calculations, and as perspicuous in explanation, as at any former period. Some phenomena respecting the moon were asked him one evening, when it accidentally shone bright, full into his room: when he had spoke fully on them, his eyes remained fixed upon it with a most animated attention, to us impressive; then turning them on us with benignity, observed, "How often have I looked up to

it with inquiry and wonder! to the period, when I shall have the vast and privileged views of a hereafter, and all will be comprehension and pleasure!"

Shortly after, the end he had through life desired, was granted; the body gradually sunk, but the mind shone to the last: and in the way good men aspire to the last, he closed a life—active as useful, amiable as revered!

Mary Dixon.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Observations on the Foramina Thebesii of the Heart; by Mr. John Abernethy, F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions, Part I. for 1798.

AS the investigation of the resources of nature in the animal economy, for the maintenance of health, and the prevention of disease, cannot but be interesting to the philosopher as well as to the physician, I therefore am induced to submit to the society the following observations.

There is a remarkable contrivance, in the blood-vessels which supply the heart, not to be met with in any other part of the body, and which is of great use in the healthy functions of that organ, but which is particularly serviceable in preventing disease of a part so essential to life.

A distended state of the blood-vessels must always impede their functions, and consequently be very detrimental to the health of the part which they supply; but, as the cavities of the heart are naturally receptacles of blood, a singular opportunity is afforded to its nutrient vessels, to relieve themselves when surcharged, by pouring a part of their contents into those cavities. Such appears to be the use of the *foramina*, by which injections,

thrown into the blood-vessels of the heart, escape into the cavities of that organ; and which were first noticed by Vieussens, but, being more expressly described by Thebesius, generally bear the name of the latter author.

Anatomists appear to have been much perplexed, concerning these *foramina Thebesii*; even Haller, Senac, and Zinn, were sometimes unable to discover them; which suggested an idea, that when an injection was effused into the cavities of the heart, the vessels were torn, and that it did not escape through natural openings. When these *foramina* were injected, they were found under various circumstances, as to their size and situation; and Haller observed, that the injection, for the most part, escaped into the right cavities of the heart. It also remains undetermined, whether these *foramina* belong both to the arteries and veins, or respectively to each set of vessels.

It is from an examination of these openings in diseased subjects, that a solution of such difficulties may probably be obtained. Whoever reflects on the circumstances under which the principal coronary vein terminates in the right auricle of the heart, will perceive that an impediment to the flow of blood, through that vessel, must occasionally

ally take place; but the difficulty will be much increased, when the right side of the heart is more than ordinarily distended, in consequence of obstruction to the pulmonary circulation. Indeed it seems probable that such an obstruction, by occasioning a distended state of the right side of the heart, and thus impeding the circulation in the nutrient vessels of that organ, would as necessarily occasion corresponding disease in it, as an obstruction to the circulation in the liver occasions disease in the other abdominal viscera, were it not for some preventing circumstances, which I now proceed to explain.

Having been attentive to some very bad cases of pulmonary consumption, from a desire to witness the effects of breathing medicated air in that complaint, I was led to a more particular examination of the heart of those patients who died. In these cases, I found, that by throwing common coarse waxen injection into the arteries and veins of the heart, it readily flowed into the cavities of that organ; and that the left ventricle was injected in the first place, and most completely. When the ventricle was opened, and the effused injection removed, the *foramina Thebesii* appeared both numerous and large, and distended with the different coloured wax which had been impelled into the coronary arteries and veins. Upon eight comparative trials, made by injecting the vessels of hearts taken from subjects whose lungs were either much diseased, or in a perfectly sound state, I found that, in the former, common injection readily flowed, in the manner which I have described, into all the cavities of the heart, but principally

into the left ventricle; whilst, in many of the latter, I could not impel the least quantity of such coarse injection into that cavity.

This difference in the facility with which the cavities of the heart can be injected from its nutrient vessels, was observed by most anatomists, though they did not advert to the circumstances on which it depended. Haller's recital of his own observations, and of those of others, on this subject, so well explain the facts which I have stated, that I shall take the liberty of quoting the passage, in order farther to illustrate and authenticate them.—

He says, "*Si per arterias liquorem injeceris, perinde in dextra auricula, sinuque et ventriculo dextro, et in sinu atque thalamo sinistro guttule exsillabunt; saepe quidem absque mora, aliter difficiliter, et nonnunquam omnino, uti continuo dicimus, et mihi, et Senaco, et clarissimo Zinnio, nihil exsillavit.*" Elem. Physiol. tom. i. p. 332.

As it seems right that the blood which had been distributed by the coronary arteries, and which must have lost, in a greater or less degree, the properties of arterial blood, should not be mixed with the arterial blood which is to be distributed to every part of the body, but ought rather to be sent again to the lungs, in order that it may re-acquire those properties; we therefore perceive why, in a natural state of the heart, the principal *foramina Thebesii* are to be found in the right cavities of that organ. However, as, even in a state of health, those cavities are liable to be uncommonly distended, in consequence of muscular exertion sometimes forcing the venous blood into the heart faster than it can be transmitted through the lungs, there seems

seems to arise a necessity for similar openings on the left side ; but these, in their natural state, though capable of emitting blood, and of relieving the plethora of the coronary vessels, are not of sufficient size to give passage to common waxen injections. Yet, when there is a distended state of the right cavities of the heart, which is almost certainly occasioned by a diseased state of the lungs, these *foramina*, leading into the left cavities, then become enlarged, in the manner that has been already described ; and thus the plethoric state of the nutrient vessels of the heart, and the consequent disease of that important organ, are prevented.

The preceding remarks will, I think, sufficiently explain the cause of the variety, in the size and situation, of these *foramina*, which also appear to belong both to the arteries and veins ; because, the injection which was employed was too coarse to pass from one set of vessels to the other, and yet the different coloured injections passed into the cavities of the heart unmixed.

There is yet another mode by which diseases of the heart, that would otherwise so inevitably succeed to obstruction in the pulmonary vessels, are avoided ; and which I next beg leave to explain.

Having formerly been much surprized to find the heart so little affected, when the lungs were greatly diseased, and observing, in one or two instances, that the *foramen ovale* was open, I was led to pay more particular attention to the state of that part ; and I have found this to be almost a constant occurrence in those subjects where pulmonary consumption had for some time existed previous to the person's de-

cease. I took notice of this circumstance thirteen times in the course of one year ; and, in several instances, the aperture was sufficiently large to admit of a finger being passed through it. Now, as the *septum auricularum* is almost constantly perfect in subjects whose lungs are healthy, I cannot but conclude, that the renewal of the *foramen ovale* is the effect of disease : nor will the opinion appear, on reflection, improbable ; for, the opening becomes closed, by the membranous fold growing from one edge of it till it overlaps the other, and their smooth surfaces being kept in close contact, by the pressure of the blood in the left auricle, they gradually grow together. But, should there be a deficiency of blood in the left auricle, and a redundance in the right, the pressure of the latter, on this membranous partition, will so stretch and irritate the uniting medium, as to occasion its removal ; and thus, a renewal of the communication between the auricles will again take place.

From these observations it is natural to suppose, that in those men, or animals, who are accustomed to remain long under water, this opening will either be maintained or renewed : yet on this circumstance alone the continuance of their life does not depend, for we have now sufficient proof, that if the blood is not oxygenated in the lungs, it is unfit to support the animal powers. There is an experiment related by Buffon, the truth of which, I believe, has not been publicly controverted, and which tends greatly to misrepresent this subject. He says, that he caused a bitch to bring forth her puppies under warm water ; that he suddenly removed them into
B b a pail

a pail of warm milk; that he kept them immersed in the milk for more than half an hour; and that when they were taken out of it, all the three were alive. He then allowed them to respire about half an hour, and again immersed them in the warm milk, where they remained another half hour; and, when taken out, two were vigorous, but the third seemed to languish: this submersion was again repeated, without apparent injury to the animals.

This experiment is so directly contrary to what we are led to believe from all others, and also to the information derived from cases which frequently occur in the practice of midwifery, (in which, an interruption to the circulation through the umbilical chord occasions the death of the fœtus), as to make me suspect its truth: I was therefore induced to examine what would happen in a similar experiment. I did not indeed cause the bitch to bring forth her puppies in water; but immersed a puppy, shortly after its birth, under water which was of the animal temperature. It lost all power of supporting itself in about 60 seconds, and would shortly have perished, had I not removed it into the air. Neither could I, by repeating this experiment, so accustom the animal to the circulation of unoxxygenated blood, as to lengthen the term of its existence in such an unnatural situation. I thought that a dog might have been made a good diver in this way; but, having satisfied myself that this could not be done, without greatly torturing the animal, I did not choose to prosecute so cruel an experiment.

Young animals, indeed, retain their irritability for a considerable

time, so that they move along after they have been plunged beneath water; and may even, on this account, recover after they are taken out. But the manner in which Buffon has related his experiment seems to imply, that the circulation of the blood, and other functions of life, were continued after the animals had been excluded from the air. I am convinced that the poor dog, who was the subject of my experiment, would have been beyond recovery in a few minutes.

Those animals who are accustomed to remain long under water, probably first fill their lungs with air, which may, in a partial manner, oxygenate their blood during their submersion. The true statement of this subject may probably be, that the circulation of venous blood will destroy most animals in a very short space of time; but that custom may enable others to endure it, with very little change, for a longer period.

On the Action of Metallic Oxides and Earths upon Oils, in low Degrees of Heat; by Mr. Peter Henry; from the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.

THE high degree of colour possessed by many of the expressed and fatty oils rendering them unfit for several uses in the arts, it appeared to be a desirable object to discover a mode of depriving them of their colouring particles:

For this purpose, the following experiments were instituted.

1. Two ounces of spermaceti-oil were digested with one drachm of white arsenic, in a heat of 180° of Fahrenheit;

Fahrenheit, during six hours; and left to stand till morning. The oil was then perfectly clear and colourless, and much heavier than it was previous to the experiment; a great part of the arsenic, however, remained undissolved at the bottom of the digesting vessel.

2. Two ounces of linseed-oil were digested with one drachm of white arsenic, under the same circumstances with the former. In the morning, very little alteration being perceived in the mixture, it was exposed to a somewhat greater heat. In two hours, the oil appeared brighter and clearer, much of the arsenic being dissolved; but it yet retained a great part of its original colour. There was a considerable deposition of mucilage; the arsenic which remained undissolved being tinged of a light yellow colour.

3. Green olive-oil was treated in a similar manner with the spermaceti-oil, and attended with the same result.

4. Thick train-oil was digested with a drachm and a half of white arsenic. No great alteration was observed in the colour of the oil, though it was evidently rendered clearer, and more limpid.

When the oils were at the greatest heat, a brisk effervescence took place, in all of them, upon shaking the bottles, but immediately discontinued, on the arsenic being suffered to subside. When poured on the hands, they instantly shrivelled the skin, and were either absorbed, or soon dried up. Two phials of No. 1 and 2, being left exposed to the action of air and light, for some months, were not in the least changed.

As it was evident, that a consi-

derable portion of arsenic was dissolved in all the foregoing experiments, I wished to see if it could be precipitated, and at the same time the oils be left pure, and deprived of colour; though with no great hopes of success, from the known property of the mineral acids to render the oils thick and discoloured.

5. Part of No. 1, being poured into a phial, three or four drops of strong vitriolic acid were added. The arsenic immediately precipitated, leaving the oil as pure and colourless as before.

6. The same quantity of vitriolic acid being added to No. 2, 3, and 4, the arsenic was in like manner precipitated. No. 2 seemed even clearer than before the addition of acid.

7. Nitrous acid being added, in the same proportion with the vitriolic, the colour of all the oils was instantly changed to a dark-brown, except the spermaceti-oil, which was not much affected; the train and linseed-oils suffering the greatest change. In all of them a slight effervescence took place.

8. Marine acid occasioned a precipitation, which soon re-dissolved, in all of them.

9. Both the fixed alkalies immediately coagulated the oils; the water, in which the solution of alkali was made, subsiding to the bottom of the vessel, along with the arsenic.

10. Three ounces of spermaceti-oil were digested with one drachm of litharge, during six hours, in about 200° of Fahrenheit. The oil became much clearer than before the experiment, but not near so colourless as when treated with arsenic: the litharge was changed to

a white colour. Part of the oil being poured off, and the heat afterwards increased, it soon became thick and high coloured.

11. Linseed-oil, exposed to the same degrees of heat, under similar circumstances, underwent the same changes.

12. Train-oil was little affected in low degrees of heat, but, in higher degrees, became discoloured.

13. A few drops of vitriolic acid being added to a portion of No. 10, before the heat had been increased, the litharge was precipitated, and the oil left pure and clear, though not quite colourless.

14. Vitriolic acid being added to the linseed and train oils, No. 11 and 12, a very small precipitation of the litharge took place; probably owing to the heat not having been sufficiently great to dissolve it in large quantities, which had been found to be the case with the same oils, when digested with arsenic.

15. Nitrous acid, when added, instantly changed the colour of all three (No. 10, 11, and 12), to a dark-brown; No. 11 and 12 became thick and glutinous.

16. Marine acid precipitated the litharge. Upon being left to stand, the linseed and train oils assumed a much darker hue than they had previous to the addition of the acid.

17. Alkalies coagulated the oils, as in the former experiments with them.

18. Two ounces of spermaceti-oil and half a drachm of red-lead, were digested during eight hours. The oil seemed not in the least changed; but a small quantity of the lead remained suspended, and gave it a slight pink cast. The heat,

the next day, was gradually increased, with as little success, till the oil was brought to nearly a boiling heat; it then became dark and discoloured.

19. Linseed-oil was tried in the same proportion, with the like result.

20. Train-oil was treated in the same mode as the others, with one drachm of red-lead. On increasing the heat, it formed a very thick dark coloured mass.

21. White-lead, and the oxide of copper which is formed upon the distillation of acetated copper, had the same effect with the red-lead. But less of the oxide of copper appeared to be dissolved than of the oxides of lead.

Not meeting with the success I was at first led to expect, from the digestion of the oils with the metallic oxides, I submitted them to the action of different pure aerated earths, under the same degrees of heat.

22. Two ounces of spermaceti-oil and one drachm of the earth of allum, precipitated from a solution of allum by the vegetable fixed alkali, were placed in a sand-bath, of from 180° to 190° of Fahrenheit, and suffered to remain there during three hours. The oil became clear and colourless, the gluten having precipitated with the earth to the bottom of the vessel.

23. Two ounces of linseed-oil and one drachm and a half of pure clay, were subjected to the same degree of heat as the spermaceti-oil. This oil likewise became very clear, and much less coloured: a considerable deposition of mucilage was observed upon the surface of the clay. The combination of the mucilage with the linseed-oil, appeared

pared to be much stronger than that of the spermaceti-oil with its gluten.

24. Train-oil was likewise rendered much purer by digestion with the same earth; but was in no degree equal either to the spermaceti or linseed oils.

25. Both aerated and pure magnesia precipitated the mucilage whilst the oils continued warm; but, as they cooled, the mucilage and magnesia rose, and mixed again with the oils.

26. Ten grains of pure calcareous earth being added to one ounce of each of the oils, in the cold, turned them thick, and dark coloured.

27. Aerated calcareous earth had little effect upon the oils, either heated or cold.

In all these experiments with the earths, not the smallest particle seemed dissolved, as, on the addition of any of the acids, they instantly changed to a very dark colour. Those oils to which the nitrous acid was added, became much darker than those in which the metallic oxides had been digested, and to which the same addition had been made.

It is well known, that oils obtain the property of drying more quickly, by being boiled, either alone, or in conjunction with metallic oxides, and argillaceous earths. Oil, according to M. Lavoisier, consists of hydrogen or the basis of inflammable gas, and carbone, the basis of carbonic acid or fixed air. The metallic calces consist of the metal united to oxygen or the basis of pure air. According to this system of chymistry, the metal, when boiled in oil, gives up oxygen to it, while

the mucilage of the oil unites to the metal. It seems therefore probable, that in high coloured oils the carbone is superabundant; and that, by digesting the calces of metals in a lower degree of heat, a part of the oxygen of the calx may combine with the superfluous carbone, and, forming carbonic acid, tend to divest the oil of its colour; while the oxide, attracting the mucilage, may contribute to the same end.

How far this theory may apply to the explanation of the foregoing experiments, I do not pretend to determine. It is remarkable, however, that one of the earthy substances, viz. the alumine, which is not known to contain either oxygenous or carbonic gas, decoloured the oils more powerfully than most of the metallic oxides, and equally with any of them. This earth has a strong attraction for colouring matter, and on this property depends its use in dying.

But, on the supposition that the above theory is just, it may be expected, not only that oils may be deprived of colour, but that rancid oils may be restored to sweetness, by the metallic oxides. My father formerly found * that rancid oil, exposed to streams of carbonic gas, was sweetened. The same effect may be produced by the same gas, formed in the process; and indeed, though I was not particularly attentive to this circumstance, I thought the train-oil was diminished in rancidity; and the spermaceti-oil which was kept for several months after exposure to heat, continued sweet.

Another circumstance, worthy of remark, is, that though concentrated vitriolic acid, on addition to oils,

* Henry's Experiments and Observations, page 129.

blacken them, and gives out a sulphureous smell; yet, when dropped into oils in which the metallic calces have been digested, it combines with the calces, and precipitates them, without either discolouring the oils, or changing their odour.

Account of the Griffard, or African Eagle; from Vaillant's Natural History of the Birds of Africa.

IT is from the relative proportion of the parts of the body that naturalists may obtain the best specific characters of animals. The form of the body generally determines the habits and manners; while the variety of colour, especially among the different genera of birds of prey, whose plumage varies so considerably at different periods of their life, furnishes but very ambiguous distinctions.

The African eagle here described occupies a distinguished rank among those birds of rapine which are eminently endowed with courage, strength, and offensive arms: its size is nearly equal to the great or royal eagle, from which it differs in the superior muscularity of its thighs, in the strength of its talons, and in the length of its legs; so that it may readily be pointed out, not only in a cabinet among other kindred species, but even when on wing, by its pendent legs.

Hares, and the smaller kinds of antelopes, are its ordinary prey, which it readily kills in a manner highly characteristic of its strength. Its courage is, however, more eminently displayed in its combats with other birds of prey: as soon as one of them is found intruding on the wide domain which this winged

monarch has chosen for himself, he is immediately attacked and put to flight. It sometimes happens that whole troops of vultures and ravens unite together to rob the griffard of his prey: but the stern and intrepid attitude of this bird, fixed on the animal which he has slain, is sufficient to keep at a distance the whole legion of plunderers.

This eagle lives during the whole year with its female: they usually fly in company, and never wander beyond their own territories. They establish their aery on the summit of a very lofty tree, or on the inaccessible crag of a rock. The nest is a platform, four or five feet across, and about two inches in thickness, strong enough to support the weight of a man; if undisturbed, it is used for a long series of years, probably during the whole life of the pair: it is composed of a number of strong perches, of different lengths, resting on the forks of the branches, and connected together by interlaced brushwood; above this, is a layer of dry sticks, moss, leaves, heath, &c. on which rests a third stratum, composed of small pieces of dried wood; and on this, without any mixture of down or feathers, the female lays her eggs.

The griffard builds his nest by choice on a high solitary tree, whence he may descry at a distance any approaching danger; among rocks, his habitation is more exposed to the invasion of the lesser carnivorous quadrupeds, who are rendered more formidable by their very smallness.

The female lays two white eggs, almost round, and above three inches in diameter. While she sits, and till the young are of sufficient age to be left alone on the nest, the

care

care of providing food devolves on the male: but the voracity of the young, as they increase in size, becomes so pressing, that both the parents can with difficulty appease the incessantly craving appetites of their offspring. The supply of provisions is so copious, that a family of Hottentots assured me of their having subsisted for two months by daily robbing a nest of this bird, which was in their neighbourhood. I am inclined to think this account by no means improbable, after having been myself witness of the rapaciousness of a griffard which I kept alive for some time. His wing being broken, and he being unused to captivity, he refused for three days every thing that was offered; but, as soon as he began to take food, he became absolutely insatiable, and the sight of a piece of flesh rendered him quite wild: he swallowed entire masses of a pound weight, and never refused any thing, devouring even that portion which he had just before been obliged to disgorge;—no sort of meat was rejected by him; the carcases of other birds of prey, and even of another griffard, which I had been dissecting, were indiscriminately devoured.

While these birds are perched, they utter from time to time a shrill piercing cry, mixed with a hoarse melancholy note, which is heard to a vast distance; and so lofty is their flight, that they often disappear from view, while their cry is still sufficiently audible.

I first met with this bird in the country of the Great Namaquois, about the 28th degree of south latitude, on the banks of the Great river. They became more frequent as I advanced towards the tropic,

but are not to be found in Cafraria. They were probably at one time to be seen as far south as the Cape: but, as the colony has increased, all the larger birds and quadrupeds, those especially which require a considerable tract of country for their subsistence, have been forced into the desert by civilized man—a more potent destroyer than themselves.

Account of the great River Crisna; from Pennant's View of Hindustan.

FROM Gangapatam, on the northern mouth of the Pennar, the land runs due north as far as Motapilli, when it forms a strong curve towards the east; the point of which is one side of the great river Crisna, in about latitude 15° 43'. Its Delta, which winds round as far as Masulipatam, is not considerable. This river annually overflows a vast tract of country, like the Indus on the western side of this empire, and like all the other great rivers on this extensive coast. The Crisna rises from the foot of the western Ghauts, and not more than forty-five miles from Severndrug, on the western coast. There is another branch to the east, that rises still more northerly. On the side is Sattara, a strong fortress, the capital of the Mahratta state, in the time of the Rajah of Sivaji's race: it was taken by him 1673, and found to be the depository of immense treasure; at that time it belonged to the king of Vijapur: it was afterwards used by the Mahrattas, as the lodgement of their riches, and also as a retreat for the more defenceless inhabitants

of Puna, and other open towns, in time of potent invasions.

The river continues descending to the east. In latitude 17° is Meritch, a strong fortress, with a Jaghirdar territory conquered from its owner, by Hydar. In latitude $16^{\circ} 45'$, a small river discharges itself into the Crisna from the north. It would not be worth mentioning, but that Pannela, a fortress of vast strength, was made by Sumbuji, the profligate son of Sivaji, his residence just before his surprisal, in 1689, betrayed by Cablis Khan, the vile instrument of his pleasures, corrupted by Aurengzebe. His extravagant love of women brought on him ruin. Informed, by Cablis, that a Hindu of rank and great beauty was on her road, to be delivered by the parents to her husband, according to the custom of the Hindus, he instantly put himself at the head of a small body of horse to carry off the prize, and ordered Cablis to follow at a distance for his protection, in case of accidents in that hostile time. The traitor had given notice to Aurengzebe of this expedition, who, sending a body of cavalry, surprised Sumbuji just as he had dispersed the nuptial procession.

Into the north side of the Crisna, in latitude $16^{\circ} 20'$ falls the great river Bima, after a course of three hundred and fifty miles. It rises at the head of the western Ghauts, parallel to Chaul in the Concan, and not above fifty miles from the sea. It descends rapidly towards the south-east. In latitude $17^{\circ} 40'$ it receives a small river from the west, on the southern banks of which stands Vijapur, the capital of the famous kingdom of the same name, now possessed by the Mahrattas, but

once governed by its own monarchs, till conquered by Aurengzebe, in 1686. It was of great extent, and reached to the western sea, where it possessed the ports of Dabul, Vijagorla, and Carapatan.

The capital, Vijapur, is some leagues in circuit, seated in a fine but naked country, well watered. It makes a singular appearance from an adjacent eminence, filled with numbers of small domes, and one of a majestic size. It was once a city of great splendor, and filled with palaces, mosques, mausoleums, and public and private buildings of great magnificence; many of them are fallen to ruin, and give melancholy proofs of its former splendor. I shall not attempt to detail them. The palaces of the kings, and accommodations for their attendants, were within a vast fort, surrounded with a ditch a hundred yards wide; the depth appeared to be great, but is now filled with rubbish: within the fort is the citadel. Tavernier says, that the great ditch was filled with crocodiles, by way of garrison, to prevent all access by water. Lieutenant Moor has his doubts about this, imagining that there never was any water in this foss. That such garrisons have existed I doubt not. I have read in Purchas, that, in Pego, the fosses of fortified places were stocked with those tremendous animals, not only to keep out enemies, but to prevent desertion. This practice has certainly been of great antiquity in some parts of India: Pliny mentions it as used in a fair city of the Horatæ, a people I cannot trace.

The Crisna, above and below its conflux with the Bima, is fordable; and, a few miles below its channel, is six hundred yards wide, made
horrid

horrid with the number and rudeness of the variously formed rocks, which are never covered but in the rainy season.

The Tungbuddra is another vast branch of the Crisna. It falls into it, in latitude $16^{\circ} 2'$, and originates extremely south, from a doubtful fountain. Towards its lower part, it divides into three or four small branches, which rise remote from each other; the most southern is the Curga Nair's country; the most northern from the head of the Ghauts opposite to Onor, and scarcely twenty miles from the sea. What must give this river great celebrity, is its having had on its banks, in latitude $15^{\circ} 22'$, the splendid city of Vijanagar. Ferishta says, that it was founded, in 1344, by Belaldeo, king of the Carnatic, which, in those days, included the whole peninsula. It was visited by Cæsar Frederick, a Venetian traveller, in 1565, and found deserted and ruinous, having been sacked by four confederated Mahommedan princes two years before, on which its monarch had retired to Pennconda. Frederick says, that its circumference was twenty-four miles. Mr. Rennel has given us a view of its present state from lieutenant Emitt, who visited it in 1792.

The ruins of Vijanagar are in the little Sircar of Anagundi, which does not extend above twenty miles around this vast city. It is very singular, that that little Sircar is now possessed by a lineal descendant of Rama Rajah, the last great monarch of Vijanagar, and its attendant nations, Canarine and Malabar, united seven hundred years before under the rule of Crisna Deva. Tippan wished to reserve this little tract to himself, for the satisfaction

of generously restoring to the descendant the small relique of the great empire of his ancestors. He is denied the title of Rajah, instead of which he has the diminutive Rail bestowed on him; this is suitable to his revenues, which do not exceed two lacs of rupees, or 25,000*l.* per annum, with the empty regality of a mint at Anagundi.

Comparison between Mounts Vesuvius and Etna; from Spallanzani's Travels in the two Sicilies.

THOUGH Vesuvius, considered in itself, may be justly called a grand volcano, and though, from the destruction and calamities it has at various times occasioned, it has continually been an object of consternation and terror to the inhabitants of the neighbouring country; yet, when it is compared with Etna, it must lose much of its celebrity, and appear so diminished, that, if the expression may be allowed, it may be called a volcano for a cabinet. Vesuvius does not, perhaps, rise higher than a mile above the level of the sea; and the whole circuit of its base, including Ottajano and Somma, is not more than thirty miles; while Mount Etna covers a space of one hundred and eighty, and in its height above the sea considerably exceeds two miles. From the sides of Etna other lesser mountains rise, which are, as it were, its offspring, and more than one of which equals Vesuvius in size. The most extensive lavas of the latter mountain do not exceed seven miles in length; while those of Etna are fifteen or twenty, and some even thirty miles in extent. The borders of the crater of Mount Etna are never less

less than a mile in circuit, and, according to the changes to which they are subject, sometimes two or three miles; it is even reported, that, in the dreadful eruption of 1669, they were enlarged to six. But the circumference of the Vesuvian crater, is never more than half a mile, even when widest distended, in its most destructive conflagrations.* Lastly, the earthquakes occasioned by the two volcanos, their eruptions, showers of ignited stones, and the destruction and desolation they occasion, are all likewise proportionate to their respective dimensions. We cannot therefore wonder that visits to Vesuvius should be considered as undertakings of little consequence, and never be made public, except lavas should have been flowing at the time; while a journey to Etna is considered as no trivial enterprize, both from the difficulty of the way, and the distance; as from Catania, whence it is usual to set out, it is thirty miles to the summit of Etna. On such a journey, likewise, we have to pass through three different climates; whereas, to go from Naples to Vesuvius should be rather called an excursion than a journey. We find also little difference between the temperature of the air at the bottom of this latter mountain, and that of its summit. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, the gigantic majesty of the Sicilian volcano, its sublime elevation, and the extensive, varied, and grand, prospects its summit presents, have induced the curious, in every

age, to ascend, and examine it; and not a few have transmitted to posterity the observations they have made during their arduous journey.

An Account of Cader Idris, the second Mountain in Wales: from Mr. Arthur Aikin's Tour through North Wales.

THE day being promising, we set off, after breakfast, to examine Cader Idris. A small lake, called Llyn-y-gader, lies about a mile and a half on the high-road to Towyn, which having arrived at, we quitted the road, and began our ascent up the first steps of this holy mountain. When we had surmounted the exterior ridge, we descended a little to a deep clear lake, which is kept constantly full by the numerous tributary torrents that fall down the surrounding rocks. Hence we climbed a second and still higher chain, up a steep but not difficult tract, over numerous fragments of rock detached from the higher parts: we now came to a second and more elevated lake, clear as glass, and overlooked by steep cliffs, in such a manner as to resemble the crater of a volcano, of which a most accurate representation is to be seen in Wilson's excellent view of Cader Idris. Some travellers have mentioned the finding lava, and other volcanic productions here; upon a strict examination, however, we were unable to discover any thing of the kind, nor did the water of the lake

* I know not how M. Sage was led into so strange an error as to assert, that, 'the crater of Vesuvius is more than three miles in diameter.' (Elem. de Min. tom. 1.) Were this true, the circumference of the Vesuvian crater must be nearly ten miles, an extent which perhaps the crater of no volcano in the world ever had.

appear to differ, in any respect, from the purest rock-water, though it was tried repeatedly with the most delicate chymical tests. A clear, loud, and distinct echo repeats every shout that is made near the lake. We now began our last and most difficult ascent up the summit of Cader Idris itself, which when we had surmounted, we came to a small plain with two rocky heads of nearly equal height, one looking to the north, the other to the south. We made choice of that which appeared to us the most elevated, and seated ourselves on its highest pinnacle, to rest after a laborious ascent of three hours. We were now high above all the eminences within this vast expanse; and, as the clouds gradually cleared away, caught some grand views of the surrounding country. The huge rocks, which we before looked up to with astonishment, were now far below at our feet, and many a small lake appeared in the valleys between them. To the north, Snowden with its dependencies shut up the scene; on the west we saw the whole curve of the bay of Cardigan, bounded, at a vast distance, by the Caernarvon mountains, and, nearer, dashing its white breakers against the rocky coast of Merioneth. The southern horizon was bounded by Plinlimmon; and, on the east, the eyes glanced over the lake of Bala, the two Arennig mountains, the two Arrans, the long chain of the Ferwyn mountains, to the Breddin-hills on the confines of Shropshire; and dimly, in the distant horizon, was beheld the Wrekin rising alone from the plain of Salop. Having, at last, satisfied our curiosity, and being thoroughly chilled by the keen air

of these elevated regions, we began to descend down the side opposite to that which we had come up. The first stage led us to another beautiful mountain-lake, whose cold clear waters discharge their superabundance in a full stream down the side of the mountain; all these waters abound with trout, and in some is found the *gwyniad*, a fish peculiar to rocky alpine lakes. Following the course of the stream, we came on the edge of the craggy cliffs that overlook Talylllyn lake; a long and difficult descent conducted us, at last, on the borders of Talylllyn, where we entered the Dolgelle road.

The mountain of Cader Idris, in height the second in all Wales, rises on the sea-shore, close upon the northern side of the estuary of the small river Disynwy, about a mile above Towyn. It proceeds with almost a constant ascent, first northwards for about three miles, then, for ten miles farther, runs E. N. E. giving out for its summit a branch nearly three miles long, in a south-westerly direction, parallel to the main ridge. It is very steep and craggy on every side; but the southern descent, especially to the border of Talylllyn lake, is the most precipitous, being nearly perpendicular. Its breadth bears but a small proportion to its length; a line passing along its base, and intersecting the summit, would scarcely equal four miles and a half; and in the other parts it is a mere ridge, whose base hardly ever exceeds one mile in breadth. The peak is said to be 2850 feet above Dolgelle. Cader Idris is the beginning of a chain of primitive mountains, extending in a N. N. easterly direction, and including the Arrans and the

the Arennigs. It is much loftier and more craggy than the slates and secondary mountains which surround it.

Observations and Experiments on the Nature and Formation of Vegetable Earth, or Soil, by Mr. Smith; from the European Magazine.

BY vegetable soil we mean that which forms a covering to most parts of the globe, and in which all vegetables grow, multiply, and are nourished: it is itself totally formed of decayed animal and vegetable substances; it is of different colours in different places, according to the different substances which have grown and decayed upon it. When it is pure it is capable of being burnt, and in Scotland it is the fuel most generally used, and goes under the name of peat. It is of different depths in different places, from one inch to between twenty and thirty feet. When examined minutely, we find it composed of small pieces of decayed vegetables; and even pitcoal itself appears to be formed by vegetable matter, decomposed under particular circumstances. On examining some pieces of coal, we often perceive the appearance of ligneous particles; but the true process through which the wood must have gone before it assumed this fossil shape, we cannot determine. We find oak, which has long been buried under ground, assume the hardness of coal; this is often dug out of the moors in Scotland, where it goes by the name of black oak. I have seen some of those oak-stakes which were found in laying the foundation of a bridge over the Thames, and

which are said to have been drove in there by Julius Cæsar, to have assumed the brittleness and hardness of coal. The quick increase of vegetable earth is surprising in many places; particularly near Dumfries, there is a place called Lochermole, which evidently appears to have been an arm of the sea, from boats and anchors having been dug up there by the common people. Corns have likewise been found in it, twenty or thirty feet below the surface of the vegetable soil; some of which denote the days of Agricola. The bottom of the moss is totally composed of sea-sand: I have seen large oak and pine trees dug out of it in a high state of preservation, and had the appearance of wood newly cut; but the pine seemed to contain more resin than the pine which grows in our climate, and splinters of it are used by the common people as torches: nuts are likewise found in these mosses in a high state of preservation. It is a curious fact that in whatever part of these moorish grounds, provided that the surface be dry, we lay down limestone or other calcareous earth, the common production, which is heath, will be destroyed, and white clover spring up in its place, although there was not a grain of white clover within many miles of the spot. The knowledge of this might be a valuable acquirement to philosophers, who maintain the theory of the spontaneous generation of vegetables and animalculæ. The fact is so well known in this country, that the farmer has only to lime his land, and it produces abundance of this plant, which is an excellent pasture for his cattle. I will now attempt to prove, by experiment, that both vegetable
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and animals add to the soil, instead of diminishing it: or that the vegetable mould affords little more than a vehicle to the pabulum or feed of plants; as I shall endeavour to prove that nature, by a certain regular process, is capable of turning both air and water into earth, and thereby must increase the magnitude of our globe.

Experiment the First.

I exposed a quantity of earth or soil in a furnace, where I kept it in a red heat for nearly twelve hours. I took it out and weighed it, I found it to be fourteen pounds and a half. I put it into a large garden-pot, and having sufficiently watered it for vegetation, I planted in it three tree mallows: the mallows in all, when planted, weighed twenty-two grains. I kept them there for four months, in the summer season, during which time they grew and flourished; at the end of which period I took them up and dried them carefully. On weighing them I found them to be above one pound and a half. I took the earth which was in the pot, and kept it twelve hours in a furnace as before, and, on weighing it, I found it had only lost one quarter of an ounce, which might be lost in making the experiment. By this we see that the earth must have gained considerably in its weight during this short period. From this we see that plants are able to convert water into vegetable earth. Since I made this experiment I find that it was made by Hales on a willow, which increased, in five years, so much as to weigh fifty pounds, without the diminution of the earth in which it grew. We are led to conjecture, from this experiment,

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that most of the vegetable earth of this globe is, by the powers of vegetation, formed from air, water, and light, and we find the increase to be very great. The next question that occurred to me was, Whether vegetables had the power of converting water into earth, or whether or not the water only acted as a stimulus to the plants, so as to cause an increase of their parts, without being, of itself, much diminished in proportion to the increase of the plant, in the same manner as an acid stimulates the mouth to secrete saliva, without any part of the acid entering into the composition of the saliva: but that water is diminished by the growth of plants, appears probable; for when a plant has absorbed water, it attracts the hydrogen from it, which forms their inflammable principle, and throws off the oxygen, and in this mode they purify the air. As the animal and what is called the vegetable life are the same in their manner of increase and growth, I was led to make the following experiment to investigate the subject.

Experiment the Second.

I took two pieces of muscular flesh, of equal weight, and nearly of the same shape, that when evaporation took place they might have equal surfaces exposed to the air. I then fixed them to a piece of wood, which I took care to balance justly. On one piece of the muscular flesh I put a number of the eggs of the common flesh-fly. During the space of three days the meat kept an equilibrium; but on the fourth, the one on which I put the eggs preponderated very considerably; on the fifth more, and more, during the increase of the maggots, and till all

all the flesh was destroyed, which was in about eight or nine days. This shews that animals possess a power of attracting something from the air, and that they increase, or give more to the earth, than they take away from it; that is, they convert some species of air, perhaps azotic, into a solid earthy substance. On collecting and weighing the maggots, their weight amounted to as much as the flesh meat on which they lived, while on the other hand, the piece of meat on which no eggs were placed had lost one quarter of its weight by evaporation, or decomposition by incipient putrefaction taking place. By these experiments it evidently appears, that animals, as well as plants, draw something from the air, which, by some unknown power, they convert into a solid mass; and that not above one half of the water which they absorb is converted into a vegetable or animal substance; but that the water operates as a stimulus, exciting their organized particles into action. This was evidently the case in the last experiment, for the maggots were three days in hatching, during which time a considerable evaporation took place from the surface of the meat; yet, notwithstanding this, they were found equal in weight to the original substance on which they had been fed. It therefore appears, that water and heat are the principal agents in nature in growth, generation, and multiplication, both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. A curious instance of this occurs in a boy who was sweated down for a horserace: the night before the race he was weighed, after which they gave him a biscuit and a small glass of

wine; but, to their great astonishment, when he was weighed in the morning, they found he had gained half a stone in weight: Did not this wine and biscuit act as a stimulus in exciting that particular action, which was the cause of the absorption of something from the air? People are known to grow fat upon nothing but strong beer: the coal-heavers about London are a good example of this; they are generally robust, and few of them are great eaters, generally living upon porter: Is not this to be assigned to the effect of its stimulating quality, as in the former case? From the above it appears that animals and vegetables have a power of creating and increasing earth, and that they add, every year, a strata of earth to our globe, both calcareous, argillaceous, and vegetable. And it is a probable conjecture, that the same power which at present increases it, is the power by which it was first formed, that is, the principle of life!

E. S. J.

Observations on the Formation of Sulphur and its Acid; by Mr. Smith; from the same.

SULPHUR is well known to every body, and is found in most parts of the globe. It sublimes with an exceeding small degree of heat, is very inflammable, burning with a blue flame, discharging, at the same time, a most suffocating vapour, which is known by the name of volatile sulphureous acid. It mineralizes with most metals, forming what is called their ochres: for example, with mercury it forms vermillion. The original formation of sulphur has long been unknown:

unknown: Chaptal thinks it is formed by the decomposition of animal and vegetable substances; M. De-wyn has tried to prove that it exists ready formed in many plants; but a question arises, whether it is formed in these plants or animals before a decomposition takes place, or after it has taken place, formed during that decomposition? or are we to imagine that plants and animals possess the power of producing sulphur in the same manner that the latter have of producing calcareous and argillaceous earths? Some are inclined to think that it is formed during the decomposition of animal and vegetable substances; and even water when it putrefies; or rather the substances which are in the water. The food, when taken into the stomach, and after it has descended into the rectum, when any air is emitted, it often has a sulphureous smell: the same smell issues from a putrefied or rotten egg: and if a clean silver spoon be put into an egg, it will be found, after a day or two, to grow black, which is a proof of the existence of hepatic air in it. Bilge water, and vegetables under a certain state of putrefaction, have the same smell. The way in which I would account for the formation of the hepatic gas, is, that the volatile alkali, which is contained in these plants, uniting with the sulphur, forms a *hepar sulphuris*, which afterwards, in another state of putrefaction, being, by some means, decomposed, either by the air or an acid, the hepatic gas is evolved. Hepatic gas is known to be composed of a certain portion of sulphur, held in solution by hydrogen: so we need not have recourse, for the formation of the hepatic gas, to the uniting sul-

phur with an alkali; but to the hydrogen which is formed during the putrefaction, taking up a certain portion of the sulphur, and holding it in solution. The same thing may be said of the phosphoric gas. There is in the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming, in the county of Dumfriesshire, a large plain composed of black vegetable soil; which, according to the common report of the country people, was originally a deep lough, or sheet of water, but which has been since filled up through time and the common process of nature. In the centre of this plain, which is two miles over, there is a spring of strong sulphurous water, full as strong as that of Moffat, in Scotland, or Harrogate, in England. As this well is in the centre of a large plain containing decayed vegetables, and as it is the only spring in the place, it would appear that the water, impregnated with the hepatic gas from the decaying vegetables, is carried to it by filtration, and there forms a stream of hepatic water. The well at Moffat, which yields hepatic water, is situated at the bottom of a mountain which is covered with decayed vegetables, or is rather a moss or moor. And, I believe, if other wells, which produce this water, were carefully examined, they would be found to take their origin from some bed of decayed vegetables, or putrid water. Peat, which is a dried vegetable earth, when burnt, if the ashes be stirred while hot, in a dark room, we may perceive a sulphurous flame among them. Did the fire, while burning, cause a necessary decomposition of the peat; or did the sulphur exist in the peat ready formed?

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These observations tend to prove that sulphur is made visible by the decomposition of the animal or vegetable substance; but not to shew the manner in which the sulphur is formed. I am led to conceive, that, during vegetation, there is a certain process in the plant, by which it is enabled to create sulphuric acid, which immediately joins itself to part of the plant; or to the vegetable fixed alkali forming vitriolic tartar, in the same manner as we see a certain process going on in animal life, forming different acids, as tartareous, saccharine, phosphoric, &c. But during combustion, the oxigene of the acid uniting itself with the carbon, or inflammable gas, forms carbonic acid, or water, leaving the

sulphur, which, being exposed to the air and heat, takes fire and burns. The same thing will take place during decomposition in the case of putrefaction; but then the sulphur will unite itself with the volatile alkali; and, being decomposed, will form sulphuric gas, uniting with the superabundant hydrogen. As there is a greater decomposition going forward in hot climates than in cold ones, consequently there will be more sulphur found in the former than the latter: volcanos must, therefore, form much sulphur by a quick decomposition of vegetables, &c. for wherever they are, prodigious quantities of sulphur are to be found.

E. S. J.

to a higher or more elevated situation. Dated August 7.

John Cockran, of Paisley, in Scotland, yarn-merchant; for a method of spinning flax, hemp, and tow, by means of machinery wrought by water, and which may be wrought by steam-engines, horses, or any other power. Dated August 7.

William Birch, of Charlotte-street, in the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, in the county of Middlesex, esq. on behalf of himself and of his son, Richard Comyns Birch, of Calcutta, in the East Indies, esq.; for a method of purifying, refining, and preparing indigo, for the use of dyers. Dated August 11.

George Dodgson, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for a method of making and constructing pumps and engines for raising and evacuating water, or other fluids, and for producing power; and is peculiarly adapted for the use of ships and vessels. Dated August 23.

Francisco Raposo, of Lisbon, in the kingdom of Portugal, captain of engineers, in the service of her most faithful majesty; for improvements in the construction of steam-engines. Dated August 29.

John Greusell, of Dulwich, in the county of Surrey, merchant; for a new mode of applying machinery, in manufacturing copper and tin-plate vessels of every description. Dated October 10.

Samuel Roberts, of Park-Grange, in the parish of Sheffield, in the county of York, silver-smith and plater; for a method of making the nozles of candlesticks, of silver, silver-plated, or other metal, in such a manner that the candle may be

raised or depressed to any height within the socket, and capable of being easily adjusted, so as to receive, and hold firm, candles of different sizes. Dated October 30.

William Southwell, of Broad-court, in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, musical instrument-maker; for new improvements on the action and construction of piano-fortes, and other musical instruments. Dated November 3.

William Chapman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, gent.; for a new method of laying, twisting, or making ropes or cordage, of any number of yarns or strands, or any number of threads, tarred or untarred, &c. and for which he obtained former letters patent, dated on or about the 13th of September, 1797, and the 6th of March, 1798. Dated November 8.

Edward Shorter, of Giltspur-street, in the city of London, clock-maker, and William Anthony, of the parish of St. John, Clerkenwell, watch-maker; for a method of easing, equalizing, and facilitating, the draught of carriages of every description, and for easing the body of carriages of every description, in hanging the same; also for the more securely fixing tents and marquees, and preventing the inconvenience attending the present mode of fixing the same, and which invention is likewise applicable to other useful purposes. Dated November 10.

Jethro Hornblower, of Whitehall, in the parish of Kenwyne, in the county of Cornwall, engineer; for a method of making pattens, (to be worn by women), by altering the composition and clumsiness of their make and preventing their frequent breaking, and uneasiness

ness to the feet. Dated November 15.

William Pontifex, of Shoe-lane, in the city of London, coppersmith, (with the assistance of his brother); for an improved still-head, for distilling all sorts of liquors. Dated November 17.

John Curr, of Sheffield-Park, in the parish of Sheffield, in the county of York, gent.; for a method of forming and making a flat rope, intended to be used in drawing coals, and other minerals, and water, out of pits or mines of any kind. Dated November 17.

Nathan Smith, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, gent.; for a method of constructing or making a vapour-bath or vessel, of different sizes and shapes, by uniting thereto, and using therewith, a machine called an air-pump or exhauster, for curing, healing, and relieving, persons afflicted with the gout, &c. Dated November 20.

George Dunnage, of the Strand, in the liberty of Westminster, hat-maker; for a manner of ventilating the crowns of hats, which is much superior to any now used for that purpose. Dated November 27.

Robert Hindmarsh, of Walworth, in the county of Surrey, printer; for a method of applying an elementary or physical power to blast furnaces, and for all other works where power is required. Dated November 27.

Mark Noble, of Royal-row, in the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, engine-maker; for an apparatus to be applied to the working of pumps, engines, or machines in general, whether for sea or land service. Dated November 27.

Nathaniel Godbold, of Bloomsbury-square, esq.; for a remedy which is of wonderful benefit in the cure of consumption, scrophula, and gout. Dated November 27.

Thomas Turner, of Greville-street, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, ironmonger; for improvements in the construction or making of locks. Dated December 8.

John Marks, of Tabernacle-row, Finsbury-square, in the county of Middlesex, tailor; for a method of making gentlemens breeches, so as entirely to do away all the inconveniencies hitherto complained of. Dated December 8.

William Raley, of Newbald, in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, chymist; for a philosophical furnace and boiler, with an actuating wheel, being an appendage to the said philosophical furnace and boiler, &c. Dated December 8.

Joshua Collier, of West-square, in the parish of St. George, in the county of Surrey; for a chymical process for freeing fish-oils from their impurities, in point of smell, taste, and colour; and for improved strainers for oils, and other liquids; with other instruments, for ascertaining their qualities, and assisting their burning. Dated December 12.

William Hart, of the parish of St. James, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, brazier; for improved methods of raising beer, ale, spirituous liquors, &c. from the cellar to the bar, or any other part of the house, for the use of publicans, brewers, distillers, and others. Dated December 17.

John Randall Peckham, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in the county of Surrey, watch-maker; for a method of constructing

fructing a watch, so as to unite it with a mariner's compass, in such a manner as to answer every purpose (with equal accuracy and perfection) for which either of them may be separately used; which he calls a polar watch. Dated December 17.

Edmund Thomason, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button-maker; for improvements in making steps for coaches, &c. and all kinds of carriages to which steps are used. Dated December 22.

Thomas Ovey, of Fleet-street, London, hatter, and John Jepson, of Duke-street, Southwark, hat-manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing hats. Dated December 24.

James Fussell, of Wells, in the county of Somerset, iron-manufacturer; for a balance-engine, or apparatus for raising and lowering boats, barges, or troughs, at the locks or falls on inland canals. Dated December 24.

Account of a Method of encreasing the Force of Gunpowder. By Dominick Vandelli, Professor of Natural History and Chymistry, in the University of Coymbra; from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences in Lisbon.

AFTER having purified nitre, according to the method lately discovered, so as to render it intirely free from sea-salt, I dissolved it in water impregnated with inflammable gas, which gas I had obtained from the decomposition of water, by evaporating or distilling water in greater quantity than is necessary for its total decomposition. With

this solution of nitre, I moistened the mixture of sulphur and charcoal; and continued the process of making gunpowder in the usual manner.

By the above means, I obtained a species of gunpowder, which very much surpassed, in force, all kinds of gunpowder hitherto known.

Management of Hogs, by Henry Vassall, Esq. from the Annals of Agriculture.

*Winterbourn-court, near Bristol,
Jan. 27, 1798.*

Sir,

IN answer to your favour of the 23d instant, I beg leave to send you the following account of the management of my hogs, which I hope will be satisfactory.

My plan is to have all my sows farrow in the months of January, February, and March: the sows and pigs are turned out to clover as soon as it is fit to take them; till which time, they are fed on steamed potatoes, with a small quantity of meal. They are kept on the clover till my potatoes are ploughed out, when they glean the fields of all that is left in them. The pigs are then put up to fat on steamed potatoes and meal. The second litters, which are farrowed by the month of August, I raise for stores; but those which by chance come in later I kill off as roasters; for I find there are few winters in which very young pigs will pay for raising, as they are too tender to bear much cold. By keeping the sows with their pigs as long as they have milk, they are able to do without any assistance from the dairy; for, as I never keep more than six cows, the

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wash is nothing to the great number of pigs.

I think it proper to observe, that, as far as I am a judge, there are very few kinds of pigs which will pay for rearing.—After much trouble and expence, I have at last got into a breed which answers: they will weigh from ten to twelve score at twelve and thirteen months old; are light in the bone and ossal, and are ready sale at the best price.

I make a point of having my styes and yards well littered; by which means I raise a great quantity of dung for my potatoe-land, on which I put from forty to fifty cart-loads (forty bushels each) per acre. I raise about a sack of 240lb. weight per lug, or a hundred and sixty sacks per acre. Barley follows, of which I get about fifty bushels an acre; then clover, most of which I seed off with pigs; after that wheat, of which I reckon five quarters a good crop. The year before I came to the farm, the crops were valued for the creditors of the tenant; the wheat was estimated at fourteen bushels an acre, the barley and oats at twenty.

I hear there have been some beans imported from Holland within these few years, which are famous for being very prolific. Could you let me know where I could procure any of the seed?

I am, sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant,
Henry Vassall.

*Winterbourn-court,
Feb. 22, 1798.*

Sir,

I should have answered your favour of the 5th instant sooner, but I was from home when it reached

Winterbourn. With respect to the queries it contains, I shall reply to them to the best of my knowledge, and wish it was in my power to do it in a more satisfactory manner; but as mine has been practical, not experimental husbandry, I have not been very particular in making minutes of it.

My farm was never wholly employed for hogs, as I have always sold my head wheat. The greatest number of sows I have had was one hundred and seventeen; which, with their two litters, amounted to about fifteen hundred:—the largest annual sale was the above number. The breed of which I most approve, (for I have several), is a cross between a large Chinese, and a far which I met with by chance:—it is a short well-made pig, which fat easily and soon, from ten to twelve score.

My potatoes average me about one hundred and thirty sacks per acre. I have never tried them for any stock but hogs, except giving them to my horses, which do exceedingly well upon them.

It is scarcely possible for me to estimate the value of the improvement made on my land by hogs: as I have, besides their manure, procured a good deal from pools, and digging up mould from old fish-ponds, and mixing it with lime and soap-ashes, &c. though I reckon the chief benefit has been from hogs.

The average of pigs farrowed I reckon to be ten to each sow of my best sort.

My general course of crops—potatoes, barley, clover, wheat: but as my land is much given to weeds, which are increased by the great quantity of manure I put on, I frequently take two fallow crops running; then barley, clover, wheat.

My

USEFUL PROJECTS.

*List of Patents for new Inventions,
granted in the Course of the Year
1798.*

ANTHONY George Eckhardt, of Hans-Place, Chelsea, esq. F. R. S. for a method of making chairs, stools, benches, &c. adapted for rooms or carriages, with backs or seats and cushions, fixed in such a manner as instantly to change, and shew two different surfaces in one seat or cushion. Dated January 16.

Samuel Roberts, of Park-Grange, in the county of York, silversmith and plater; for working, adjusting, supporting, and fixing, slide-tube candlesticks, silver, silver-plated, or other metal. Dated January 23.

Charles Tennant, of Darnley, near Glasgow, bleacher; for a method of using calcareous earth, and the earths *silicites* and *barites*, instead of alkaline substances, for neutralizing the muriatic acid gas used in bleaching; and for employing those earths in the other parts of the process of bleaching, instead of alkaline substances. Dated January 23.

Archibald, earl of Dundonnald; for a method of manufacturing and procuring certain neutral salts, substances, and things, and of applying those and other neutral salts to valuable purposes. Dated January 25.

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Richard Shannon, of the parish of St. Pancras, M. D.; for a method of improving the processes of brewing, distilling, boiling, evaporating, and of raising and condensing steam or vapour, from aqueous, spirituous, saccharine, and saline fluids. Dated February 1.

Henry Clay, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, esq.; for a method of saving part of the water now lost, in passing boats and barges through locks on navigable canals. Dated February 1.

Robert Howden, of Hoxton, in the county of Middlesex; for a portable and moving furnace, for the purpose of heating ovens of every description. Dated February 10.

Francis Farquharson, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick; for machinery for making bricks and tiles. Dated February 20.

James Douglas, of the parish of Christ-Church, in the county of Surrey; for a machine for making bricks. Dated February 20.

Walter Taylor, of Portswood-green, in the county of Southampton, esq.; for an improvement in the construction of machines for raising water, and clearing ships of the same; also to take off the pressure of the atmosphere, or eddy-winds, from the tops of chimnies, to prevent what are commonly called smoaky chimnies. Dated Feb. 21.

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Andrew Cederbarg, of St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, engine and mathematical-instrument-maker ; for a machine or instrument for the purpose of glazing, polishing, and graining, divers sorts of leather, &c. Dated February 28.

William Chapman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, gent.; for a method of laying, twisting, or making ropes or cordage, of any number of yarns or strands, or any number of threads, tarred or untarred. Dated March 6.

Henry Goolding, of Willeiden, in the county of Middlesex, yeoman ; for a machine or engine for raising, removing, and carrying off earth, stones, or rubbish, so as greatly to facilitate, and render less laborious and expensive, the carrying on and executing the works of canals, &c. Dated March 10.

Benjamin Douglas Perkins, of King-street, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex, M.A.; for a certain discovery made by his father, Elisha Perkins, of Plainfield, in Connecticut, in North America, doctor of physic ; for a certain art of relieving and curing a variety of aches, pains, and diseases, in the human body, by drawing over the parts affected, or those contiguous thereto, in certain directions, various pointed metals, and compounds of metals. Dated March 10.

William Bolton, esq. captain in the navy ; for an improved capstan, to be used on board ships, in capstan-houses, wharfs, &c. or wherever any great weight is to be raised, or resistance overcome. Dated March 10.

William Lester, of Yardley-Hastings, in the county of Nottingham, farmer ; for a harrow, upon a new construction. Dated March 10.

Joseph Haycraft, of Greenland-dock, Rotherhithe, block, pump, and gun-carriage maker ; for a gun-carriage, upon a new construction. Dated March 23.

James Douglas, of the parish of Christ-Church, in the county of Surrey, machinist ; for machinery for shearing and cropping woollen-cloth with shears, knives, or cutters, put in operation by various powers. Dated March 30.

Robert Johnson, of Greek-street, Soho, in the county of Middlesex, chymist and apothecary ; for a medicine (known by the name of Whitehead's essence of mustard) for the cure of rheumatisms, and other complaints. Dated March 30.

William Deverell, of Widcomb, in the county of Somerset, millwright ; for a new invented pump, or pump-work. Dated April 5.

William Sellars, of the city of Bristol, manufacturer of spinning-machines ; for a new invention, in making and working machines for preparing and spinning wool, cotton, flax, hemp, and various other materials. Dated April 18.

Francis Hollick, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, curry-comb maker ; for a newly invented art of affixing, in several ways, an iron or other comb to the edge, or on the outside, of a curry-comb. Dated April 18.

John Edwards, of Bristol, mathematical-instrument maker ; for an apparatus of mathematical instruments, for the better ascertaining the geographical position of vessels at sea. Dated April 18.

Thomas Rowntree, of Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars-bridge, engine-maker ; for a method of applying fire, for the purpose of heating boilers and other vessels, where

where heat is required. Dated May 1.

Joseph Bramah, of Piccadilly, engineer; for an improvement in locks for doors, cabinets, &c. and also in the keys by which they are locked and unlocked. Dated May 3.

John Daniel Belfour, of Elfsineur, in the kingdom of Denmark, merchant; for improvements in the operation or working-part of a machine, formerly invented by him, for making and manufacturing ropes and cordage. Dated May 3.

Peter Boileau, of Bruton-street, in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square; for manufacturing straw into hats, bonnets, and other articles, in a manner, and to produce an effect, never before attempted. Dated May 3.

George Blundell, of the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal-green, in the county of Middlesex, manufacturer; for a machine for the purpose of saving fuel, and preventing dirt or dust from fires, which he calls the *economical receiver*. Dated May 3.

William Jones, of the city of Bristol, mill-wright; for a machine for the purpose of more readily mixing malt, or other substances, with fluids; whereby the essence or spirit of the malt, or other substances intended to be acted on by water, or other fluids, will be more perfectly and expeditiously extracted than by any other method hitherto invented. Dated May 8.

Robert Frith, of Salford, in the county of Lancaster, dyer; for a chymical method of dying different permanent colours upon cotton, linen, woollen, and silk. Dated May 25.

William Sanxter, of Horseheath, in the county of Cambridge, far-

mer; for a plough for the paring of land, which he conceives will be of great public utility, and peculiarly calculated for the saving of manual labour. Dated May 25.

John Champion, of the city of Bristol, manufacturer of brass, copper, and iron ware; for a method of making wire from rolled and slit iron, either foreign or English, put in operation by various powers. Dated June 2.

George Pomeroy, late of Boston, in North America, but now of London, merchant; for an apparatus and machinery for the manufacturing of tobacco and snuff, and for other purposes. Dated June 5.

John Palmer, of Maxtock, in the county of Warwick, yeoman; for a new invention in the construction of apparatuses used for clearing grain from the straw, and for pulverizing the same. Dated June 5.

Jonathan Hornblower, of the borough of Penryn, in the county of Cornwall, engineer; for a machine or engine for raising water, and for various other useful purposes in arts and manufactures, by means of steam, and otherwise. Dated June 8.

Abraham Bosquet, of Stangate, in the parish of Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, esq. formerly of Sandymount, in the county of Dublin, and late one of his majesty's commissaries of the musters; for a method, by the application of which his majesty's navy, and all trading vessels, may derive durability, soundness, staunchness, and many other advantages. Dated June 8.

John Hazledine, of Bridgenorth, in the county of Salop, iron-founder; for a method of reducing and forming large pigs and pieces of iron, copper, brass, and other metals,

metals, into bars, plates, and hoops, of different breadths, sizes, and shapes. Dated June 14.

Richard Shannon, of Charlotte-street, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, doctor of physic; for a method of improving the process of fermentation, by which, porter, beer, ale, malt, molasses, wash, wine, cider, and all other saccharine and fermentable fluids, may be conducted with certainty and success through the various processes of fermentation, in any state of the weather, &c. Dated June 19.

Patrick Rooney Nugent, late acting surveyor-general of lands for the islands of Cape Breton, in North America, but now of London, esq.; for mathematical instruments, whereby the latitude and longitude, variation and inclination of the magnetic needle, at sea and on shore, may be obtained in a more general, masterly, and perfect manner, than hath hitherto been done. Dated June 27.

John Pearce, the younger, of Wolverhampton, in the county of Stafford, mill-wright; for constructing, making, working, and using, combs and machines, for combing of wool in a better manner than any now in use. Dated June 30.

Day Gunby, of Cross-street, Hatton-garden, Middlesex, carpenter; for weights, bolts, and springs, for improving all kinds of writing and reading desks, tables, chairs, stools, tambour-frames, library-steps, bedsteads, and various other articles. Dated July 6.

John Dickson, of Dockhead, in the county of Surrey, engineer; for a method of constructing steam-engines, pumps, and other hydraulic machines. Dated July 14.

William Row, of Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, merchant; for a mineral lamp-black. Dated July 14.

Richard Marlow, of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, carpenter; for a method of hanging a window-shut, and window-shutter, without the appearance of lines and pulleys, which are wholly concealed from the sight. Dated July 14.

William Dupe, of Hammer-smith, in the county of Middlesex, gun-maker; for a method of manufacturing bars, of a mixture of iron and steel, proper for double-barrel gun-barrels. Dated July 23.

William Docker, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, slate-merchant; for a method of making pipes or tubes of a solid block of stone. Dated August 3.

Stephen Halladay, of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex; for a new invention for the draught or moving of carriages of all descriptions. Dated August 3.

Philip Chell, engineer, and Henry Nichols, builder, both of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick; for a machine for lifting, raising, and conveying, boats, vessels, or other things, from an upper to a lower level, or from a lower to an upper level, on canals or rivers, to save water and prevent tunnelling. Dated August 3.

John Ashley, of Islington, in the county of Middlesex, plumber; for a method of raising water from wells of any depth, upon a very simple and permanent construction. Dated August 7.

Thomas Staton, of Castle-street, Park, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, machine-maker; for an apparatus for raising beer, ale, wine, spirits, oils, or any other liquids, from cellars, or other low places.

about seventy of its members as curates to these parishes, all of whom owe their existence to that original flock. I may add here, and that from the undoubted testimony of the historians of the low countries, that the cultivation of the greatest part of these rich provinces took its rise from the self-same means, eight hundred or a thousand years back, when they were, in a manner, one continued forest.

A Campine-farm, of twenty bunders (sixty acres), is stocked with two or three hortes, seven or eight cows, some oxen, and is cultivated with cole-seed, clover, rye, oats, and little or no wheat. It is hardly necessary to add, that, potatoes, turnips, and carrots, are cultivated not only in the Campine, but throughout all the low countries. But the culture of spergule (*alpine spergula major*) is more peculiar to the north of Brabant, though not confined to that tract alone. It serves the cows for autumn food, and the butter of this season is called spergule butter, of which the Campine furnishes a great quantity, especially to Brussels, where it is employed for the use of the kitchen, as being both cheaper and more profitable than any other for that purpose. This plant is sown where corn has been reaped, after the ground has been lightly ploughed. Cows are tethered on it in October, and a space allowed to each one proportionable to the quantity of food which is proper for her. This pasture lasts till the frosts come on.

Account of the Kitchen fitted up at the Foundling-Hospital, under the Direction of his Excellency Count Remyard.

THE size of the kitchen is 21 feet 2 inches by 17 feet. In the centre of the wall, opposite the windows, is the roasting-machine, which is let into the wall, and is 5 feet deep by 2 feet wide, and 15 inches high. In this the dinner, on the roast-beef days, being 112lb. of beef, for the officers and children, is now drest (the time required being four hours and a half), with a peck of coals and a peck of cinders mixed together; the cinders being saved from the consumption of the former day: instead of which the average consumption on the roasting-days, in the former and common mode of roasting, was above ten times the quantity of coals, being from two and a half to three bushels. Communicating with the roaster there are two pipes, by which the hot air may be forced so as to make the meat more or less brown, at the discretion of the cook. For the convenience of taking out the meat, either to turn it in the course of the dressing, or to take it up when drest, there is a table on casters, which is easily moved to or from the front of the roaster, and which in height and size corresponds exactly with the bottom of the roaster.

On the right side of the roaster is the steam-box, 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet, and the large oblong iron boiler, 5 feet by 3 feet 4 inches, divided into two parts; one containing 82 gallons for boiling the children's meat, the other 41 gallons for boiling greens. The fire-place that supplies this boiler and steam-box is sunk into the floor, so as that the upper part of the boiler is not higher than is convenient for the cook to reach over; the space occupied by this boiler, and by the
flues

flues belonging to it, including the part on which the steam box stands, is 8 feet 2 inches by 5 feet 2 inches. This double boiler and the steam-box, in which the potatoes of the hospital are dressed, and which is capable of boiling 200 lb. weight of potatoes at once, are supplied by the heat of one small fire; the consumption of which, for dressing all this beef, greens, and potatoes, is at present exactly one peck of coals, and the same quantity of of cinders. The steam is conducted by a small pipe into the bottom of the steam-box, and by another pipe at the top of the steam-box into a chimney flue in the wall. In order to prevent the evaporation of steam from either the boiler or the steam-box, an object of almost as much saving to food as to fuel, there is to each a double rim that receives the edge of the cover, and which being kept supplied by a little water, makes it impervious to the steam.

The steam-box is a common deal box, guarded at the corners with iron, and lined with tin; in it there is, at the height of 5 inches above the bottom of the box, a false tullender bottom, which permits the steam to pass equally under every part of the potatoes.

On the left side of the roaster, next the corner, is another oblong double boiler, 3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, containing in one part 35 gallons, and in the other 17 gallons, for the purpose of dressing a lesser quantity of food, when the larger boiler is not wanted. This has the same double rim as the larger boiler, for preventing the evaporation of steam. The average quantity of coals that is used for this lesser boiler, for a day's dinner, is rather but very little less

than what is used for the great boiler. Next to this is a round iron boiler, of 53 gallons, for boiling milk-porridge, and for boiling hot water occasionally; this consumes, on an average, about half the fuel that is used in the larger boiler. The space occupied by these two boilers and their flues, and the shape and height, are made to correspond exactly with the other side of the room; so as to have a passage of 6 feet 8 inches clear between them, and to leave in the front of the room, next the windows, an unoccupied space of 18 feet by 17 feet.

Such is the general account of the work. It remains to add, for the information of those who may incline to benefit by the example, a few observations on the advantage the Foundling-hospital derives from it, the amount of the expence, the uses to which it is generally applicable, and the degree of attention and care required in the management of it.

The most important benefit to the hospital is the saving in point of fuel. How much that may eventually be, cannot yet be precisely stated; at present, the cost of the peck of coals, which is used in boiling the 112 lb. of beef, a proportionable quantity of greens, and 200 lb. weight of potatoes (supposing coals at the high price of 2l. 12s. a chaldron) is fourpence; a lesser quantity of coals than is now used will probably be sufficient; but it will require some time and experience to ascertain the exact amount; and it should be observed, that in cold weather it is very likely that the draught of the fire, and the consumption of the fuel, may be increased. For four children
continued

consumed in the Foundling kitchen, in the former mode of cooking, there is as nearly as can be estimated, but one chaldron now used with count Rumford's apparatus. Besides this, the food being drest more gently, and with less evaporation, there is less waste in that respect; and the food of the hospital is better drest than heretofore, and (now the cook is used to it) with much less trouble to her, and the other persons employed in the kitchen.

As to the expence, the original cost of the roaster was 16 guineas; to which is to be added, for dripping-pans, gridirons, &c. belonging to it, near 6 guineas more. The cost of the large double boiler was 25*l.* of the steam box 2*l.* 8*s.* and of the lesser double boiler 11*l.* To this, when there is added the amount of about 10*l.* more, for a variety of incidental charges for iron work, in the course of fitting up the kitchen, it will appear that the whole bill for iron work is between 70*l.* and 80*l.* The bricklayers, carpenters, and stone masons bills, amount to near as much more. These however must have been somewhat increased, by the circumstance of this having been the first experiment of the kind that has been made, on a large scale, in England.

With regard to the general use of the invention (I have now no reference to the count's fire places, the expence of which is trifling, and the advantage equally applicable to the smallest family, and to the humblest cottage), it will appear, that the benefit of these kitchens is in proportion to the magnitude of the scale; and that in private families, the advantage will be of less consideration. To say nothing of the

application of his principles to the burning of lime, or to engines or manufacturies, where fire is the instrument of operation; or of the use to be made of his boilers in husbandry and in breweries; it is worth notice, that so simple an invention as the steam-box, for preparing potatoes for cattle, may be applied by farmers with hardly any expence or trouble, and with the greatest advantage: and in the cookery of all large establishments, where a number of persons is to be supplied from the same kitchen, the benefit is of the utmost importance. In soldiers barracks, public schools, hospitals, manufactories, workhouses, and cook-shops, the saving in fuel, and in the mode of preparing food, and the consequent increase of the comfort and accommodation of the poor are so great, as to make the encouragement and promotion of these valuable inventions of count Rumford a national object.

As to the requisite attention and care, it is essential that the flues of the boilers and roasters should not be too small, nor so constructed but that every part of them may be cleaned thoroughly out once a month. The expence of this, which from caution has been hitherto done at the Foundling, by the bricklayer himself, has been 2*s.* a time for the three sets of flues; which would amount to 24*s.* a year. Care should also be taken, in using the pipes of the roaster for forcing the hot air, not to open them *both* too hastily, as the effect *may* be so strong as to set fire to the meat. It is in this, and it is presumed in all kitchens, better for the food, and a saving both in food and fuel, and also less prejudicial to the flues, that the fire should not be made too

here,

fierce, but that the cookery should take rather more than less time; and, therefore, though water, without forcing the fire, will boil in the great boiler in an hour and a half, yet it has been found better to moderate the fire so as to allow two hours and a half. When the boiler is just opened, the heat of the confined steam is so great as to scald more violently than even hot water, if carelessly approached: the covers, therefore, of the Foundling boilers are all opened by balanced pullies. To these only one caution need be added, necessary in all kitchens, but most in these families were the cook wears *muslin*, that she should be careful in opening the doors of the grates to serve the fire, that the draught, which is very strong, does not draw in and set fire to her clothes.

N. B. At the porters lodge of the Foundling, the fire-place had been very subject to smoke, on account of the unfavourable situation, and want of height of the chimney-flue. This has been altered on count Rumford's principle, at the expence of a few shillings, and the defect is thereby in a great measure, if not entirely remedied; and at the same time neither the grate or room will now allow the consumption of above half the fuel that was before necessary.

In a cook's shop, on the Foundling estate (in the colonade, north of Upper Guilford-street), there has also been fitted up, in a room only 15 by 11 feet, a kitchen on count Rumford's plan, which is capable of dressing food for 300 persons: this kitchen, the whole expence of fitting up which has hardly exceeded 50*l.* is intended for providing good and wholesome food for the poor,

at a very moderate price in money, or upon tickets given them by their opulent and charitable neighbours, who purchase the tickets at Hillier's shop, in the colonade, and by directing their charity into that channel, prevent, in a considerable degree the abuse of it

Foundling, 19th Oct. 1796.

Queries, addressed to the Governors of the Foundling-Hospital, London, with their Answers; at a Meeting of the Committee for transacting the Affairs of the Hospital, Wednesday, May 3, 1797.

MR. Bernard stated to the committee that he had received, from the right honourable sir John Blaquiére, several queries respecting the Foundling-Hospital, with a request of an early answer, on account of an inquiry at present making in the house of commons of Ireland, respecting the foundling-hospital there: and that he had prepared a draft of answers to the queries for the consideration of the committee.

Query I. How many children are there now in that hospital?

Answer. There are at present 557 children on the establishment.

Query II. How many in the house, and how many at nurse?

Answer. There are 175 children in the house, and 182 at nurse.

Query III. Are they received indiscriminately from the country, or is the admission confined to the county of Middlesex?

Answer. The cases are principally from the metropolis; but that is the effect of locality, and not of any particular regulation, the hospital

My hogs live in summer intirely upon clover. I do not approve of lucerne for them: I have some transplanted at six inches in the rows, which are three feet asunder, which I use for horses to very great advantage. Chicory I have never tried.

My head wheat I always sell; but the tailing wheat, and the greatest part of my barley, is consumed by hogs. I fatten on steamed potatoes, with a proportion of barley, wheat, pease, or other meal; which is increased according to the time the hogs are up. I fatten them from ten to twelve months old. This year I sold at 8s. 6d. per score.

The soil of my farm is chiefly a good sandy loam; very deep, and free from stones; consisting of near three hundred acres of arable, and one hundred and fifty acres of meadow-land.

I can scarcely, in the limits of a letter, give you a fuller account of my hog-system than my last contained, to which I must beg leave to refer you. Where I failed at first was, from not being particular in the breed, but in buying sows indiscriminately.

The distemper which I mentioned to you, nearly resembles the consumption in the human species. It begins with a cough; then comes on a violent shortness and panting for breath: the pig falls away as the disease gains strength, but does not lose its appetite; and in time it becomes gradually weaker, and at length dies; when the lungs or lights are found, on opening, to be almost decayed, and the heart slightly affected.

My mode of cultivating potatoes is with a plough. I open a furrow

six inches deep, and two feet and a half asunder, with the land ploughed flat. The sets are dropped in the furrow by women, and covered with dung. I then have the earth drawn over the sets and dung with harrows well bushed; which brings the field to an even surface, and does not displace the sets. Before the potatoes are up, I horse-hoe the field all over upon the first appearance of weeds; as I know where the rows are, and am careful not to hurt any that have sprouted. The horse-hoeing is repeated four or five times: at last the top of the ridge is hand-hoed and weeded. I take them up also with a plough, at about a guinea per acre. I reckon the value of potatoes for hogs to be from 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d. per sack, of two hundred and forty pounds weight.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
Henry Vassal.

Description of a quick and easy Method of converting Weeds, and other vegetable Matter, into Manure, by Mr. H. Broome, of Derby; from the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

ACCORDING to a promise I made some years since, I beg leave to communicate to the society for the encouragement of arts, &c. and, (if thought worth notice) by them, to the world, a composition for manure. Fearful it would not answer the purpose so fully as I could wish; I deferred it from year to year; but I now find, by numerous trials, made by my friends as well as by myself, the very

very great utility of the composition, as well as its cheapness, with the capability of its being made in any situation, and in any quantity. The mode of making it is as simple, as, I trust, it will be found productive. It is nothing more than green vegetable matter, decomposed by quick or fresh-burnt lime. Upon a layer of vegetable matter, about a foot thick, a very thin layer of lime, beat small, is to be laid; and so on, vegetable matter, then lime, alternately. After they have been put together a few hours, the decomposition will begin to take place; and, unless prevented, either by a few fods, or a fork-full of the vegetables at hand, the mixture will break out into a blaze, which must at all events be prevented. In about twenty-four hours, the process will be complete, and you will have a quantity of ashes ready to lay on your land at any time you wish. Any and all sorts of vegetables, and weeds of every description, if used green, will answer the purpose. They will doubly serve the farmer, as they will not only be got at a small expence, but will in time render his farm more valuable, by its being deprived of all noisome weeds.

But, if this composition answers the purpose, as I flatter myself it will, a very short time will see almost every weed destroyed. Supposing that to be the case, I have made a calculation with clover, grown for the purpose; for instance, I will take one acre of clover, which at one cutting will produce from fourteen to eighteen tons of green vegetable matter, and will require

about three tons of lime; this, when decomposed by the above process, will yield ashes sufficient to manure four acres, the value of which I estimate at something under four pounds. The clover, according to the value of lands here, at two pounds, which, taking the average of the kingdom, is too much: the lime also at two pounds; but that will vary, according to the distance from which it is to be fetched: take them together, I think the above will be about the average value. Now, if this is the case, and, as far as I have been able to try it, I find it so, how valuable must this method be to the community in general! If it answers the purpose, I shall feel myself much obliged by the society making it as public as they possibly can.

The vegetables should be used as soon after they are cut as possible, and the lime as fresh from the kiln as the distance will allow of; as on those two circumstances depends the goodness of the composition.

Account of an advantageous Method of separating the Fixed Alkali from common Salt; from Croll's Chymical Annals.

TWENTY pounds of common salt are to be dissolved in sixty pounds of water;* to which solution are to be added, twenty-five pounds of clean dry pot-ash, the larger lumps of which should be first broken. This lixivium is to be evaporated, by boiling, till the saline pellicle, which is thereby formed on the surface, has several times

* A great quantity of ingredients may be taken, but it must be observed that this process does not succeed when small quantities are used.

fallen down, and been replaced by a new one. The vessel in which it is boiled is then to be taken from the fire, and the liquor is to stand till it is almost cold, but not quite, that is, till it is about milk-warm. During the cooling, a great quantity of digestive salt will separate from the liquor, which is then to be strained through flannel, so as to be cleared from all sediment.

When the liquor has stood in a cold place about an hour, or till it is become quite cold, it will be found to have deposited some more digestive salt, mixed with mineral alkali. The liquor must now be poured off into another vessel, which is to be placed in a cold situation: if the process has been properly conducted, crystals of mineral alkali will soon be formed, which will be almost pure, and in greater abundance than can be obtained by the usual methods.

The saline matter remaining in the strainer consists of vitriolated tartar and digestive salt. If the liquor is suffered to remain upon these extraneous salts till it becomes quite cold, it will, on account of its oily consistence, be too much incorporated with them; and the quantity remaining on the strainer is too considerable to be purified from the mineral alkali, in the same way as the other part; for which reason, after the matter upon the strainer has been a little pressed, let some warm water be poured upon it, and let it, together with the salt which may have crystallized after the first decantation, be subjected to the under-mentioned treatment. The digestive salt may be made use of for various purposes, such as making sal-ammoniac, &c.

When the remaining ley has been poured off from the crystallized mineral alkali, it must be again evaporated, and, if much digestive salt should appear to be formed, it must undergo the same treatment as before; otherwise it may be immediately suffered to grow cold, and the digestive salt which is deposited, may be laid aside, to be afterwards purified.

When the alkaline salt is crystallized, the remaining ley is to be again evaporated, that all the salt may be separated from it. If any ley then remains, it may be set aside for the next operation, or it may be put into a glass vessel, and placed, to evaporate, in the heat of a stove, till no more digestive salt is precipitated, after which the alkali may be suffered to crystallize in the cold.

By this process, the above-mentioned quantity of common salt generally affords twenty-five pounds of impure mineral alkali; and the whole of this operation may very easily be finished in six or seven days.

The digestive salt obtained in the last operation, and the alkali itself, are now to be purified in the following manner.

The first, that is, the digestive salt, is to be dissolved, by boiling in water; the solution is then to be evaporated till about half of it is consumed, and afterwards placed in the cold. The digestive salt will crystallize first, upon which will be deposited the mineral alkali, in large crystals, so that it may be easily separated. By evaporating the remaining liquor a second time, the purification of the digestive salt may be completely finished. If any ley containing

containing mineral alkali should still be left, it may be purified with that which remains at last.

The mineral alkali is to be purified by dissolving it in an equal quantity of water, and letting the liquor stand some days in a cold place. If it contains a large quantity of digestive salt, this salt will appear when the liquor (the first crystallization having been separated from it) is evaporated a second time; at which time may be added that alkali which was obtained in the former purification of digestive salt. If the alkali contains but little digestive salt, this salt will not appear till the third evaporation of the liquor; by which time, if the operation has been carefully and skilfully conducted, almost all the alkali will have been separated.

By the method here described, I have almost always obtained twenty pounds of pure mineral alkali, in large transparent crystals, besides one pound and a half less pure. The whole process may be finished in twelve or fourteen days, or even in less time, when the different leys are operated upon at the same time, instead of taking them exactly in the order above-described.

Account of the Campine of Brabant, and the Mode of improving it; from the Communications to the Board of Agriculture.

IT is well known that the Campine of Brabant, which is the northern part of that province, consisted originally of sand, covered with heath, interspersed with lakes and extensive marshes, and here and there with woods of fir. Tradition sup-

poses it to have been once a part of the sea. To this day, where cultivation has not extended, the soil of itself produces nothing but heath and fir. The sand is of the most barren and harsh kind, nor can it be rendered fertile, but by continued manuring. As the property of this ground may be acquired for a trifle, many have been the attempts of private persons to bring tracts of it into cultivation; every means have been tried for that purpose, and government has given every possible encouragement to it. But I have not yet heard of any one, however considerable might be his fortune, that has succeeded in it, and many have been ruined by the project. What is cultivated in the Campine, is owing to the religious houses established in it, especially to the two great abbeys of Tongerlo and Everbode. Their uninterrupted duration for five or six hundred years past, and their indefatigable industry, have conquered these barren harsh sands, and rendered many parts of them highly productive. The method they follow is simple and uniform; 'they never undertake to cultivate more of this barren soil at a time than they have sufficient manure for; seldom more than five or six bunders (about fifteen or eighteen acres) in a year; and when it is brought by labour and manuring into a state capable of producing sufficient for a family to live on, it is let out to farmers on easy terms, after having built them comfortable habitations. by these means many extensive tracts of the Campine are well cultivated, and covered with villages, well-built houses, and churches. The abbey of Tongerlo alone furnishes about

tal being equally open to any part of the kingdom.

Query IV. Of the numbers received in one year, or any given time, how many die?

Answer. In the preceding year (1796) 65 children were received, of whom 7 died in the course of the year; and (the season having been unhealthy) three have died since; of those 65 children there are now 55 living, and in promising health. It appears, by reference to the books of the hospital, that there has been since the end of the year 1770, the number of 1684 children received into the hospital, of whom 482 children died under the age of twelve months, being rather more than the proportion of one in four. The present management and care of the children is more successful; the average of those who have died under twelve months in the preceding ten years, being only one in six; and, for the last four or five years, even less than that proportion.

Query V. At what age are they received?

Answer. They are generally under two months when received. The age limited for them is twelve months, after which they cannot be received, except in case of any peculiar distress, which the general committee thinks fit specially to report to the general court; or in case the child is sent with a donation of 100*l.* when the age is not limited; or except they are the children of soldiers and sailors in the service of their country, of whom the general committee is empowered, by an order of the general court (made the 29th of January, 1794), to admit as many as the funds of the charity, with any additional aids,

may enable them to maintain, consistently with a proper attention to the other objects of the charity. But upon this it is to be observed, that the number of other applications, daily made from the original objects of the charity, and the present situation of its finances, have precluded the committee from receiving more than a very small proportion of the children of soldiers and sailors. The age limited, in their instance, is five years.

Query VI. Is it known from whom the children come? Or are they received in the cradle, as it is called, or by night, without asking any questions?

Answer. Children are only admitted into the hospital on petition; upon the hearing of which the mother is examined, and an inquiry directed to be made into the truth of the particular circumstances stated in the petition. By the present practice of the hospital, something more than the mere necessity of the mother, and the desertion of the father, is, in general, requisite. The previous good character of the mother is inquired into; and it is ascertained that, in consequence of the reception of the child, and of the secrecy observed in the inquiries as to the misfortune and situation of the mother, she will be immediately placed in a proper service, or in some other way of obtaining an honest livelihood.

Resolved,

That the said answers be approved of, and that Mr. Bernard be requested to transmit them to Sir John Blaquiere.

(Extract from the minutes)

Examined,

T. Merryweather, Secretary.

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Directions

Directions for the Cure of the Plague.

THE following short directions for the cure and prevention of the plague, are compiled from a small pamphlet in the Italian language, published by count Berchtold, at Vienna, in 1797, one copy of which is in the possession of the royal academy of sciences of Lisbon, to whom it was presented by his excellency Mr. Pinto, her majesty's secretary of state, &c.

The academy has ordered translations to be made into Arabic, French, and Portuguese; and this extract in English is particularly intended for the use of the numerous bodies of British subjects, at present employed on their country's service in this part of Europe; as the garrison of Gibraltar, the fleet at sea, the troops on shore in Portugal, and the masters of British vessels in its harbours.

The compiler has no other information concerning it whatever, than that contained in the pamphlet, nor does he know if any thing upon the subject has yet been published in England. He leaves the reader to believe or reject, according to his judgement; heartily wishing there may never be a necessity for putting it to the trial.

Count Berchtold says, that the method was first proposed by G. Baldwin, esq. his Britannic majesty's agent and consul-general at Alexandria, in Egypt, who, during a long residence in that country, after much thought and observation, was induced to believe that the use of sweet olive oil applied to the skin, might prove beneficial in the treatment of this dreadful and hitherto incurable malady.

Mr. Baldwin communicated his

ideas to the Rev. Lewis de Pavia, chaplain and agent to the hospital called St. Anthony's, at Smyrna; who, after five years experience, pronounces it to be the most efficacious remedy hitherto made use of, for the space of twenty-seven years that the hospital had been under his management. He acquainted count Berchtold with the success, and the mode of application; and from his communications the pamphlet seems principally to have been composed.

Count Berchtold farther says, that it is Mr. Baldwin's intention to publish a more full and philosophical relation of his observations and experiments; that he favoured the count with the perusal of the manuscript, and permitted him to transcribe any part of it; and he apologizes to the world, and to Mr. Baldwin, for this seeming anticipation of the work; at the same time observing, that he feels it an indispensable and sacred duty, to lose no time in making known a discovery of such importance, particularly to those countries that are nearer, and have more frequent commerce with the Barbary states and ports of the Turkish empire.

The directions are simply these: Immediately that a person is perceived to be infected with the plague, he must be taken into a close room, and over a brazier of hot coals, with a clean sponge dipped in warm olive oil, his body must be very briskly rubbed all over, for the purpose of producing a profuse sweat. During the friction, sugar and juniper berries must be burnt in the fire, which raise a dense hot smoke, that contributes to the effect.

The friction ought not to continue more than four minutes, and

a pint of oil is enough to be used at each time.

In general, the first rubbing is followed by a very copious perspiration; but should it fail of this effect, the operation may be repeated, first wiping the body with a warm dry cloth; and in order still farther to promote perspiration, the patient may take any warm sudorific drink, such as elder-flower tea, &c.

It is not necessary to touch the eyes, and other more tender parts of the body may be rubbed more gently.

Every possible precaution must be made use of to prevent the patient from taking cold, such as keeping covered those parts of the body not directly under the operation, nor must the linen be changed till the perspiration has entirely subsided.

The operation should be repeated once a day, until evident symptoms of recovery begin to appear.

If there are already tumours upon the body, they should be gently and more frequently rubbed, till they appear to be in a state of suppuration, when they may be dressed with the usual plasters.

The operation ought to be begun on the appearance of the first symptoms of the disease; if neglected till the nerves and the mass of the blood are affected, or a diarrhoea has commenced, little hopes can be entertained of cure; but still the patient should not be despaired of, as by an assiduous application of the means proposed, some few have been recovered, even after the diarrhoea had commenced.

During the first four or five days, the patient must observe a very abstemious diet; the author allows only a small quantity of vermicelli simply boiled in water. Nor must

any thing be taken for the space of thirty or forty days, except very light food; as, he says, an indigestion in any stage of the disorder might be extremely dangerous. He does not allow the use of wine till the expiration of forty days.

There is no instance of the person rubbing the patient having taken the infection. He should previously anoint himself all over with oil, and must avoid receiving the breath of the infected person into his own mouth or nostrils. The prevention to be used in all circumstances is, that of carefully anointing the body, and living upon light and easy digestible food.

One of the many ingenious observations made by Mr. Baklwin is, that amongst upwards of a million of inhabitants carried off by the plague, in Upper and Lower Egypt, during the space of forty years, he could not discover a single oilman or dealer in oil.

By royal permission.

Lisbon, 1797.

Addressed to the Board of Agriculture, on the Meeting, the 8th of May, 1798, by Lord Somerville, their new President.

BEING called to the presidency of the board of agriculture, an honour unsolicited on my part, and a situation to which I may, perhaps, be found unequal; I think it my duty, as briefly as possible, to lay before the board the plan I venture to recommend as the one hereafter to be adopted; in full confidence, that, when put into execution, turbulent and ill-suited as the times are to the peaceful pursuits of husbandry, a very short period

D d 2

only

only will be required to provoke the hearty co-operation of practical farmers; and the benefits derived to the whole kingdom from this institution will be obvious to understandings the least enlightened, and to minds the most prejudiced.

Feeling, strongly, the necessity of ascertaining the state of the funds of the board, and the demands on it, being altogether unacquainted with the particulars, I issued the necessary directions to the clerks, who, from official documents, and with the assistance of the late president, have given in the following statement:

| <i>Funds.</i> | | £. | s. | d. |
|----------------------|-----|------|----|----|
| Cash in hand, and to | | | | |
| be paid soon | - - | 3102 | 14 | 1 |

Debts contracted by Order of the Board.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------|---------|----|----|
| Printing - - - - | 1498 | 14 | 5 |
| Engraving - - - - | 525 | 16 | 2 |
| Surveys - - - - | 415 | 0 | 0 |
| Sundries - - - - | 1081 | 13 | 5 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £. 3521 | 4 | 0 |

Statement of probable Expenses, given in by Sir John Sinclair.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|------------------|---------|----|----|
| Surveys - - - - | 405 | 0 | 0 |
| Printing - - - - | 949 | 0 | 8 |
| Sundries - - - - | 338 | 5 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| Total - | £. 1692 | 6 | 5 |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Debts known to the | | | |
| Board - - - - | 3521 | 4 | 0 |
| Funds, as specified be- | | | |
| fore - - - - | 3102 | 14 | 1 |
| | <hr/> | | |

Balance to come out of the grant of 1797 £. s. d.
418 9 11

As a considerable part of the debts above included are recently contracted, and part not given in, for work at present in hand, it is proper for you to observe, that, on this account, you seem to be in a more favourable situation than I expected; for this balance of 418*l.* would not be demanded of the board till long after funds came in much more than sufficient to liquidate it.

Which would be the state of the board, if there were no other claims admitted.

But the statement of Sir John Sinclair adds the sum of - - - - 1692 6 5

Making, with the former balance, £. 2110 16 4

To remain a charge on the grants of 1798 and 1799.

As to any determination with respect to the future publications of the board of agriculture, I shall endeavour to bow, with submission, to the better judgement of the majority of its members: but, having hitherto, on all occasions, expressed my doubts as to the advantages resulting, for many years at least, to the country, from profuse publications on husbandry, however meritorious in themselves, without the more immediate aid and support of practical husbandmen, I trust I may
here

here do so without offence; and I am the more inclined to it, because numberless plans of inquisitorial search into the resources of the kingdom have, by the ignorant and suspicious, been falsely attributed to government, through the channel of this board: and much of its unpopularity (for, unwillingly, I must say, it has not in the country been a popular institution) may be assigned to this cause. Something of this also may belong to the effect produced by the county reports, or surveys, done on the board's account at its first establishment; a measure novel in itself, and, however valuable in the end, because novel, tending to create doubt and alarm.

It remains, then, with the board, to decide on the propriety of carrying on, at a heavy expence, its voluminous detached publications, as before; or, to publish, annually, one well-digested quarto volume, from the infinity of materials now in its possession. Much as the market has been glutted with these articles, this volume would probably pay its own expence;—the modern criterion, and no bad one, perhaps, of the intrinsic merit of any work whatever.—The board being eased of this burden, 1000*l.* annually, can well be given in premiums of 50*l.* or, perhaps with more effect, of 100*l.* each, for discoveries and improvements in the most important and leading points of husbandry; giving preference to such as, by ocular demonstration, rather than by certificates, can be ascertained.*

Gold medals may be offered an-

nually, for the best treatises on practical modes for bettering the condition of the poor, without adding to the poor-rates; for improvements in cottages, &c.; probably the production of magistrates, and gentlemen conversant in country affairs, above the want of a premium in money:—to such, a gold medal might be an object of attention, and certainly would be a small token of gratitude for the services so rendered to their country.

I beg leave to recommend also, that ten, or rather fifteen premiums, of 10*l.* each, should be given to labourers in husbandry, as objects of imitation in others, and well-earned rewards to themselves, for long and faithful services, and for decently and religiously educating, without assistance from their parishes, the largest families; certified by the clergyman of the parish, a magistrate, and by the member for the county, forwarded to the board. In this case, imposition can hardly be attempted.

The good resulting from the distribution of premiums of this sort, although on a very inferior scale, as given by the Bath and West of England society, and the consequent effect produced on the minds of the common people in the neighbouring counties, is beyond all calculation. The Bath society cannot take umbrage; and the board of agriculture need not be ashamed of adopting so excellent an idea, although suggested, and most successfully practised, by another.

Should I be so fortunate as to see these propositions carried into exe-

* The committee for the distribution of which might consist of three London butchers, three experienced farmers, sworn to be impartial and just in their decision, and of the president and other members of the board.

cution, I may be bold enough to assert, that they will attract the attention, and call into action, the willing aid of men bred to the profession, who now, almost to a man, stand aloof, and refuse it.

A sum fully adequate to the purpose, if managed with economy, will remain for the payment of salaries, as before, to the secretary, the under secretary, and the clerks; for house-rent and taxes, for the housekeeper's and servant's wages, and the incidental expences of the board, as appears by the statement calculated by the committee of expenditure, which amounts to nearly 1500*l*.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|--------|----|----|
| For salaries, house, and office - - - - | 1500 | 0 | 0 |
| For liquida- tion of the debt annu- ally - | £.400 | 0 | 0 |
| For ten pre- miums of 100 <i>l</i> . each | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| For fifteen premiums of 10 <i>l</i> . each | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| | 1550 | 0 | 0 |
| | £.3050 | 0 | 0 |

N. B. The experience of all societies, as to the adjudgement of premiums, leaves no doubt whatever, that the unclaimed ones will be abundantly sufficient to defray the extra expences.

The balance of existing debt, as sanctioned by the board, appears to be 118*l*. (not including those speculative engagements limited at by the late president:—by the application of 400*l*. annually, this debt

will be liquidated in one year, provided the board shall not think fit to adopt the engagements proposed by the late president; in which case the sum of 1692*l*. is added to the debts of the board: in this case five years will be required to liquidate it. At the expiration of which period, in conformity to the decided opinions of numbers of our countrymen, who invariably, from the first institution, have kept their eyes steadily fixed on the board, expecting some great practical exertion, I suggest the propriety of hiring a tillage, or convertible farm, of not less than 300*l*. a year, to hold out, as an example to the nation, the most vigorous system of modern substantial improvements in husbandry. Grazing experiments can fortunately be ascertained on the farms of others; for the attention of the most eminent will be caught by the magnitude of the premiums here proposed, as animals can, without inconvenience, present themselves in person to the examination of the board. Not so with facts to be demonstrated in tillage:—were a field of wheat, or turnips, to walk to the door in like manner, it would be a matter of no small surprise and annoyance to Piccadilly and its vicinity; and herein consists the much superior necessity of the board taking under its immediate direction, and within an easy distance of the metropolis, such a farm as may, without hazard, pay its own expence, with exception to that small portion of it allotted to speculative experiments upon points unascertained; to cover which expence, and the accidents unavoidably arising to the very best managers, from climate and untoward casualties, 500*l*. per annum would be,

be, at all times, more than sufficient. As I should never propose any scheme of this sort without a perfect conviction in my own mind before-hand, that it might, and should be, executed within that expence (and it may be added, that it is a plan long expected by the nation at large,) I by no means press this on the attention of the board at present: nor, indeed, could I, it being a remote consideration; but, without doubt, forming an essential link in the chain of the future operations of the board, I may state my firm conviction, that this measure can be executed without loss; and will be fully consistent with the spirit and essence of this establishment, as well as a national object of improvement and instruction. I pledge myself, that if I may, as an individual, be allowed the honour of interfering in the management of such a farm, it shall, under the blessing of Providence, pay its rent.

I have stated what, after much consideration, appears to me the best application of the grant: and am sanctioned in this opinion by the concurrence of many experienced and able men:

“ — *Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere
mecum.*”

And here, after bearing the strongest testimony to the zeal on all occasions, and to the uncommon politeness with which the late president allowed the board of agriculture to trespass on his domestic comforts, by occupying, for so many years, his abode; I cannot but congratulate the board, on finding itself, at length, possessed of a habi-

tation it can call its own; more especially as the house, previous to its being engaged, as to size, expence, and situation, met with the approbation of every member of the board, who was requested to inspect it for that purpose.

There can be no doubt but that every present out-standing debt, on the score of printing, &c. should be put into an immediate train of payment; and every expence, hereafter incurred, regularly and promptly discharged. This, in all cases, is the best of policy; but, in an institution like the board of agriculture, it is essential and appropriate; for husbandry every man knows to be a ready-money trade; no long bills, or *per contra credits* — a leathern purse, or a sample bag, is produced, and the account balanced in a moment.

In holding out, as I shall ever endeavour to do, to the serious attention of the board of agriculture, the absolute necessity of obtaining, and in pointing out the only mode whereby can be obtained, the assistance of those well versed in this science, it is possible, that men of literature — and many, I am proud to say, the board has to boast of — may lend an unwilling ear to what I say; but they must remember, that men's prejudices must be considered; — that, to work any reformation, men must be taken as they are, not as they ought to be; and that, as yet, farmers are not a reading class of people. In Scotland, indeed, from superior education, some men bred to husbandry may read; and, if their judgements be good, fortunate it is that they do read; but, as I have before said, farmers, generally speaking, are not, in this island, a reading people;

people; the weekly journal, of the county, is the probable extent of their literary pursuits.

One may fairly conclude, there is no member of the board of agriculture, who would wish that to foreigners of any nation should be denied the knowledge this institution may hold out; but if what I have advanced be true—and no man studying the nature and character of farmers will say it is not true—parliament, when voting 5000*l.* annually, for the board of agriculture, in its legislative capacity, has to look principally, if not altogether, to the improvement and prosperity of the British husbandman. In farming, practice may succeed without theory; but theory cannot

support itself without the idea of practice: a plain man can maintain his family on the husbandry of his ancestors; but rare is the example of a book-farmer making his rent; and more rare, of such an one making money in his business.

Treatises on agriculture have trodden on the heels of each other; the market has been overstocked; and many a publication, deserving a better fate, for this reason, lies unfold on the shelf. In short, suspend in a degree, for a time, the operations of the press—let practice, well-grounded practice and theory, go, hand in hand, together; and this institution will be triumphant.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the Order of Jovial Brethren; from Selections from Foreign Literary Journals.

THIS order had an odious origin. It arose from the bloody and unjust crusade which pope Innocent III. set on foot at the beginning of the thirteenth century, against count Raimond, of Toulouse, as patron of the Albigenises. Count Simon, of Montfort, was the leader. He was induced to take this command upon him, by the hopes of increasing his dominions with the estates of the count, whom the pope had sent into exile; and the rest were led on by the plenary indulgencies, trumpeted forth by Dominic Gusman and the papal legates, to shed in streams the blood of innocent Christians, for presuming to open their eyes to the light of truth. The object of these plenary indulgencies was indeed to exterminate the pretended heretics with their protector, by fire and sword; but, as in the proclamation, only a crusade was mentioned in general terms, many of the crusaders imagined they had fulfilled the condition, when they had made one campaign, in which they plundered and murdered as many as fell into their power, and returned laden with spoil to their homes. Thus, the aim of the holy father would have been frustrated, if the inspired Gus-

man had not proved that he was destined to this kind of war from his mother's womb. At that time nothing was known of a standing army. He was the first, since the days of the Romans, who raised one, in a small part of France, and that with this advantage, utterly unknown to the Romans, of paying his troop, not with money but with indulgencies and rosaries; and, as there were yet people who could not live merely upon smoke, with the hope of plunder. This plan was perfectly conformable to the spirit of the times. Men robbed and plundered, and then expiated their sins by bribing the priest. The standing militia consisted in a peculiar order of chivalry. By his advice, and with the approbation of the papal legate, it was instituted by Fulco, bishop of Toulouse.

To give this order at once as much consistence as possible, married noblemen were admitted of it, together with their wives. They wore a long white robe, with a black mantle, like the dress of the dominican friars, only with this difference, that it was marked with a red cross. Their profession consisted in an oath to wage eternal war against heretics and usurers. The master of the order was the earl of Montfort. This order was confirmed

confirmed by Innocent III. and Honorius III. who styled the members of it, *Milites Tolosani de militia Jesu Christi*; or, *Milites Jesu Christi de Tolosa*. An order with so pompous a title, and endowed with the goods and blood of heretics and usurers, met with great approbation. An order, not less numerous, immediately sprang up in the province of Narbonne, which, from the name of the place, was denominated *Milites Jesu Christi de Narbona*. Thus the pope obtained his purpose, of despoiling the count of Toulouse of his domains, and of destroying the Albigenes; for such of them as remained, were slain by the exterminating sword of Louis VIII. king of France. About the year 1230, when the rage of murdering and plundering in the name of the Lord had relented, the glory of this order of knighthood lost its splendor in France.

By this time Dominicus Gufman had laid the first groundwork of his order of monks in Languedoc. It retained the same habit, and was founded in the same design; namely, the extirpation of heretics by force. We find a curious anecdote in the legend of his life, inserted in the Romish breviary. When his mother was with child of him, she dreamed a dream, in which she saw a young dog under her heart, having a burning torch in his mouth, with which, in due time, he would set the whole world in flames. Immediately thereupon it follows, in this authentic article of biography: "This dream imported, that Dominicus should hereafter, by the light of his sanctity and learning,

conduct the nations of the earth to Christian piety." But what had a dog and a torch to do with Christian piety? * By all the sound rules for the interpretation of dreams, this should seem to be the torch with which he and the primitive sons of his order marched before the crusaders into the district of Albi, to massacre some thousands of harmless people with fire and sword, and with which his order, in Italy and elsewhere, by means of the inquisition, lighted up the piles for burning of heretics.

Nearly at the same time, in the thirteenth century, the said order, together with that of the Dominicans, was transferred to Italy, where the original obligation of it has never ceased. In the year 1233, the order revived in the city of Parma, under the pontificate of Gregory IX. Italy was at that time over-run with heretics, stigmatized with the names of Patarians, Kathorians, Paupers of Lyons, Arnaldists, &c. and, under one or other of these names, those were especially persecuted who adhered to the emperor Frederick II. against the temporal pretensions of the pope. To persecute these by all imaginable means was the main design of the revived order in Italy. On this condition, the order, together with its rule, which Bartholomew, of Vicenza, the Dominican, had composed in the spirit of the Augustine, was favoured by the above-mentioned pope with several bulls. Nevertheless, the knights still continued to be immediately subject to the bishops, till the year 1261 they were put under the sole

* The dog alluded to the future destination of St. Dominic, to guard the church, as a vigilant church-mastiff, against heretics of every denomination.

authority of their grand-master, Lodarengo, of Bologna, by pope Urban IV.; and, at the request of the grand-master and seven other Bolognian knights, received the title of *Fratres ordinis militiæ beatæ Mariæ virginis glorioſæ*. The order was now augmented, by the accession of two other classes of knights, whereof one lived in common in monasteries, according to the aforeſaid rule of St. Auguſtine; but the other, as ſecular prieſts: both in a ſtate of celibacy, and in obedience to the grand-master and the other knights. Theſe were married, and cohabited with their wives in their own houſes, independent of all temporal magiſtrature, and exempt from all taxes.

In their conſtitutions, they bound themſelves to wage an eternal war againſt heretics and their protectors; to eſtabliſh concord in the families of the cities where they dwelt; to defend the immunities of the church; to oppoſe the cruel extortion of uſurers; to maintain the cauſe of the hoſpitalers, of widows and orphans, of the poor and the ſick; to ſwear obedience to the ſuperior of their order, and to the pope; to take an oath before no other tribunal; to hear maſſ every day; to confeſs, and to communicate, at leaſt thrice in the year; to read daily the office of the mother of God, if they could read, and, if not, then another preſcribed form in its ſtead; to aſſemble once or twice, every month, to hear the word of God; to abſtain from fleſh every Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday, during Lent, and on ſome other particular days in the calendar, unleſs diſpenſed from this abſtinence, by their ſuperior, for ſufficient cauſe.

The conventuals were not allowed to walk in the ſtreets, without one of their brethren; and the married were forbidden to frequent riotous entertainments, and the theatres of buffons and comedians, to play at dice, and to accept of temporal offices in the cities. Every one was bound to ſay annually a thouſand paternoſters, or the whole office of the dead, for the departed brethren of the order; and daily five paternoſters and avemarias, for the living and the dead of the order, and for its benefactors. It is ſomewhat ſingular, that no mention is here made of ſoul-maſſes.

To theſe rules the wives of the knights were likewise bound, yet as little under a penalty as the knight himſelf, the tranſgreſſion whereof was atoned for by a ſlight voluntary penance. Their confeſſors were taken from the Dominicans, whoſe order was related to them. As long as the huſband lived, the wife enjoyed the privileges and marks of honour belonging to the huſband, and after his death ſhe was not obliged to remain a widow. They moſtly, however, ended their lives in the convents of the penitent ſiſters of St. Dominic, which, to this end, were eſtabliſhed in all the towns where there were knights. As ſuch convents are ſtill in great numbers in Italy, we may affirm that the order ſtill exiſts in the female ſex.

As the knights not only enjoyed all the immunities of the other orders, but alſo, from their large revenues, led a comfortable life with their wives, they at firſt were ludicrouſly called the jovial knights, or the jolly brotherhood, which gradually loſt its ludicrous meaning, and was their general appellation throughout

throughout all Italy. In common discourse, and in writings, they were styled *Fratres gaudentes*, and *Ordo fratrum gaudentium*; and the order of their widows, *Domine consolata de Placentia*, and *Sorores de penitentia et Dominici*.

For being admitted of this order, it was necessary to be of an ancient noble family, and in opulent circumstances. If it happened that a poor person was admitted, or that a rich one afterwards fell into poverty, the order was bound to maintain him, together with his family, according to their quality, out of the common stock.

Their habit was a long white woollen garment, like that of the Dominican friers, reaching down to the shoes, and a grey mantle, of the same length, without band or hood, but covered about the neck by a round ruff of linen, plaited; wearing on the left breast a cross, in the upper corners whereof were two red stars. Their mantle at length was changed into silk, and was no longer lined, as at first, with lamb-skins, but with ermine. The wives of the knights were habited in the same manner. For their arms they bore the aforesaid red cross in a white field.

This order had fixed itself in all the cities of upper and middle Italy, which were distributed into six provinces, namely, those of upper and lower Lombardy, where, at Bologna, the grand-master resided; Romagna; the upper and lower Tuscany; and the circle of Trevisa. Each of these provinces was put under a provincial, chosen every year in the provincial chapter. The close connection of the knights with the order of Dominic, is seen, among other things, from hence, that the

provincial, in his annual visitations of the convents, must first of all give an account of the behaviour of the knights to the Dominican monks. Hence it is, that Petrus de Gerhardis, who lived in the fourteenth century, in the account of the life of Ezzeline, as published by Faustus Longianus, calls the jovial brothers, Tertiarians of the Dominican order.

They were a powerful support to the Guelfs, or partizans of the pope, against the Ghibellines, and did great service in all the troubles which the popes excited against the emperor Frederick II. and other emperors, in Italy, particularly against his viceroi, Ezzeline. Ezzeline caused a great number of them, together with several Dominicans, to be publicly executed, who were extolled, by the popes and guelfs, as martyrs to religion, though they were in fact only incendiaries and rebels. As the seat of the war, between the imperial and papal potentates, was, properly speaking, in the upper and middle Italy, the reason is apparent why this order of knighthood was only extended over these parts of Italy. This order, in conjunction with the Dominican monks, seem to have been the principal movers of the various insurrections of the Italian cities against the sovereignty of the German emperor, though it is not remarked by any of the modern historians. When Alexander IV. caused the crusade, against Ezzeline de Romano, to be preached by the Dominicans in upper Italy, one of them, named Giovanni Schio, being leader of the flower of the crusaders, we cannot doubt that the knights, who were so nearly related to him, were at their head. For,

in the bull by which pope Gregory IX. confirms their rule, they are commanded thus: *Se armis accingent fratres, viriliter pugnantes, ad mandatum ecclesie.* To this he encouraged them by the following words: *Vos, mori potius quam pati hujusmodi mala cupientes, a vobis Machabæos reviviscere facitis, dum hostes ecclesie expugnatis.*

When we consider how powerful the Dominicans still were, even in our times, in those countries where they had the dreadful court of inquisition in their hands, we may take it for granted, that, in the darker ages, while supported by the power of an order of chivalry that had established itself in so many considerable towns, their authority over the people was unbounded. As the knights, by the precept of their constitution, must be rich, it follows, that they were selected from the most flourishing and powerful of the nobility, in the upper and middle Italy; and thus the intimate connection wherein they stood, not only with one another, but also with their relations and dependants, and their authority among the citizens and countrymen, must compose a formidable power. Their institution, likewise, was so contrived, that it must be ever increasing in numbers and consequence. For, besides that the functions and duties of the knights were very easily performed, and every one was at liberty to enter himself either of the unmarried or of the married class, and, on his choosing the latter, that he retained all his property, they had likewise the exceedingly important advantage, that their possessions, to them and their children, were exempted from all secular taxes and incum-

brances, and, being regarded as ecclesiastical fiefs, were under the protection of the sacred chair; which in those times, when, owing to the intestine commotions of the cities, the burgers were often exposed to great dangers, and were loaded with taxes, proved very profitable to them. In many cities, matters were pushed to such extremities, that, by this method, the greater part of their territory passed under the dominion of the church or the pope, and the public taxes must either have fallen short, or be multiplied on the smaller part of the taxable goods and persons. From which cause, bloody feuds arose among the citizens; in which, however, for a long time, the knights and the rest of the clergy, protected by the comminatory thunders of the Roman pontiffs, maintained the upper hand. The magistracy of the cities saw themselves obliged to hazard all extremes. They excluded the persons of the clergy from the protection of the laws, as they contributed nothing to the expences of the state. At Padua, a law was published, in 1282, that whoever murdered an ecclesiastic should be amerced no more than a Venitian ducat for his offence. By the like necessary consequences, at least the common abuse was removed, that this order of knights, and the bishops, declared the estates of every one that espoused the party of the guelfs, under the false pretence of being a member of the clergy or of the order, to be a frank-fee of the church. This abuse was abolished in the year 1289, in a council at Monselier, where it was decreed, that those who wore the habit of the order, and did not authentically prove that they had taken the vow

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of the order, should be bound to pay the public taxes. Such unprofessed as wore the habit, were called, *Conversj*, or, *Fratres de pœnitentia*; and in derision, from the sign T of the order, brethren of the crutch. Their number was so great, that they were under the necessity, in a general chapter, to reduce it very considerably. Though it was a kind of smuggled resolution, it could not be easily kept secret from those whom it principally affected, and therefore it occasioned the name of *Fratres gaudentes* to be odious, even in many of the guelfic cities.

A minorite, of the thirteenth century, named Salimbene, of Parma, in an unprinted chronicle, preserved in the library of the house of Conti, at Rome, bears no honourable testimony to this order. He accuses them of never having built a monastery, nor an hospital, nor a church, nor founded any good institution with their own funds; that, as is usual with the powerful, they had amassed a great store of ill-gotten goods, and never restored any part of it to its legitimate owners; that they squandered away this wealth in idle pomp and riotous excesses; and, afterwards obtained from the pope full licence to drive the monks from their convents, and the clergy from their benefices, in order to enrich themselves with the spoil; that they were immoderately covetous; in short, he knows not what they are good for but to pamper their bodies and indulge their lusts. Federici, the dominican, author of a history of his order, printed at Venice, in 1787, strives all he can to invalidate the testimony of the minorite, by saying, that he was of the party of the austere franciscans, who condemned the mitigation of

the rule of St. Francis, obtained by Helius, the second general of their order, and endeavoured to carry the apostolical poverty of the orders beyond the bounds of moderation. The author likewise adduces real instances of good institutions established by this order. But, to the question that naturally arises here, whether they founded them of their own property, and not rather out of the revenues of the numerous church-benefices they seized on by artful pretences, or the confiscated estates of burnt heretics, which they purchased for a trifle, or the extorted restitutions of usurers; to this question he says not a word, nor is it by any means answered in the proofs he advances. The second founder of it, Bartholomew de Vicenza, himself charges them with vain pomp and arrogance; and the poet Guittone de Arezzo, one of their brethren, complains of their licentious course of life and effeminate manners. After all, whether the author does right to take it ill of Dante that he places two knights of this order, who, in defiance of their rule, were chiefs of the Florentine republic, in the district of hell, where the hypocrites receive their reward, it is not easy to determine. Dante was acquainted with them both; and it would require a great deal of labour to prove that it was from personal hatred that he consigned them to his hell.

It is not to be disputed, however, that many celebrated persons were fellows of this order. Of these I shall only just mention the above named Guittone de Arezzo, the poet. He was born in the Tuscan town of Arezzo. His father was called Viva di Michele, and not Bonai,

Bonati, as some pretend. He was chamberlain of the city that gave him birth, and a zealous promoter of his order. None of his contemporaries excelled him in the elegancies of diction both in prose and verse. The Tuscan language, which was then getting into form, acquired a great share of its perfection from his writings. There are still remaining of his, forty canzoni, and above a hundred sonnets, which species of poetry he is said to have invented. Dante and Petrarca bear honourable witness to him. His letters were given to the public, with elucidations, by the learned prelate Bottari, in the year 1745. These letters and his poems testify, that he was not only the most polite and learned writer of his age, but, what is more, a man of strict probity.

During the great confusion and strife that raged in Italy between the papal and imperial powers, and while the cities were in need of the assistance of the popes to enable them to preserve their freedom, the order of the jovial brethren flourished. In proportion, however, as the cities obtained their freedom, partly with the consent of the emperor, and partly by force of arms, and assumed a republican form, and by mutual connection were even in a condition to maintain their liberty, the order fell into decline; like a numerous and well provided army that is disbanded at the conclusion of a peace. The essential constitution of this order could not consist with the welfare of the cities. Extensive domains, exempt from all taxes, and a powerful nobility, who contribute nothing to the general

benefit, cannot be thought of, not to say tolerated in a petty state.* Accordingly, their lands were by degrees rendered subject to the taxes imposed on the public at large. Hence too the object and advantage, by which the nobility had formerly been induced to enter themselves of the order, now entirely ceased. In the fifteenth century new orders of knighthood and new badges of honour sprang up, by which a new field for shining was opened to the nobles and wealthy owners of land. Amadeus, duke of Savoy, founded an order, still extant, of the annunciation of Mary. All the princes of Italy, of whom there were almost as many as there were towns, took on themselves the right of conferring knighthood; and the German emperors, particularly Sigismund and Frederick III. bestowed on many noblemen of Italy the order of St. George and the dragon. The popes were determined not to be behind hand with the emperors and princes in this instance of sovereignty. Alexander VI. Leo X. Paul III. granted badges of various orders. The Spaniards and French brought their orders of chivalry with them into Italy, and distributed them among the nobles. On the abrogation of the templars, there appeared among the Italian nobility knights of Rhodes, at present the order of Malta, German barons, knights of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of St. James della Spata. At length it was thought fit, in the middle of the fifteenth century, to institute one general order against the enemies of religion and the church, from all the

* In a large one still less.

orders

orders of knights and monks, among which the order of the jovial brethren was expressly comprehended. We learn from a bull of pope Pius II. of the year 1359, that this order received its denomination from St. Maria of Bethlehem, and had cardinal Lewis Scarampo for its first grand master, and that its seat was in the isles of the Cyclades. The great commotions that now fell out, tended to nothing more than the degradation of the Italian orders, especially that of the jovial brethren. In the sixteenth century the number of orders of knighthood in Italy increased beyond all moderation, and entirely eclipsed the old ones.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the possessions of this order were diminished on all hands. On every urgent occasion, especially in the wars between the new republics and the princes, a great part of them were ravished from the order, and a part not inferior was converted into commendams by the popes, who granted them to cardinals and other prelates, at their good pleasure. In Tuscany they were absorbed by the order of St. Stephen; and in other states, for example, in Milan, Venice, Bergamo, Placentia, Parma, &c. they were turned into hospitals and other pious foundations, in order that the pope might not burden them with commendams for his cardinals and prelates. Thus the order was going out by degrees, till at length it was entirely extinguished, in the year 1588, by the bull *Inter cetera* of pope Sixtus V. As the Venetian republic refused to admit of this bull of abolition, a convent of the order still exists at this day at Trevisa.

The poetical Legend of Taliesin, the British Bard, translated out of the Petty Traditions; from the Monthly Magazine.

A Nobleman lived formerly in Penlyn, called Tegid the bald, whose patrimony was in the middle of the lake of Tegid, and his wife was named Ceridwen; of her was born a son, called Morvran; and a daughter, called Creirvyn, who was the fairest woman in the world. A brother of these two, Avagzu, was the ugliest man living, which caused Ceridwen, his mother, to think that he was not likely to be received amongst the nobles, on account of his ugliness, unless he was endowed with some excellencies, or was versed in some honourable sciences, as this was at the commencement of the time of Arthur and the round table.

She therefore, agreeably to the mystery of books of chymistry, ordered to be boiled a cauldron of genius and sciences for her son, so that his reception should be more honourable, on account of his knowledge and skill concerning future times.

Then she began to boil the cauldron; which, after it once began, could not be suffered to cease boiling until the conclusion of a year and a day, so that there should be obtained three blessed drops of the gift of the spirit.

Little Gwion, the son of a villain of Janvair Caereinion, in Powys, was appointed by her to watch the cauldron, and a blind man, named Morda, was to keep the fire burning under it, with an injunction not to suffer the boiling to break before the expiration of a year and a day.

Upon a certain day, as Ceridwen was simpling, and the year drawing near to an end, it happened that three drops of the precious water flew out of the cauldron, and fell upon the finger of little Gwion, which, upon account of the heat, he put into his mouth. No sooner had he put those miraculous drops in his lips but he knew all things which should come to pass in future; and he was perfectly sensible that his greatest danger was from the cunning of Ceridwen, for many were her acquirements in science; and through extreme fear, he fled towards his own country. The cauldron broke in two; for the steel and the whole contents, except the three essential drops, were poisonous, so that the horses of Gwyzno Long-shanks were poisoned by drinking the water of the river, into which the cauldron had been emptied; and on that account the river became to be called Gwenwyn Meirg Gwyzno, or the poison of the steeds of Gwyzno.

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On the morning following, Elphin saw that there was nothing in the weir; but, on going away, he discovered the leather basket on one of its poles. Then exclaimed one of the weir-men to Elphin, ‘ thou
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hast never been unlucky until this night; for thou hast destroyed the properties of the weir, in which it was usual to obtain the value of one hundred pounds on every May eve.'—'What now!' said Elphin, 'possibly we have a good equivalent there for the one hundred pounds.' The skin was opened; and the opener beheld the forehead of a child; and he exclaimed to Elphin, 'Lyma Taliefin!' (Behold a fair front!)—'Taliefin bid,'—'Fair Front let him be called,' cried Elphin, raising the child in his arms, and commiserating his misfortune; and he pensively took him up behind him. The horse that was wont to trot, he caused now to amble, thus carrying the child as easy as if he were sitting in the most easy arm-chair.

Soon after, the child sung the song, called 'The Comfort,' to Elphin, and foretold him honour. The Comfort begins, *Elphin, deg taw a' th crylo,*—'fair Elphin cease thy weeping;' and is the first song of Taliefin, made to cheer Elphin, on losing the draught of the weir, as nothing grieved him so much as being the cause of the misfortune.

Then Elphin brought Taliefin to the house of Gwyzno his father; and Gwyzno asked if he had a good draught in the weir? to which he replied, that he had found what was better than all the fish. 'What was it?' said Gwyzno. 'A bard,' said Elphin. 'Ah, poor thing!' exclaimed Gwyzno, 'what good will that do thee?' Then Taliefin himself answered and said, 'this will be of more value to him than ever the weir was to thee.' Then Gwyzno cried, 'what! canst thou speak, and yet so little?'—'I can speak of more than thou art able to ask.'—

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'Let me hear what thou canst say,' replied Gwyzno. Thereupon Taliefin sung:—

'Ar y dwr mae cyvlwr cant bendigav,' &c.

'On the water is the state of a hundred of the most blessed,' &c.

Then Gwyzno demanded if he was a man or a spirit? whereupon he sang his history, saying,

'Priv varz cyfredin,

'Wyv vi i Elfin,' &c.

'A primary and universal bard am I to Elphin,' &c.

The probable part of the above tale is true; for Taliefin was an orphan, brought up by Elphin, and afterwards patronized by different princes, particularly Urien Reged, as it appears from pieces extant, addressed to that hero. What is fiction is founded upon the bardic system of transmigration; of which system Taliefin makes more use than any ancient bard, of whose works we have any remains.

An Extract from a Dissertation on the primitive Religion of the Hindus, together with some Extracts from the Vedas, by Sir William Jones; published for the first Time in the 6th Volume of his Works.

BUT that I may not seem to appropriate the merit of discoveries which others have previously made, I think it necessary to say, that the original Gayatri, or holiest verse in the Veda, has already been published, though very incorrectly, by Fra Manuel da Aïsomcaon, a successful missionary from Portugal, who may have received it, as his countrymen assert, from a converted Brâhman; that the same venerable text was seen in the hand of

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of Mr. Wilkin, who no doubt well understood it, by two pandits of my acquaintance; and that a paraphrase of it in Persian, may be found in the curious work of Dara-shueuh, which deserves to be mentioned very particularly. That amiable but impolitic prince, who sacrificed his throne and his life to a premature declaration of his religious opinions, had employed six months, as he tells us, at Benares, in translating and explaining fifty-one Upanishads, or secrets of the old Indian scripture; but he translated only the verbal interpretations of his pandits, and blended the text of the Veda with different glosses, and even with the conversation, I believe, of his living Hindû expositors, who are naturally so loquacious, that when they have began talking, they hardly know how to close their lips.

Of this book I procured, with the assistance of colonel Poliar, a complete copy, corrected by a learned rajah, named Anandaram, with whom the colonel was very intimate: but though sublime and majestic features of the original were discernible, in parts, through folds of the Persian drapery; yet the Sanserèet names were so barbarously written, and the additions of the translator have made the work so deformed, that I resolved to postpone a regular perusal of it till I could compare it with the Sanserèet original. * * * * *

Isaafgam; or, an Upanishad, from the Yajur Veda.

1 By one supreme ruler is this universe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man! by abandoning all thoughts of this perish-

able world; and covet not the wealth of any creature existing.

2. He who in this life continually performs his religious duties, may desire to live a hundred years; but even to the end of that period thou shouldest have no other occupation here below.

3. To those regions where evil spirits dwell, and which utter darkness involves, all such men surely go after death, as destroy the purity of their own souls.

4. There is one supreme spirit, which nothing can shake, more swift than the thought of man. That primeval mover, even divine intelligences cannot reach: that spirit, though unmoved, infinitely transcends others, how rapid soever their course.

5. That supreme spirit moves at pleasure, but in itself is immovable: it is distant from us, yet very near us; it pervades this whole system of worlds, yet is infinitely beyond it.

6. The man who considers all beings as existing even in the supreme spirit, and the supreme spirit as pervading all beings, henceforth views no creature with contempt.

7. In him who knows that all spiritual beings are the same in kind with the supreme spirit, what room can there be for delusion of mind? or what room for sorrow when he reflects on the identity of spirit?

8. The pure enlightened soul assumes a luminous form with no gross body, with no perforation, with no veins or tendons, unblemished, untainted by sin, itself being a ray from the infinite spirit, which knows the past and the future, which pervades all, which existed with no cause but itself, which

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created

created all things as they are in ages very remote.

9. They who are ignorantly devoted to the mere ceremonies of religion are fallen into thick darkness; but they surely have a thicker gloom around them who are solely attached to speculative science.

10. A distinct reward, they say, is reserved for ceremonies; and a distinct reward, they say, for divine knowledge; adding, 'this we have heard from sages who declared it to us.'

11. He alone is acquainted with the nature of ceremonies, and with that of speculative science, who is acquainted with both at once; by religious ceremonies he passes the gulph of death, and by divine knowledge he attains immortality.

12. They who adore only the appearances and forms of the Deity are fallen into thick darkness, but they surely have a thicker gloom around them who are solely devoted to the abstract essence of the divine essence.

13. A distinct reward, they say, is obtained by adoring the forms and attributes, and a distinct reward, they say, by adoring the abstract essence; adding, "this we have heard from sages who declare it to us."

14. He only knows the forms and the essence of the Deity who adores both at once; by adoring the appearances of the Deity, he passes the gulph of death, and by adoring his abstract essence he attains immortality.

15. Unveil, O thou who givest sustenance to the world, that face of the true son, which is now hidden by a vail of golden light! so that we may see the truth, and know our whole duty!

16. O thou who givest sustenance to the world! thou sole mover of all; thou who restrainest sinners, who pervadest yon great luminary, who appearest as the son of the creator! hide thy dazzling beams, and expand thy spiritual brightness, that I may view thy most auspicious, most glorious, real form.

"Om, remember me, divine spirit!"

"Om, remember my deeds."

17. That all-pervading spirit, that spirit which gives light to the visible sun, even the same in kind, am I, though infinitely distant in degree. Let my soul return to the immortal spirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust!

18. O spirit who pervadest fire, lead us in a straight path to the riches of beatitude! Thou, O God, possidest all the treasures of knowledge: remove each soul taint from our souls; we continually approach thee with the highest praise and the most servid adoration.

From the Yazur Veda.

1. As a tree, the lord of the forest, even so, without fiction, is man: his hairs are as leaves; his skin, as exterior bark.

2. Through the skin flows blood; through the rhind, sap: from a wounded man, therefore, blood gushes, as the vegetable fluid from a tree that is cut.

3. His muscles are as interwoven fibres; the membrane round his bones, as interior bark, which is closely fixed: his bones are as the hard pieces of wood within; their marrow is composed of pith.

4. Since the tree, when felled, springs again, still fresher, from the root, from what root springs mortal

mortal man when felled by the hand of death?

5. Say not, he springs from seed; seed surely comes from the living. A tree, no doubt, rises from seed, and after death has a visible renewal.

6. But a tree which they have plucked up by the root, flourishes individually no more. From what root then springs mortal man when felled by the hand of death?

7. Say not he was born before; he is born: who can make him spring again to birth?

8. God, who is perfect wisdom, perfect happiness. He is the final refuge of the man who has liberally bestowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, who knows and adores that Great One.

A Hymn to the Night.

Night approaches, illumined with stars and planets, and, looking on all sides with numberless eyes, overpowers all meaner lights. The immortal goddess pervades the firmament, covering the low valleys and shrubs, and the lofty mountains and trees, but soon she disturbs the gloom with celestial effulgence. Advancing with brightness, at length she recalls her sister, morning; and the nightly shade gradually melts away.

May she, at this time, be propitious! she, in whose early watch, we may calmly recline in our mansion, as birds repose on the tree.

Mankind now sleep in their towns; now herds and flocks peacefully slumber, and winged creatures, even swift falcons and vultures.

O night! avert from us the she-wolf and the wolf; and, oh! suffer us to pass thee in soothing rest.

O morn! remove, in due time, this black, yet visible, overwhelming darkness, which at present infolds me, as thou enablest me to remove the cloud of their debts.

Daughter of heaven! I approach thee with praise, as the cow approaches her milker; accept, O night! not the hymn only, but the oblation of thy suppliant, who prays that his foes may be subdued.

The following fragment is a translation from a Sanscr et work, intitled,

The ignorant instructed.

1. Restrain, O ignorant man! thy desire of wealth, and become a hater of it in body, understanding, and mind: let the riches thou possessest be acquired by thy own good actions; with those gratify thy soul.

2. The boy so long delights in his play, the youth so long pursues his beloved, the old so long brood over melancholy thoughts, that no man meditates on the supreme being.

3. Who is thy wife, and who thy son? How great and wonderful is this world!--whose thou art, and whence thou comest? meditate on this, my brother, and again on this.

4. Be not proud of wealth and attendants, and youth; since time destroys all of them in the twinkling of an eye: check thy attachment to all these illusions like Maya; fix thy heart on the foot of Bralm , and thou wilt soon know him,

5. As a drop of water moves on the leaf of the lotus; thus, or more slippery, is human life: the company of the virtuous endures

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here but for a moment ; that is the vehicle to bear thee over land and ocean.

6. To dwell in the mansion of gods at the foot of a tree ; to have the ground for a bed, and a hide for a vesture ; to renounce all ties of family or connections ; who would not receive delight from this devout abhorrence of the world ?

7. Set not thy affections on foe or friend ; on a son, or a relation ; in war, or in peace ; bear an equal mind towards all ; if thou desirest it, thou wilt soon be like Vishnú.

8. Day and night, evening and morn, winter and spring, depart and return ! time sports, age passes on, desire and the wind continue unrestrained.

9. When the body is tottering, the head grey, and the mouth toothless ; when the smooth stick trembles in the hand which it supports, yet the vessel of covetousness remains unemptied.

10. So soon born, so soon dead ! so long lying in thy mother's womb ! so great crimes are committed in the world ! How then, O man ! canst thou live here below with complacency ?

11. There are eight original mountains, and seven seas : Brahmá, Indra, the sun, and Kudra. These are permanent ; not thou, not I, nor this or that people : what, therefore, should occasion our sorrow ?

12. In thee, in me, in every other, Vishnú resides : in vain art thou angry with me, not bearing my approach : this is perfectly true, all must be esteemed equal : be not, therefore, proud of a magnificent palace.

This is the instruction of learners,

delivered in twelve measures : what more can be done with those, whom this work doth fill with devotion ?

Thus ends the book, named Méhadmudgara, or the ignorant instructed (properly the mallet of the ignorant), composed by the holy, devout, and prosperous Sancar Acharya.

Two Letters of James V. of Scotland, to Queen Elizabeth.

RICHT, &c. This berare, our cousing, the earl of Caillis, ane young nobleman of great account and expectatioun, being disposed to visit forrane countries, for his better experience and sight of civile behaviour ; we haif accordit to accompanie him with this our commendacioun, affectiounlie requesting yow, oure dearest suster and cousing, to gif directioun, that he, his tryne, and servands, may courtiounlie be used and entreated, during the tyme of thair residence within your realme ; and haif be favourable and ample passport and conduct, as is requestit, for their reddie and sure passage throw the same. And thus, richt heich, &c. From our palace of Halynudhous, the penul day of December 1585.

Your maist loving and affectionat broder and cousing,

James R.

Richt excellent &c. This berare George Montgomerie, a gentleman of honourable raice and parentage, having spent ten or twelf years within your realme, his dateful behaviour and desert has procured sic favour and good will, that the respect therof, with the veritie and pleasour to be reaped in that

foill, has animat and allured him, (gif therewith he can enjoy that preferment expected,) to continue his residence and habitation within the samyn. Quhais good intention we have willinglie accordit to further be this our recommendacioun; affectionse requesting yow, our dearest suster and cousing, to gif ordour to infrank and indemnize him, with the accustomed immunities and libertie of sic strangeris inhabiting within your realme, quhairby he may be capable of quhatsumever preserment or benefit his good desert can acquyre, of yourself or any your loyall and worthie subjectis. And heirwithall that, by your moyen and directions, he may reape the favorable admisioun of the ecclesiastical governors, to that quhairunto he sal happin to be preferrit. Thus richt, &c. From our palace of Halyrud-hous, xii Marche 1595, and of our reigne the xxix.

Your maist loving and affectionat broder and cousing,

James R.

Curious Privilege to the Ship of the King's Painter; from the Latin.

JAMES, by the grace of God king of Scots, to all and singular whom knowledge of these presents interest, or may interest, safety. We desire it to be known, and testified to you by these presents, that the ship called the Sun, Master John Johnson, of France, pertains by right to Hadrian Wanston, our painter,* a citizen of Edinburgh: wishing to request you, all and singular, preserving to each his dignity, that the said ship of the above citizen, our servant and painter, may be acknowledged as his property: and it, with its freight, sailors, merchandize, and all its apparel, with your grace and favour, and other kind offices usually paid by friendly nations, may on our account be honoured and respected. And whatever labour or favour to our said painter (whom for many reasons we greatly favour, and wish him well) may be granted or indulged by you in this business, we shall esteem as rendered to ourselves.

Given under our signet, from our palace of Holyrood-house, the 20th day of November, the year of grace, 1594.

Jacobus R.

* "*Ad Hadrianum Wanstonium pictorem nostrum.*" This high favour could hardly be bestowed on a house-painter. The name seems to be Van Son, of which there are latter painters of Antwerp.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

A true Love Story ; from the Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford.

IN the height of the animosities between the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, a party of Venetians had made an inroad into the territories of the Viscontis, sovereigns of Milan, and had carried off the young Orondates, then at nurse. His family were at that time under a cloud, though they could boast of being descended from Canis Scaliger, lord of Verona. The captors sold the beautiful Orondates to a rich widow of the noble family of Grimaldi, who, having no children, brought him up with as much tenderness as if he had been her son. Her fondness increased with the growth of his stature and charms, and the violence of his passions were augmented by the signora Grimaldi's indulgence. Is it necessary to say, that love reigned predominantly in the soul of Orondates? or that in a city like Venice, a form like that of Orondates met with little resistance?

The Cyprian queen, not content with the numerous oblations of Orondates on her altars, was not satisfied while his heart remained unengaged. Across the canal, over against the palace of Grimaldi, stood a convent of Carmelite nuns, the

abbess of which had a young African slave, of the most exquisite beauty, called Azora, a year younger than Orondates. Jet and japan were tawney and without lustre, when compared to the hue of Azora. Africa never produced a female so perfect as Azora; as Europe could boast but of one Orondates.

The signora Grimaldi, though no bigot, was pretty regular at her devotions; but as lansquenet was more to her taste than praying, she hurried over her masses as fast as she could, to allot more of her precious time to cards. This made her prefer the church of the Carmelites, separated only by a small bridge, though the abbess was of a contrary faction. However, as both ladies were of equal quality, and had had no altercations that could countenance incivility, reciprocal curtsies always passed between them, the coldness of which each pretended to lay on their attention to their devotions, though the signora Grimaldi attended but little to the priest, and the abbess was chiefly employed in watching and criticising the inattention of the signora.

Not so Orondates and Azora. Both constantly accompanied their mistresses to mass, and the first moment they saw each other was decisive in both breasts. Venice ceased to have more than one fair

in the eyes of Orondates, and Azora had not remarked till then that there could be more beautiful beings in the world than some of the Carmelite nuns.

The seclusion of the abbess, and the aversion between the two ladies, which was very cordial on the side of the holy one, cut off all hopes from the lovers. Azora grew grave, and pensive, and melancholy; Orondates surly and intractable. Even his attachment to his kind patroness relaxed. He attended her reluctantly but at the hours of prayer. Often did she find him on the steps of the church ere the doors were opened. The signora Grimaldi was not apt to make observations. She was content with indulging her own passions, seldom restrained those of others; and though good offices rarely presented themselves to her imagination, she was ready to exert them when applied to, and always talked charitably of the unhappy at her cards, if it was not a very unlucky deal.

Still it is probable that she never would have discovered the passion of Orondates, had not her woman, who was jealous of his favour, given her a hint; at the same time remarking, under affectation of good will, how well the circumstances of the lovers were suited, and, that as her ladyship was in years, and would certainly not think of providing for a creature she had bought in the public market, it would be charitable to marry the fond couple, and settle them on her farm in the country.

Fortunately madame Grimaldi always was open to good impressions, and rarely to bad. Without perceiving the malice of her woman, she was struck with the idea of a

marriage. She loved the cause, and always promoted it when it was honestly in her power. She seldom made difficulties, and never apprehended them. Without even examining Orondates on the state of his inclinations, without recollecting that madame Capello and she were of different parties, without taking any precautions to guard against a refusal, she instantly wrote to the abbess to propose a marriage between Orondates and Azora.

The latter was in madame Capello's chamber when the note arrived. All the fury that authority loves to console itself with for being under restraint, all the asperity of a bigot, all the acrimony of party, and all the fictitious rage that prudery adopts when the sensual enjoyments of others are concerned, burst out on the helpless Azora, who was unable to divine how she was concerned in the fatal letter. She was made to endure all the calumnies that the abbess would have been glad to have hurled at the head of madame Grimaldi, if her own character and the rank of that offender would have allowed it. Impotent menaces of revenge were repeated with emphasis; and as nobody in the convent dared to contradict her, she gratified her anger and love of prating with endless tautologies. In fine, Azora was strictly locked up, and bread and water were ordered as sovereign cures for love. Twenty replies to madame Grimaldi were written and torn, as not sufficiently expressive of a resentment that was rather vociferous than eloquent; and her confessor was at last forced to write one, in which he prevailed to have some holy cant inserted, though forced to compound for a heap of irony that related to the antiquity

tiquity of her family, and for many unintelligible allusions to vulgar stories which the Ghibelline party had treasured up against the Guelfs. The most lucid part of the epistle pronounced a sentence of eternal chastity on Azora, not without some sarcastic expressions against the promiscuous amours of Orondates, which ought in common decorum to have banished him long ago from the mansion of a widowed matron.

Just as this fulminatory mandate had been transcribed and signed by the lady abbess in full chapter, and had been consigned to the confessor to deliver, the portress of the convent came running out of breath, and announced to the venerable assembly, that Azora, terrified by the abbess's blows and threats, had fallen in labour and miscarried of four puppies: for be it known to all posterity, that Orondates was an Italian greyhound, and Azora a black spaniel.

Of History and Poetry: from the Works of Lord Dreghorn.

IF Mr. Godwin's system, or even the pacific agricultural system, were to be adopted by nations, a great revolution must, of course, take place in the republic of letters.

It would nearly annihilate history, for that of a nation of husbandmen would not be much more interesting than Swift's Gazette of a Farm.

The alteration, however, though fatal to the historiographer and the hero, would be most beneficial to men in general; for the history of every country has, hitherto, proved

a severer satire on the human race than any in Juvenal.

It would also put an end to epic poetry; that, indeed, seems already in a great measure to have spent itself; but the French revolution may again set it a-going for some time. It affords a number of new topics, and such a genius as Lucan would suit it admirably. It probably will be attempted by poets in different countries.

I never could see any solid reason for making verse essential to epic poetry; nor when such poems are written in verse, for using the long one of ten syllables, that of eight would answer just as well. Nobleness of thought and expression, not length of verse, are necessary to grandeur and sublimity.

To have the power to forgive,
Is empire and prerogative;
And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem,
To grant a pardon, than condemn.

Would any word of addition to each of these verses improve them?

The length of the verse frequently obliges the poet to use a number of expletives, generally epithets, which may be left out without injuring the verse, which is then reduced to eight syllable. Take, for example, the beginning of Pope's translation of the Iliad—

Achilles' wrath to Greece, the *direful*
spring
Of woes unnumber'd, *heavenly* goddess
sing;
That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's *glam*
reign
The souls of *migbty* chiefs untimely slain;
Whose limbs unburied on the *naked* shore,
Devouring dogs, and *hungry* vultures, tore.

The fix adjectives, or epithets, in italics, may be left out without injuring

injuring the sense, and the verses then become doggerel.

Achilles' wrath to Greece the spring
Of woes unnumber'd, goddess sing, &c.

How different is the following passage in his Essay on Man!

Pride then was not, nor arts, that pride
has made:
Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the
shade;
The same his table, and the same his bed;
No murder fed him, and no murder clad.
In the same temple, the resounding wood,
All vocal beings hymn'd their equal god;
The shrine, with gore unstain'd, with gold
undrest,
Unbrib'd, unbloody, stood the blameless
priest:
Heav'n's attribute was universal care,
And man's prerogative to rule, but spare.
Ah! how unlike the man of times to come!
Of half that live, the butcher and the tomb;
Who, foe to nature, hears the general groan,
Murders their species, and betrays his own.
But just disease to luxury succeeds,
And ev'ry death its own avenger breeds;
The fury-p passions from that blood began,
And turn'd on man, a fiercer savage, man.

In this passage there are but few epithets, and none of them expletive; there are three indeed in one line, but each of them is an argument. Pope is superior in this passage both to Ovid and Thomson, who have treated the subject, and very well too. This translation of the Iliad is, in truth, much superior to the original, with which I have often compared it in many of the most trying passages.

In the preface to the fifth volume of Gronov. Thesaur. Antiq. there is a particular and curious account of the way and manner in which Pisistratus put together the poems called Homer's. It is taken from an unpublished Commentary of Diomedes Scholasticus, on the

Grammar of Dionysius the Thracian. It is in substance as follows: Pisistratus not being able to find the poems of Homer entire, but that one man had one hundred, another two hundred, and a third one thousand of his verses; advertised over all Greece, that, whoever brought to him verses of Homer, should receive so much a line; all who brought them received the promised reward, even those who brought lines which he had already got from others. Sometimes people brought him verses of their own for those of Homer; these are now marked with an obelisk.

After having thus made a collection, he employed seventy-two grammarians, to put together the verses of Homer in the manner that they thought best, allowing them a handsome gratification. After each had separately arranged the verses as he thought best, he brought them altogether, and made each shew to the whole his own particular work. They having all in a body examined them carefully and impartially, gave the preference to the compositions of Aristarchus and Zenodotus, and determined that the former had made the best of the two. They were not deceived by the verses that were not Homer's; these were furnished merely to increase the number of lines, and amount of the reward, but they marked them with an obelisk.

Of the Ideas of Nomadic Tribes, concerning Nobility; from Selections from foreign Literary Journals.

OF all the shepherd-nations throughout the world, the Arabian Beduines have long been, and

and still are, the most famous, most numerous, and most remarkable. All the Beduines esteem themselves nobler than their countrymen that inhabit towns, because they regard the dwelling in towns and permanent habitations, as a loss or a limitation of their freedom. The Beduines consist of common and noble Arabs, or of sheiks, who again are divided into little and great sheiks, or sheiks and emirs.* The noble Arabs seldom marry,† and they never take to wife a Turkish or Moorish female, because they detest the Turks as unjust oppressors, and the Moors as degenerate men. Neither will a great sheik, or emir, ever marry the daughter of a small one, and still less the daughter of an ignoble Arabian;‡ but in this matter the inhabitants of towns are less strict than the Beduines, as they pay more attention to money than to birth. The Arabs of high and ancient nobility seldom have complete genealogical registers to produce; but they understand the art of tracing up their pedigree to such persons as are known to be descended from ancient and noble families. In this manner, there are still many families in Arabia, and that among the Beduines as among the inhabitants of towns, who can prove themselves to be sprung from Mohammed, or from the race of the Koreish.§

As the Arabians|| know nothing of patent-nobility, so there can be no other reason why they imagine the sheiks, who have the command over a certain number of families, to be nobler than the rest, than because their forefathers rose to be

chieftains by signal desert, and have propagated those advantages of mind and body which they possessed, and with them the privileges thereby acquired, in their posterity. In like manner we may explain how it comes to pass that the emirs, or great sheiks, are accounted nobler than the petty sheiks that are subject to them. But still more noble than the mightiest emirs are the descendants of Mohammed, who, in Arabia, are commonly called scheriffs, and in Turkey are eminently styled emirs.** These descendants of Mohammed are superior to all other sheiks and emirs of the Arabians, not only on account of their lineage from the most ancient and noblest families of the Arabians, but in general from the common opinion: that the more than human virtues and endowments of the prophet are transmitted to his posterity; and this curious reason for nobility, an imagined superior origin, obtains as we shall see by and by, in several kingdoms where no other nobility is in being.

The most honoured of all are the scheriffs of Hedhas, as they have here less than any where else mixed with foreign blood. One of these scheriffs †† may venture to go among the enemy in the midst of a battle, without needing to fear being designedly killed or injured. And they are so secure from robbers, that they have no occasion for locks or even doors to their houses. Even the Turkish Sultan cannot put to death any of these that are sprung from the pure blood

* Niebuhr, description of Arabia, p. 10, & seq. Arvieux, vol. iii. p. 149, & seq.

† Arvieux, vol. iii. p. 150.

‡ Niebuhr, p. 15.

§ Niebuhr, p. 17, 18.

|| Niebuhr, ubi supra.

** Niebuhr, p. 11.

†† Niebuhr, loc. cit.

of Mohammed, be they never so turbulent; at most, he can only have them brought to Constantinople and kept in prison. Such great reverence, however, is not shewn to all sheriffs, especially in the countries subject to the Porte, as they have there too frequently mixed with ignoble blood; numbers also give themselves out for sheriffs, or at least wear a green turban, the honourable badge of the sheriffs, without being descended from Mohammed. Whereas in Arabia only such are acknowledged for genuine sheriffs, as have not only a sheriff for father, but likewise a sherifa for mother. Niebuhr, asking a Turk, whether one whose father was a sheriff, but his mother a slave, could adopt the title of his father; the Turk answered him by another question: Whether gold did not always remain gold, if kept either in a fine or a coarse purse? But though the family of Mohammed be sunk so low in Turkey, yet they will not trust the sheriffs with any office of importance, as the people always retain a certain reverence for them, and therefore there is reason to fear, lest some one or other of the sheriffs should take it into his head to aim at sovereignty, after the example of the prophet. For smaller offences against the law, the sheriffs, even in the Turkish towns, are not brought before the ordinary magistrate, the pasha or cadi, but are tried by their own nakib, or chief, chosen from among themselves; and principally for this reason, or because they hope to receive more eleemosynary donations, many of the middling or lower stations wish to be able to wear the green turban.

Since the Arabians are so proud of their nobility, it is somewhat surprising that they give the honourable title of sheik, not only to the learned, or the descendants of pretended saints, but also to every person that shares in the magistracy of towns and villages, nay even to the elders of the Jews in the Arabian towns.*

Either from the Arabians, or from the German tribes that settled in Africa after the downfall of the Roman empire, sprung the inhabitants of the Canary islands, that were met with by the Spaniards on their first discovery of them. These islanders were divided into three several classes: † that of persons of the royal family, that of nobles or freemen, and, lastly, that of the vulgar. The king of Teneriff could not marry but with one of equal rank, and if no other were to be found, he married his own sister. Neither could the nobles, any more than the king, contract marriage with one beneath their rank. This great difference of ranks, they account for from the following tradition. In the beginning God created mankind of earth and water, as many women as men, and bestowed upon them all cattle, and every other necessary of life. But the number of people, thus created, appeared afterwards to God to be not sufficient. He therefore formed more, but gave them nothing; and, on their begging him for sheep and goats, he bade them be gone, and go and serve their elder brethren.

On the isle of Canaria it was not enough to be born of noble parents, but they were obliged to be declared so solemnly by the high-

* Niebuhr, p. 14. Arvieux, vol. iii. p. 152.

† Glass, p. 65, 147, 149.
priest,

priest, if they would enjoy the prerogatives of a nobleman.—When the son of a noble felt himself strong enough to bear the dangers and hardships of war, he went to the priest, and declared his intention of being published a warrior. The priest then called all the nobles of the island together, and caused them to be solemnly sworn that they would utter the truth in regard to the young warrior. After the oath was administered, the priest asked the nobles: Whether they had ever seen the youth dressing victuals, or keeping the flocks, and milking or slaying the cattle? Whether, to the best of their knowledge, he had ever purloined or stolen any thing, or had behaved himself uncivilly, slanderously, and dishonestly, particularly towards women? When all these questions were answered in the negative, the priest cut short the young man's hair about the neck, and declared him, before all the people, to be a noble and a warrior. If, on the other hand, he was found chargeable with any base or dishonest action, his head was shaven, and he was pronounced for ever incapable of nobility.

Next to the Arabians, the Kurdes and Turcomans are the most powerful shepherd-nation of the western Asia. The latter of them concerned themselves but little about nobility; while the Kurdes esteemed and preserved it as much as the sheiks among the Arabians*. As the quality, or agas; among the Kurdes do not readily take a wife of mean extraction, daughters are a treasure, since, for a noble virgin, fifty purses, or between five and six

thousand pounds, of our money, is demanded. The Kurdes seem to be like the inhabitants of Caucasus, as well as the Turcomans, all shepherd-tribes of Tartarian origin who wander eastwards from the Caspian sea. Among the Kirguises, Karacalpacs, Ghivans, &c. riches, power, and personal merit, are of more value than hereditary nobility;† whereas, among the Mingrelians, Circassians, and Georgians, noble birth is prized as much, or even more than among the Kurdes and Arabians; at least, the not-noble, or vassals, are infinitely more oppressed than among the Kurdes and Arabians. According to every account, whether ancient or modern, the most ill-treated Russian or Polish boor may be pronounced happy, in comparison of the Georgians, Mingrelians, and their neighbours, as they are less spared, and more frequently sold and killed than cattle.‡

Such abuse of power on one side, and more than human patience on the other, were common for many ages throughout all, even the bravest and most enlightened, nations of our quarter of the world. For, how could the humble and unarmed yeoman defend himself against the great man of his village, the noble lurking for him like a bird of prey, but by surrendering his freedom, in order to find rest under the walls of his castle, and protection from his sword? But it is far more extraordinary, that a shepherd-people, who, as M. Pallas has very finely observed, pursue a mode of life most adapted to human liberty, that these people should, from time immemorial, be in subjection to the unlimited power

* Niebuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 420.

† See Orenburg, Topography, p. 125.

‡ See Reinegg's Accounts in Pallas's Supplement, vol. iii. p. 324.

of princes.* The only instances of it in Asia are the Calmucs and their brethren the Mongoles; and neither in their historical books, nor in their traditions, is the smallest trace to be found of any such liberty, or rather licentiousness, as the shepherd-tribes of Tartars enjoyed, and in consequence whereof they slew their princes and chiefs on the slightest occasions, and still continue the practice, or at least abandon them, wherefore the khans, far from levying tribute upon them, rather flatter and make presents to their masters.

The most powerful of all the Mongolian shepherd-nations in eastern Asia are still the Calmucs. Princes, who in quality of elders of their race are proprietors and rulers of separate hords, are styled taidshi. The most powerful of these princes keep the less powerful in a sort of dependance upon them, and therefore assume the title of khans, or are honoured by the Dalai Lama with the title of a khan taidshi, or swan-prince, receive appeals from the subjects of the less powerful, and even send them their orders; but these orders are always executed only in proportion to the prepollent power of the stronger. Otherwise the taidshi have an unlimited sway over their subjects, can dispose of them at pleasure, can inflict upon them the severest corporal punishments, cut off their noses and ears, or amputate their limbs, only not publicly put them to death, as this is forbidden by the religion of Lama. With a not less unlimited authority do the younger brothers of a taidshi, and the remoter branches of the reigning family, rule over

the smaller multitudes that are allotted to them, but which are always regarded as component parts of the main body of the people from which they have been severed, as these possessors of smaller hordes, who bear the honourable title of noiam or lord, are always considered as the vassals of the elder brother, or reigning prince. Now these taidshi and noiams compose the high nobility among the Calmucs, for they alone possess the nation over which they reign, as their property, and can dispose of it as peculiarly their own. The lower nobility consists of what are called the saissans. To these saissans several hundred families are committed by the taidshi and noiams, from whom they take tribute in the name of the prince, and among whom they adjust all smaller differences and disputes. They receive indeed to themselves a part of the tribute which the subjects are obliged to pay, but cannot dispose of it at will, unless they are of princely blood, and possess their aimacs by hereditary right. The prince may raise the meanest Calmuc to be a saissan, and degrade him again; and it seems as if the nobility which they acquired with their dignity is lost again with it.

As the princely saissans among the Calmucs have no hereditary nobility, so neither have the clergy or lamas, though the clergy, as a state distinct from the rest of the people, possess several privileges, from which we might justly infer nobility. The clergy, as descendants of princely race, or sprung from white bones, are exempt from tribute, and the high priest of every ulas, or one of

* Pallas, Mongol. Tribes, vol. i. p. 185.

every tribe, has the undoubted right of sitting in the supreme council of the prince, which generally consists of eight, the other members whereof are chosen from the noiams, or saissans, by the prince. This council decides all law-suits in the last instance, lays its proposals and decisions before the prince for his confirmation, prepares the commands of the prince, and therefore, under weak princes, governs with an almost unbounded sway, as, under more self-sufficient regents, it is intirely independent on their suggestions. Accordingly, among the Calmucs, there is a hereditary and personal, superior and inferior, temporal and spiritual nobility; and the nobility of this people arose not merely from inheritance of personal merits, but likewise from the favour of princes, and even from a religion that grants its ministers certain peculiar prerogatives beyond the rest of the people.

Criticism on the Historians of England; from Coote's History of England.

IMPELLED by the love of fame, by views of pecuniary emolument, or by motives of a more disinterested nature, many writers have, at different times, ushered themselves into public notice, as narrators of the remarkable events of England. From some of these historians, it would be invidious and unjust to withhold the tribute of admiration and applause: but a short critique, on the productions of the most modern of these writers, will constitute, perhaps, the most satisfactory apology for the

appearance of a new work on the same subject.

Hume, as a historian, has long enjoyed an extraordinary share of popularity; and his performance seems to be considered, by the majority of readers, as the best account of the affairs of this nation. His abilities were perhaps competent to the production of a history which might have far surpassed all the efforts of his British predecessors; and, if his talents had been exerted with a just regard to candour and impartiality, and with the sole view of exhibiting a fair and accurate delineation of the transactions of former days, his historic fame would have rested on a more solid basis than that which now supports it. The spirit of philosophy which animates his work, gives it a manifest superiority over most of the English histories by which it was preceded. His style is elegant, without affectation; and nervous, without an appearance of labour. His arguments, in defence of a favourite hypothesis, possess all the acuteness of sophistry, though their force is disarmed by the application of sound logic, and the adduction of undistorted facts. Under the pretext of exposing the delusions of fanaticism, the weakness of bigotry, and the arts of selfish and designing ecclesiastics, he indirectly endeavours to sap the fabric of religion itself, and undermine the dearest interests of society. His political principles are adverse to the claims of freedom; and, under the cloak of impartial discussion, he vilifies the exertions of the patriot, and depresses the generous flame of liberty.

The reputation of Rapin is now on the wane. The multiplicity of his

His errors, his want of animation, and his injudicious use of his materials, have occasioned the decline of that eminence which he once enjoyed, and which produced an unprecedented sale of his voluminous work. His general impartiality was the original cause of the success of his history; but that quality is not so conspicuous in this author as his advocates pretend; nor, on the other hand, is his performance so defective in this respect as some later historians have insinuated.

Though Carte is supposed to have employed more time and labour on his history than any preceding or subsequent writer, his success did not correspond with his hopes. The well-known prejudices entertained by him precluded the obvious requisite which such a work demands; and the public could not be expected to cherish a very high opinion of the sagacity or penetration of that author, who, in an enlightened age, could decisively attribute the imaginary cure of the *scrophula*, by the royal touch, to a sanative virtue conferred by heaven on anointed sovereignty. Carte, however, where his prepossessions do not intervene, is a faithful and accurate writer; but he rarely displays any portion of the graces or the energy of composition.

Guthrie was a good classical scholar, and an ingenious author. His history of England is no contemptible work; but it appears to have been written with too great rapidity, and too little attention of the mind. His remarks too frequently disgust, by the vanity with which they are offered; or merit censure, by the want of a deliberate examination of that point on which he

confidently pronounces his sentiments.

But the charge of haste and inaccuracy, which we have ventured to fix on Guthrie, is more justly imputable to his countryman, Smollett, as the history compiled by the latter is solely borrowed from modern writers, whose misrepresentations he has copied, and whose errors he has multiplied. A comparison of his work with the historical labours of Rapin, Carte, and Guthrie, will perhaps convince the examinant, that he did not consult one of the original authors whom he has quoted in his margin. But his defects, as a historian, are in some measure palliated by that nervous elegance which often appears in his diction, and that judgment which prevents him from dwelling on occurrences of inferior moment.

Goldsmith wrote with spirit and ability; but his history of this kingdom is a mere *epitome*, and is calculated rather for the amusement of an idle hour, than for the improvement of those who aspire to a competent knowledge of English affairs.

Henry is an accurate and judicious author; but his plan is too detached and disjointed, to please the general reader; and that division of his work, which comprehends the civil and military history of Great Britain, is too concise, to be satisfactory.

Dissertation on the Origin of the English House of Commons, delivered before the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity-College, Cambridge, in June, 1777, by the Honourable Thomas Erskine; to which

which the first Prize of the Year was adjudged.

THE English house of commons arose gradually out of the feudal tenures as introduced at the conquest.

Many of the wisest and warmest assertors of equal government have been fond of looking back to the Saxon annals for the origin of the English constitution; and, without the warrant of history or tradition, have considered the rise of our liberties under the Normans, as only the restoration of immunities subverted by the conquest. This opinion however, has been propagated by its authors, neither from a decided conviction on the one hand, nor a blind admiration of antiquity on the other: a very generous, but mistaken motive, has often rendered it popular and energetic; it has been opposed in time of public danger to the arguments of those enemies to their country, and indeed to all mankind, who have branded the sacred privileges wrested by our patriot ancestors from the first Norman princes, as the fruits of successful rebellions.

But, although the principle is to be applauded, the error cannot; and in this enlightened age, happily need not be defended; the rights of mankind can never be made to depend on the times of their being vindicated with success; they are sacred and immutable; they are

the gift of heaven; and whether appropriated for the first time to day, or enjoyed beyond the reach of annals, the title to them is equally incontrovertible: one individual may forfeit his property to another from supineness, and usurpation may strengthen into right by prescription; but human privileges in the gross cannot be so snatched away; there is no statute of limitation* to bar the claims of nature: let us not, therefore, from a patriot zeal, involve ourselves in the faint evidences of probability, but be contented to trace our political constitution from a source within the reach of moral demonstration. There is more honour in having freed ourselves from tyranny than in always having been free.

We know with certainty, that the Saxons had parliaments, but we know, with equal certainty, that the people at large had no representative share in them: the bulk of the nation were either vassals under the feudal lord, or Allodii under the king's government; the first being absolute slaves to their masters, could not pretend to become political rulers, and the last being not even united by the feudal bond to the community, could have no suffrages in the feudal councils: the Saxon lords, indeed, were free, but for that very reason, there was no public liberty; the government was highly aristocratical, there was no shadow of that equal communion

* There are certain limitations of time fixed by statute in the reigns of Henry VIII. and James I. beyond which the subject (and the king by a late act) cannot apply to the courts of justice to regain the possession of landed property, to recover personal debts and damages, or to redress private wrongs. These acts are called in law pleadings, the statutes of limitation.

† Allodii were such as held of no feudal superior, *celles qui ne reconnaissent supérieur en fief*. These Allodial lands were all surrendered up at the Norman conquest, and received back to be held by feudal tenure, as appears by Domesday-book.

of privileges founded on legislative institutions, which constitutes freedom upon English principles, by which all who are the objects of the law must personally, or by representation, be the makers of the laws: this principle, which may justly be denominated the very essence of our present government, neither did nor could possibly exist till the proud feudal chieftains, bending under an accidental pressure, were obliged to sacrifice their pride to necessity, and their tyranny to self-preservation.

But before our inquiries can be properly begun, at the period I have fixed,—before I can exhibit the elastic force of freedom rebounding under the pressure of the most absolute government, I must call your attentions to the genealogy of our feudal ancestors.

They issued from that northern hive of fierce warriors who over-ran all Europe at the declension of the Roman empire; a race of men the most extraordinary that ever marked or distinguished the state of nature; a people who, in the absence of every art and science, carried the seeds of future perfection in their national genius and character; visible even then in an unconquerable fortitude of mind, in an inherent idea of human equality, tempered with a voluntary submission to the most rigid subordination; the trial by jury too was understood and revered by all the northern inhabitants of Europe, when they first appeared among the degenerate nations that had lost it. Liberty, driven from the haunts of science and civilization, seems to have fled with this talisman to the deserts, and to have given it to barbarians to revenge her injuries, and to re-

deem her empire: in marking the process of the constitution through the furnace of slavery, it must never be forgotten, that such were our ancestors.

When William had gained the victory of Hastings, he marched towards London with his victorious Normans, and found (like other conquerors) an easy passage to the throne when the prince is slain and his army defeated; the English proffered him the peaceable possession of a kingdom which he was in a condition to have seized by force; rather choosing to see the brows of a victor encircled with a crown than with a helmet, and wishing rather to be governed by the sceptre than the sword: he was therefore installed with all the solemnities of the Saxon coronation, and immediately afterwards annihilated all those laws which these solemnities were instituted to perpetuate: he established his own feudal system (the only one he understood); he divided all the lands of England into knight's fees, to be holden of himself by military service; and as few or none of the English had any share in this general distribution, their estates being forfeited from their adherence to Harold, and by subsequent rebellions, it is plain they could have no political consequence, since none but the vassals of the crown had seats in the feudal parliaments.

Could William have been contented thus to have shared with his Norman barons the spoils of the conquered English, and merely to have transferred his feudal empire from Normandy to Great Britain, the sacred sun of freedom had probably then set upon this island, never to have arisen any more; the Norman lords would have established

that aristocracy which then distinguished the whole feudal world, and when afterwards, by the natural progression of that singular system; when by the inevitable operation of escheats and forfeitures, the crown must have attracted all that property which originally issued from it; when the barons themselves must have dropped like falling stars into the centre of power, and aristocracy been swallowed up in monarchy; the people already trained to subjection, without rights, and without even similar grievances to unite them, would have been an easy prey to the prince in the meridian of his authority; and despotism, encircled with a standing army, would have scattered terror through a nation of slaves.

But happily for us, William's views extended with his dominion: he forgot that his barons (who were not bound by their tenures to leave their own country) had followed him rather as companions in enterprise than as vassals; he confided in a standing army of mercenaries, which he recruited on the continent; rivetted even on his own Normans, the worst feudal severities; and before the end of his reign, the English saw the oppressors themselves among the number of the oppressed.

This plan, pursued and aggravated by his descendants, assimilated the heterogeneous bodies of which the kingdom was composed: Normans and English, barons and vassals, were obliged to unite in a common cause. Mr. de Lolme, citizen of Geneva, by comparing the rise of liberty in England with the fall of it in France, has so clearly and ingeniously proved, that Magna Charta was obtained from this necessity, which the barons were un-

der, of forming an union with the people, that I shall venture to consider it as a fact demonstrated, and shall proceed to an inquiry no less curious and important, where he and other writers have left a greater field for originality; I mean the rise of the English house of commons, to its present distinct and representative state.

The statute of Magna Charta, so often evaded, and so often solemnly re-established, disseminated (it must be confessed) those great and leading maxims on which all the valuable privileges of civil government depend; indeed the twenty-ninth chapter contains every absolute right for the security of which men enter into the relative obligations of society: but privileges thus gained, and only maintained by the sword, cannot be called a constitution; after bearing a summer's blossom, they may perish, as they grew, in the field of battle; of little consequence are even the most solemn charters, confirmed by legislative ratifications, if they who are the objects of them do not compose part of that power, without whose consent they cannot be repealed; if they have no peaceable way of preventing their infringement, nor any opportunity of vindicating their claims, till they have lost the benefit of possession: liberty, in this state, is not an inheritance; it is little better than an alms from an indulgent or a cautious administration. It remains, therefore, to shew by what steps the people of England, without being drawn forth into personal action, were enabled to act with more than personal force; in what manner they acquired a political scale, in which they could deposit the privileges thus

thus bravely and fortunately acquired, and into which every future accumulation of power flowing from the increase of property and the thriving arts of peace might silently and imperceptibly fall, bringing down the scale without convulsing the balance.

And here those historians must be followed with caution, who have made this new order of the state to start up at the nod of Montfort or of Edward; neglecting the operations of the feudal system, as thinking them, perhaps, more the province of the lawyer than the historian, they have mistaken the effect for the cause, and have ascribed this memorable event to a sudden political necessity, which was in reality prepared and ripened by a slow and uniform progression. This truth may be easily illustrated.

The law* of Edward I. still remains on the records of parliament, by which the crown and the barons, in order to preserve for ever their fond feudal rights, restrained the creation of any new superiorities. By this act, the people were allowed to dispose of their estates, but the original tenure was made to follow the land through all its alienations; consequently, when the king's vassal divided his property, by sale, into

smaller baronies, the purchaser had, from thenceforth, no feudal connection with the seller, but held immediately from the king, according to the ancient tenure of the land; and if these purchasers alienated to others the land so purchased, still the tenure continued and remained in the crown.

Now, when we reflect that every tenant of a barony, holden of the king *in capite*, had a seat in parliament, we see at once the striking operation of this law; we see how little the wisest politicians foresee the distant consequences of ambition: Edward and his barons, by this device, monopolized, it is true, the feudal sovereignties, and prevented their vassals from becoming lords like themselves, but they knew not what they were doing; they knew not, that, in the very act of abridging the property of the people, they were giving them a legislative existence, which, at a future day, would enable them to overthrow whatever stood in the way of their power, and to level that very feudal system which they were thus attempting to perpetuate: for the tenants *in capite*, who had a right to be summoned to parliament, soon became so numerous, by the alienation of the king's vassals (whose

* The statute of the 18th Edward I. chap. 1. commonly called *quia emptores terrarum*. The great barons were very pressing to have this law passed, that the lands they had sold before the act might not be subinfeud, but might return to themselves by escheats, on failure of heirs, or by forfeiture in case of felony: but they did not foresee that the multiplication of their own body would, in the end, annihilate its consequence, and raise up a new order in the state; indeed, the tenancies *in capite* were multiplying fast before this act; for, when a large barony escheated, or was forfeited to the crown, it was generally divided, and granted to more than one; and frequently these baronies descended to several females, who inherited as co-partners; it was in consequence of this multiplication of tenures *in capite* that the smaller barons were summoned *per vicomites*, and not like the great ones, as early as the reign of king John; their numbers being too great to address writs to them all: but this multiplication would probably never have produced a genuine house of commons without the operation of this act, as will appear by and by, from the comparison between the English and Scotch parliaments.

immense territories were divisible into many lesser baronies), that they neither could, nor indeed wished, any longer to assemble in their own rights; the feudal peers were, in fact, become the people; * and the idea of representation came forward by a necessary consequence: parliament, from being singly composed of men who sat, in their own rights, to save the great from the oppression of the crown, and not the small from the oppression of the great, now began to open its doors to the patriot-citizen; the feudal and personal changed into natural and corporate privileges; and the people, for the first time in the history of the world, saw the root of their liberties fixed in the centre of the constitution.

As the multiplication of royal

tenures, from the enfranchisement of boroughs,† (but chiefly from the operation of this law) first gave rise to popular representation; so it is only in the continued operation of these principles, that we can trace the distinct existence and growing power of the house of commons: we know that they assembled for a long time in the same chamber with the peers; that the separation was not preconceived by the founders of the constitution, but arose from necessity, when their numbers became too great to form one assembly; and we know that they never thought of assuming popular legislative privileges, till, by this necessary division, they became a distinct body from the lords. This, though a political accident, brought the English commons forth into action;

* The house of commons, and the spiritual lords, (who still sit in parliament as tenants *in capite*) are the only remains of the genuine feudal territorial peerage; for, when the tenants *in capite* became numerous and poor, such an alloy was mixed with the ancient original nobility, that it would have been absurd to have allowed tenure in chief to convey any longer a personal honour and privilege; the peerage, therefore, no longer passed with the fief, but, from being territorial and official, became personal and honorary; but, as tenure in chief was still from the very nature of the feudal system a legislative title, although its exercise was no longer personally practicable, from the multiplication of royal holdings, a representation was naturally adopted.

The feudal aristocracy thus expended, changed, by degrees, into a democracy, and the aristocratical part of the government would have been utterly extinguished (on failure of the peers by prescription) if the crown had not preserved it, by conferring on a few, by personal investiture, an hereditary right of legislation in the room of that territorial peerage that had branched out and become a popular right. This produced a great change in the orders of the state, for the feudal baronage, after having produced the house of commons, continued to balance, and struggle with, the prerogative as a democracy, in the same manner that it had resisted it before as an aristocratical body: whereas the monarchical peerage, which sprung up on the decay of the feudal, is merely an emanation of the royal prerogative, interested in the support of the crown, from which it derives its lustre and its power, and has no connection with the feudal system which conferred no legislative rights but by tenure *in capite*, which tenure, diffused among the multitude, constituted the house of commons.

† It is very probable, that burgage tenure first gave the idea of a representation of the smaller barons: for, when the king enfranchised a town, and gave it lands from the royal demesne, this instantly made the corporation a tenant *in capite*; but, as the corporation could not sit in parliament, it elected a burgess. It is in consequence of this burgage tenure, or tenancy *in capite*, of a corporation, that we now see such an insignificant village as Old Sarum, sending two members to parliament, while such a flourishing town as Manchester sends none.

their

their legislative existence was the natural birth of the feudal system, compressed by the crown.

To prove these truths, we have only to contemplate the history of our sister kingdom of Scotland (governed, at that time, by the same laws), there being very little difference between the *Regiam Majestatem*, the Scotch code of those days, and the work compiled by Glanville, chief justice to Henry II. The law of Edward I. which produced these great changes* in England,† was transcribed by the Scotch parliament into the statute-book of their Robert I. but the king of Scotland had not conquered that country as William had subdued England, consequently he was

rather a feudal chieftain than a monarch, and had no power to carry this law of Edward's into execution; for the Scotch barons, although they would not allow their vassals to subinfeud, yet when they sold their own lands, they would not suffer the crown to appropriate the tenure, but obliged the purchasers to hold as vassals to themselves: by this weakness of the Scotch crown, and power of the nobles, the tenancies *in capite* were not multiplied as in England; the right to sit in parliament was consequently not much extended beyond the original numbers; and Scotland never saw a house of commons,† nor ever tasted the blessings of equal government. When the

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boroughs,

* It may be asked, what these changes were, which the act is said to have produced, since the burgesses were called to parliament in the beginning of Edward's reign, before the act passed; and since the lesser barons were summoned by the sheriffs, as early as the reign of king John. To this it may be answered, that these parliaments were intirely feudal; the burgesses representing those corporations that were tenants *in capite*, and the summons of the lesser barons, being by no means a popular election, but a proclamation for those who held sufficient lands of the king *in capite*, to assemble in their own rights: but when the statute of *quia emptores* had so generally diffused the royal holding, that, from being a feudal privilege confined to a few, it came to be a popular and almost universal right; representation of the multitude succeeded upon feudal principles to a personal right of legislation; the territorial peerage sunk altogether, or rather dilated itself into a house of commons; and that power, which in other feudal countries, being condensed like the rays of the sun to a focus, consumed the rights of mankind, produced, when thus scattered abroad, a plentiful harvest of liberty. In Scotland, where the act of *quia emptores* was never enforced, the feudal baronage diffused itself, notwithstanding, so as at least to produce a representation, but it continued to be a representation merely feudal; the knights of the shires were representative barons, not representatives of the people; and never formed a distinct order in the state: indeed, such a third power could never have possibly sprung up from a feudal constitution, on any other principle than that which is here laid down. There was no representation of the Scotch barons till the year 1427, when it was enacted, by statute, that the smaller barons needed not to come to parliament, provided they sent commissioners.

† The representative barons and burgesses never formed, in Scotland, a third estate (as has been observed in the last note), they were considered as representatives of royal tenants, and not of the people at large; and, therefore, naturally assembled with the peers, who sat by honorary creation: for tenures in chief, being confined to a very small number, when compared with other tenures, still continued to be the criterion of legislation; and, though extended beyond the practicability of personal exercise, was highly feudal, even when expanded to a state of representation. Whereas, in England, the statute of *quia emptores* made tenure *in capite* almost universal, or, in other words, gave legislative privileges to the multitude, upon feudal principles; which consequently produced

boroughs, indeed, in latter days, were enfranchised, they sent their representatives; but their numbers being inconsiderable, they assembled in the same house with the king and the peers; were awed by the pride of the lords, and dazzled by the splendor of the crown, they sat silent in parliament, representing the slavery and not the freedom of the people.

But this dissemination* of property, which in every country on earth is sooner or later creative of freedom, met with a severe check in its early infancy, from the statute of entails; in this instance, even the crown of England had not sufficient strength to ripen that liberty which had sprung up from the force of its rays; for, if Edward I. could have resisted this law, wrested from him by his barons, to perpetuate their estates in their families, the English constitution, from an earlier equilibrium of property, had suddenly risen to perfection; and the revolution in the reign of Charles I. had probably happened two centu-

ries higher in our history, or, perhaps, from the gradual circulation of that power, which broke in at last with a sudden and projectile force, had never happened at all; but the same effects had been produced without the effusion of civil blood: for, no sooner was the statute of entails shaken, in the reign of Henry VII.† and finally destroyed by his successor, than we see the popular tide, which had ebbed so long, begin to lift up its waves, till the mighty fabrics of prerogative and aristocracy passed away, in one ruin, together. This crisis, which shallow men then mistook, and still mistake for anarchy, was but the fermentation of the unconquerable spirit of liberty, infused as early as *magna charta*, which, in working itself free from the impurities that oppressed it, was convulsing every thing around; when the fermentations ceased, the stream ran purer than before, after having, in the tumult, beat down every bank that obstructed its just and natural course. The consum-

duced a representation, not of royal tenants, according to the principles of the feudal system, but of the people, according to the natural principles of human society. It is, probably, from this difference between these principles of legislation, that the right of voting is so different in the two countries: in Scotland, the common council, and not the body of the burghers, are the electors; because the corporation, as the tenant in capite, is represented, and not the individuals composing it: and no forty-shilling freeholder can vote for a knight of the shire, unless he holds immediately of the king; for, if his tenure be not royal, he must have four hundred pounds. Whereas, in England, the right of election (unless it has been otherwise fixed by prescription) is in the whole body of the burghers; and all forty-shilling freeholders vote for the knights of the shire; whether the tenure be of a king or a subject.

* By the dissemination of property, in this place, is not meant, that which gave the right of legislation to the people on feudal principles, but that which is necessary to give weight and consequence to a third estate so arisen.

† The statute of fines, passed in the fourth year of Henry VII. was purposely wrapped up in obscure and covert expressions, in order to induce the nobility to consent to it, who would otherwise have flung it out if they had thought it would have barred entails: but, in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. when the will of the prince was better obeyed, its real purpose was avowed, and the statute then made had a retrospective operation given to it, so as to include all entails barred by fines since the fourth year of the former reign.

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nation of these great events is too recent and notorious to demand farther illustration; their best commentary is the happiness and freedom which we enjoy at this day.

The subject proposed is, therefore, brought to its conclusion; but it is a subject too dear and important to be concluded without a reflection that arises very strongly out of it.

The English constitution will probably never more be attacked in front, or its dissolution attempted, by striking at the authority of the laws; and, if such attack should ever be made, their foundations are too deeply laid, and their superstructure too firmly cemented to dread the event of the contest: but the constitution is not therefore immortal, and the sentinel must not sleep: the authority of the laws themselves may be turned against the spirit which gave them birth; and the English government may be dissolved with all the legal solemnities which its outward form prescribes for its preservation. This mode of attack is the more probable, as it affords respect and safety to the besiegers; and infinitely more dangerous to the people, as the consciences of good men are ensnared by it; the virtuous citi-

zen, looking up with confidence to the banners of authority, may believe he is defending the constitution and the laws, while he is trampling down every principle of justice, on which both of them are founded. It is impossible, therefore, to conclude, without expressing a fervent wish, that every member of the community (at the same time that he bows with reverence to the supremacy of the state and the majesty of the laws) may keep his eyes for ever fixed on the spirit of the constitution, manifested, by the revolution, as the pole-star of his political course; that, while he pays the tribute of duty and obedience to government, he may know when the reciprocal duty is paid back to the public and to himself.

This concluding wish is, I trust, not misplaced when delivered within these philosophical walls: the sciences ever flourish in the train of liberty; the soul of a slave could never have expanded itself like Newton's over infinite space, and sighed in captivity at the remotest barriers of creation; in no other country under heaven, could Locke have unfolded with dignity the operations of an immortal soul, or recorded with truth the duties and privileges of society.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1798. By Henry James Pye, Esq.
Poet Laureat.

I.

WHEN genial Zephyr's balmy wing
Fans with soft plume the flowery vale,
Each tender scion of the spring,
Expanding, owns the fostering gale,
And smiles each sunny glade around,
With vegetable beauty crown'd;
But when the whirlwinds of the north
Burst in tempestuous vengeance forth,
Before the thunder of the storm
Each spreading tree of weaker form
Or bends to earth, or lies reclin'd,
Torn by the fury of the wind;
Then proudly, 'mid the quivering shade,
Stands the firm oak, in native strength array'd,
Waves high his giant branches, and defies
The elemental war that rends the skies.

II.

Deep-rooted in this kindred soil,
So Freedom here, through many an age,
Has mock'd Ambition's fruitless toil,
And Treason's wiles, and Faction's rage;
And as the stormy ruin pass'd,
Which Anarchy's rude breath had blown,
While Europe, bending to the blast,
Beholds her fairest realms o'erthrown;
Alone, Britannia's happy isle,
Bless'd by a patriot monarch's smile,
Amid surrounding storms, uninjur'd stands,
Nor dreads the tempest's force that wastes her neighbour lands.

III.

III.

But see ! along the darkling main
 The gathering clouds malignant low'r,
 And, spreading o'er our blue domain,
 Against our shores their thunders pour :
 While treach'rous friends and daring foes
 Around in horrid compact close ;
 Their swarming barks portentous, shade
 With crowded sails the watery glade ;
 When lo ! imperial GEORGE commands—
 Rush to the waves, Britannia's veteran bands !
 Unnumber'd hosts usurp in vain
 Dominion o'er his briny reign ;
 His fleets their monarch's right proclaim
 With brazen throat, with breath of flame :
 And captive in his ports their squadrons ride,
 Or mourn their shatter'd wrecks deep whelm'd beneath the tide.

IV.

From shore to shore, from pole to pole,
 Where'er wide Ocean's billows roll,
 From holy Ganges' tepid wave
 To seas that isles Atlantic lave ;
 From hoary Greenland's frozen lands
 To burning Libya's golden sands ;
 Aloft the British ensign flies
 In folds triumphant to the skies ;
 While to the notes that hail'd the isle
 Emerging from its parent main,
 The sacred Muse, with raptur'd smile,
 Responsive pours the exulting strain—
 " Rule, Britannia ! rule the waves ;
 " Britons never will be slaves."

ODE for his Majesty's BIRTH-DAY. By Henry James Pye, Esq.
 Poet-Laureat.

I.

WHILE loud and near, round Britain's coasts,
 The low'ring storm of battle roars,
 In proud array while numerous hosts
 Insulting threat her happy shores ;
 No strains, with peaceful descant blown,
 Now float around Britannia's throne—
 The shouts from martial zeal that rise,
 The fires that beam from Glory's eyes,

The

The sword that manly Freedom draws
 In Freedom's patriot monarch's cause,
 Shall with an angel's voice display
 How dear to Britain's sons their GEORGE's natal day.

II.

Triumphant o'er the blue domain
 Of hoary Ocean's briny reign,
 While Britain's navies boldly sweep,
 With victor prow, the stormy deep;
 Will Gallia's vanquish'd squadrons dare
 Again to try the wat'ry war,
 Again her floating castles brave,
 Terrific, on the howling wave,
 Or on the fragile bark adventure o'er,
 Tempt her tempestuous seas, and scale her rocky shore?

III.

Or, should the wind's uncertain gale
 Propitious swell the hostile sail;
 Should the dim mist, or midnight shade,
 Invasion's threaten'd inroad aid;
 Shall Britain, on her native strand,
 Shrink from a foe's inferior band?
 She vows by Gallia, taught to yield
 On Creci's and on Poitier's field;
 By Agincourt's high trophied plain,
 Pil'd with illustrious nobles slain;
 By wondering Danube's distant flood,
 And Blenheim's ramparts, red with blood;
 By chiefs on Minden's heaths who shone,
 By recent fame at Lincelles won;
 Her laurell'd brow she ne'er will veil,
 Or shun the shock of fight, though numerous hosts assail.

IV.

The electric flame of glory runs
 Impetuous through her hardy sons.
 See, rushing from the farm and fold,
 Her swains in Glory's lists enroll'd:
 Though o'er the nations far and wide
 Gallia may pour Oppression's tide,
 And, like Rome's tyrant-race of yore,
 O'er-run each tributary shore;
 Yet, like the Julian chief, their hosts shall meet
 Untam'd resistance here, and foul defeat;
 Shall, like Rome's rav'ning eagle, baffled fly
 From Britain's fatal cliffs, the abode of Liberty.

Behold

V.

Behold on Windsor's oak-fring'd plain,
 The pride of Albion's Sylvan reign,
 Where oft the cheering hound and horn
 Have pierc'd the listening ear of morn,
 Rouz'd by the clarion's warlike sound,
 The heroes tread the tented ground:
 Where chiefs, as brave as those of yore,
 Who Chivalry's first honours wore,
 What time fair knighthood's knee around
 Th' embroider'd zone victorious Edward bound,
 Shall by their monarch's throne a bulwark stand,
 And guard in George's crown the welfare of the land.

OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE, *to the Play of ENGLAND PRESERVED,*
performed at Covent-Garden Theatre, Feb. 8, 1798, in Aid of the Volun-
tary Contribution for the Defence of the Country.

By William Boscawen, Esq.

WHEN Persia's tyrant to th' Athenian coast,
 Sent forth, indignant, his barbarian host,
 At Freedom's call, a firm and faithful band,
 Undaunted, rose to guard their native land:
 Their valour forc'd unnumber'd foes to yield,
 Pursued o'er Marathon's immortal field.
 When Rome, superior to the storms of fate,
 Saw Afric's chieftain thund'ring at her gate,
 With dauntless soul she brav'd th' impending blow,
 Nor stoop'd to parley with the hated foe.
 Lives there a Briton, blest with Freedom's laws,
 Less firm, less faithful, to his country's cause?
 Breathes there a soul, which patriot zeal inspires,
 But feels her wrongs, and glows with equal fires?
 While, with gigantic stride, o'er Europe's plains,
 Fell Rapine stalks, and Desolation reigns;
 While fierce Oppression, with insulting claim,
 Mocks Freedom's rights, yet rules in Freedom's name;
 This envied isle alone its fury braves,
 Safe in her valiant sons and circling waves;
 Crown'd with the bliss that genuine Freedom knows,
 She spurns th' insidious boon of treach'rous foes,
 And hears, unmov'd, the gath'ring tempest roar,
 Though hosts unnumber'd threat her seabeat shore.

Oh

Oh then, let each prepare, with dauntless heart,
 At Britain's call, to act a Briton's part!
 Ye gen'rous youths, whom active vigour fires,
 Stand forth, and emulate our glorious fires!
 Like them, inspir'd your Country's rights to shield,
 Remember Agincourt and Blenheim's field!
 Ye titled great, display your native worth!
 Let valour vindicate the claims of birth!
 Ye sons of wealth, with bounty cheer the train,
 Who guard our shore, or thunder on the main!
 Ye fair, for whom we toil, for whom we bleed,
 With smiles reward each bright heroic deed!
 So shall one heart, one soul, inspirit all,
 Bravely to conquer, or as bravely fall:
 So, crown'd with glory, may our perils cease,
 And reap their harvest—a Triumphant Peace!

EPILOGUE *to the Comedy of* LOVERS VOWS.

OUR Drama now ended, I'll take up your time
 Just a moment or two, in defence of my rhyme:
 Though I hope that among you are *some* who admir'd
 What I've hitherto said—dare I hope *none* are tir'd?
 But whether you have, or have not heard enough,
 Or whether nice critics will think it all stuff,
 To myself rhyme has ever appear'd, I must own,
 In its nature a sort of philosopher's stone;
 And if chymists would use it, they'd not make a pother,
 And puzzle their brains to find out any other.
 Indeed, 'tis most strange and surprising to me,
 That all folks in rhiming their int'rest can't see;
 For I'm sure if its use was quite common with men,
 The world would roll on just as pleasant ag in.
 'Tis said, that while Orpheus was striking his lyre,
 Trees and brutes danc'd along to the sound of the wire;
 That Amphion to walls converted the glebes,
 And they rose, as he sung, to a city call'd Thebes.
 I suppose they were butlers (like me) of that time,
 And the tale shews our fires knew the virtue of rhyme.
 From time immemorial your lovers, we find,
 When their mistresses hearts have been proud and unkind,
 Have resorted to rhyme, and indeed it appears
 That a rhyme would do more than a bucket of tears.
 Of love, from experience I speak—odds my life!
 I shall never forget how I courted my wife;
 She had offers in plenty, but always stood neuter,
 Till I with my pen started forth as a suitor;

Yet

Yet I made no mean present of ribband or bonnet,
 My present was caught from the stars—'twas a sonnet.
 And now you know this, sure 'tis needless to say,
 That prose was rejected, and rhyme won the day:
 But its potent effects, you as well may discover
 In the husband and wife, as in mistress and lover;
 There are some of ye here who, like me, I conjecture,
 Have been lull'd into sleep by a good *curtain lecture*;
 But that's a mere trifle, you'll ne'er come to blows,
 If you'll only avoid that dull enemy, *Prose*.
 Adopt then my plan, and the very next time
 That in words you fall out, let them fall into rhyme;
 Thus your sharpest disputes will conclude very soon,
 And from jangling to jingling, you'll chime into *tune*.
 If my wife were to call me a drunken old sot,
 I should merely just ask her, what Butler is not?
 And bid her take care that *she* don't go to pot.
 So our squabbles continue a very short season;
 If she yields to my rhyme, I allow she has reason.
 Independent of this I conceive rhyme has weight
 In the higher employments of church and of state,
 And would in my mind such advantages draw,
 'Tis a pity that rhyme is not sanction'd by law;
 For 'twould really be serving us all to impose
 A capital fine on the man who spoke *Prose*.
 Mark the pleader who clacks in his client's behalf,
 With my lud, and his ludship, three hours and a half;
 Or the fellow who tells you a long stupid story,
 And over and over the same lays before ye;
 Or the priest who declaims till his audience are dozing;
 What d'ye say of such men? Why, you say they are *prosing*.
 So, of course, if prose is so tedious a crime,
 It of consequence follows, there's virtue in rhyme.
 But the best piece of prose that I've seen a long while,
 Is what gallant Nelson has sent from the Nile;
 And had he but sent his dispatches in rhyme,
 What a thing 'twould have been! but perhaps he'd no time:
 So I'll do it myself—O! most glorious news!
Nine ships of the line—just a ship for each muse!

}

SONG in the STRANGER. *Written by R. B. Sheridan, Esq.*

I Have a silent sorrow here,
 A grief I'll ne'er impart,
 It breathes no sigh, it sheds no tear,
 But it consumes my heart!

This

This cherish'd woe, this lov'd despair,
 My lot for ever be ;
 So, my soul's lord, the pangs I bear,
 Be never known by thee !

And when pale characters of death
 Shall mark this alter'd cheek,
 When my poor wasted trembling breath
 My life's last hope would speak—

I shall not raise my eyes to Heav'n,
 Nor mercy ask for me ;
 My soul despairs to be forgiv'n,
 Unpardon'd, love, by thee.

OCCASIONAL ADDRESS, *written by Mr. Roscoe; and delivered by Mr. Holman, on the Night appropriated for the Benefit of the Children of the late Mr. Palmer, at the Theatre-Royal, Liverpool.*

YE airy sprites, who oft, as fancy calls,
 Sport 'mid the precincts of these haunted walls,
 Light forms that float in Mirth's tumultuous throng,
 And frolic dance, and revelry, and song—
 Fold your gay wings—repress your wonted fire—
 And from your fav'rite seats awhile retire.
 And thou—whose pow'rs sublimer thoughts impart,
 Queen of the springs that move the human heart
 With change alternate, at whose magic call
 The swelling tides of passion rise or fall—
 Thou too withdraw—for, 'midst thy lov'd abode,
 With step more stern, a mightier power has trod.
 Here, on this spot, to every eye confess,
 Inrob'd with terrors stood the kingly guest ;
 Here, on this spot, death wav'd th' unerring dart,
 And struck his noblest prize—an honest heart.

What wond'rous links the human feelings bind !
 How strong the secret sympathies of mind !
 As Fancy's pictur'd forms around us move,
 We hope or fear, rejoice, detest, or love—
 Nor heaves the sigh for selfish woes alone ;
 Congenial sorrows mingle with our own.
 Hence, as the poet's raptur'd eye-balls roll,
 The fond delirium seizes all his soul,
 And, whilst his pulse concordant measures keeps,
 He smiles in transport, or in anguish weeps.

But,

But, ah! lamented shade! not thine to know
 The anguish only of imagin'd woe:
 Doom'd the lov'd partner of thy soul to mourn,
 And fond parental ties untimely torn:
 Then whilst thy bosom, lab'ring with its grief,
 From fabled sorrows sought a short relief;
 The fancied woes, too true to nature's tone,
 Burst the slight barrier, and became thine own;
 In mingled tides the swelling passions ran,
 Absorb'd the actor, and o'erwhelm'd the man:
 Martyr of sympathy! more sadly true
 Than ever fancy feign'd, or poet drew!

Say why, by Heaven's acknowledg'd hand impress,
 Such keen sensations actuate all the breast?
 Why throbs the heart for joys that long have fled?
 Why lingers hope around the silent dead?
 Why spurns the spirit its encumbering clay,
 And longs to soar to happier realms away?
 Does Heaven, unjust, the fond desire instil
 To add to mortal woes another ill?
 Are there no beings of ethereal frame
 That in soft whispers prompt the nightly dream?
 Or, 'midst lone musings of remembrance sweet,
 Inspire the secret wish—once more to meet?
 There are—for, not by more determin'd laws
 The sympathetic steel the magnet draws,
 Than the freed spirit acts with strong controul
 On its responsive sympathies of soul;
 And tells, in characters of truth unfurl'd,
There is another and a better world.

Yet, whilst we sorrowing tread this earthly ball,
 For human woes a human tear will fall.
 Blest be that tear—who gives it, doubly blest—
 That heals with balm the orphan's bleeding breast.
 Not all that breathes in morning's genial dew
 Revives the parent-plant where once it grew;
 Yet may those dews, with timely nurture, aid
 The infant flow'rets drooping in the shade,
 Whilst mem'ry of try'd worth, and manners mild,
 A father's virtues, still protect his child.

A LETTER *from the Keeper of a Circulating Library in an obscure Town,
to the Keeper of a Circulating Library at a fashionable Watering Place.*

WHILE you, my friend, in ———'s blissful bow'rs,
With joyful profit glad the smiling hours;
While fashionable crowds attend your will,
Your shew-glass empty, and your pockets fill;
O let compassion touch your tender mind
For one to shores less fortunate confin'd;
Think of the place to which I'm chain'd by fate,
And image (if you can) my cruel state!
For, here no beaux the library frequent,
Who purchase useless toys at cent. per cent.
In this dull town no belles at raffles shine;
O town unworthy of a shop like mine!
In vain the modish volumes I arrange,
And wait, all day, to give and to exchange;
In vain with Birmingham's gay wares I gild
My shining shelves, and see my shew-glass fill'd;
The stupor of the place confounds my care,
And skill like mine but labours to despair.
While thus my melancholy lot I mourn,
Hourly to thee my envious thoughts are borne;
While our poor nymphs, in vulgar dulness sunk,
Scarce know the far-fam'd title of "The Monk."
Your well-bred fair take each new tale to-bed,
And not a novel crowds your shelves unread.
Oft in my dreams, admiring, I survey
Your evening-shop with well-drest loungers gay;
I see the raffles press, by thousands, round;
I hear the die's still profitable sound:
Behind her counter, mark'd by nameless grace,
And matchless intrepidity of face,
My friend dispensing her rich wares I view,
Still swearing bad is good, and old is new:
While the kind purchasers, so civil grown,
Trust to her senses, and renounce their own.
O glorious scene! yes, soon my feet shall rove,
To realize the spectacle I love!
Thy friendly summons I'll with joy obey,
And taste the comforts of one social day.
Wednesday (kind Heav'n till then protract my date!)
Shall see me blest, and smiling at thy gate;
Meantime, no trifling customer shall fret;
Meantime, no duns alarm me, though they threat;
Each fear I'll hush, each sorrow I'll subdue,
And only think of happiness and you.

The

*The TIMES of EUROPE; from the Imperial Epistle from Kien Long,
Emperor of China, to George III. King of Great Britain.*

— **F**AR other scenes are near:
 Darkneſs and diſcontent, diſtruſt and fear,
 And brooding policy, in novel forms,
 Call o'er the deep of empire clouds and ſtorms.
 And wild thoſe ſtorms would rend Britannia's field,
 Should patriot bands the rod of ſaſtion wield,
 While law, religion, property, they ſeize,
 And ſenates tremble at their own decrees;
 Sweeping with Reformation's iron ſway
 They'd cruſh each land that ſcrupled to obey;
 From Splendour's robe each proud diſtinction wipe,
 And place a barren bauble in thy gripe.
 Then mitred father's, and the ermin'd peer,
 And anceſtry, and all to honour dear,
 The fond, well-earn'd, rewards of ancient worth,
 All, ſpirits diſembodied, leave the earth.
 Theſe are ſtate-blots, which, in their dread intent,
 Should be ras'd out in their firſt parliament;
 For all empiricks, quacks of ſtate or church,
 Now hate all truths, but truths of great reſearch;
 They round their phraſe with twiſted nothings, call
 Sophiſtic pomp, and meaner minds appal:
 Then, unawares, the ſtrong concluſion draw,
 The maſter of the prince is maſter of the law.
 Nor Thou, in fancied ſtrength too ſafely wiſe
 Their baſe-born, dark original deſpiſe.
 Whence draws the ſun dire vapour? Whence conſpire
 The thund'rous tempeſt, and the lightning's fire?
 From lake and lazy pool, and weeds obſcene,
 The abode of putrid peſtilence unclean,
 The elemental fury from afar
 Collects, and ſcatters wide, ethereal war,
 Raging without confine, without controul;
 Ev'n Heav'n's own firmament oft ſeems to roll,
 And from the ſated momentaneous ſhock
 Eternal impreſs marks the riven rock;
 The arch of majeſty, the temple's dome,
 The pillar'd hall, the peaſant's low-rooſt home,
 Alike in undiſtinguiſh'd ruin fall,
 And ſhapeleſs deſolation equals all.
 Through Europe's bounds, 'tis her devoted age,
 Fires from within, and central thunders rage.

On Gallia's shore, I mark the unhallow'd power,
 Her godless regents feel the madd'ning hour,
 Dread architects of ruin and of crime,
 In revolution's permanence sublime,
 And cruel nonsense! O'er the astonish'd world
 The flag of dire Equality unfurl'd,
 Drizzling with blood of millions, streams in air,
 The scroll, *Fraternal Freedom, Death, Despair*.
 They pass; nor Rhine nor Rubicon they know,
 Torrents may roar, or tranquil streams may flow;
 In unappall'd protrusion, on they burst,
 All nations cursing, by all nations curst.
 Lo! Belgium yields to unresisted fate;
Within her ministers of terror wait:
 Nature, with rod petrific, smites the land,
 And binds the floods in adamantin band,
 Till Gallia's chief, in right of William sways,
 And Freedom, once with life-drops bought, obeys.
 See where, dismember'd, trembling Spain resigns
 Golconda's radiance and Potosi's mines;
 The pillars of the eternal city bow,
 And the tiara from the pontiff's brow
 Drops to the dust; no more in Peter's fane
 The consistorial brotherhood shall reign.
 Yet see: the turban nods, by factions torn;
 A length'ning, sad, and fullen sound is borne
 Around Sophia's hallow'd conscious walls,
 Mutt'ring the doom denounc'd; her crescent falls.
 Still view, in western climes, Death's palest horse
 With pestilence and slaughter marks his course;
 While dusky tribes, with more than maniac rage,
 Rending their brazen bonds, in war engage;
 For France still burns to make, with dire intent,
 Hell and this world one realm, one continent.

Yet once attend, great Brunswick, nor in vain
 Hear thy imperial brother's closing strain;
 Thee from thy people may no thought divide?
 The statesman's rashness, or reformer's pride;
 Reason, and her fond virtues, still distrust;
 What but experience makes a kingdom just?
 Fix'd on her ancient base, let England rest,
 And public danger arm the public breast;
 On British sense depend. On foreign same
 To proud Versailles the fatal stranger came,
 New law, new policy, new truth to tell;
 And by new maxims the vast fabric fell.
 Oh, should this nation slight her just alarms,
 Nor Gallic truths dread more than Gallic arms,

Thy diadem must fade ; the Tyrian dye
 Sink in the scarlet of democracy :
 All dignities of brighter times will fail ;
 No wisdom o'er the midnight-lamp grow pale,
 But knowledge, fancy, genius, all retire,
 And, faint and death-struck, learning will expire.
 Look round the world, there nothing shall be found
 But swords to guard, and ploughs to till, the ground.
 — Though *now* awhile, beneath the afflictive rod,
 Supernal power, may bid thy Albion nod,
 Humbl'd in due prostration may she bend,
 And her far-fam'd beneficence extend ;
 Then, all her ancient energies, erect,
 Strength from herself and from her God expect,
 And, on her rocky ramparts bold, alone
 Maintain *her* laws, and vindicate *thy* throne.

ODE to APOLLO. *From the New Edition of Cowper's Poems.*

On an Ink-Glass dried in the Sun.

PATRON of all those luckless brains,
 That, to the wrong side leaning,
 Indite much metre with much pains,
 And little or no meaning.

Ah why, since oceans, rivers, streams,
 That water all the nations,
 Pay tribute to thy glorious beams,
 In constant exhalations ;

— Why, stooping from the noon of day,
 Too covetous of drink,
 Apollo, hast thou stol'n away
 A poet's drop of ink ?

Upborne into the viewless air,
 It floats a vapour now,
 Impell'd through regions dense and rare,
 By all the winds that blow.

Ordain'd, perhaps, ere summer flies,
 (Combin'd with millions more)
 To form an iris in the skies,
 Though black and foul before.

Illustrious drop! and happy then
 Beyond the happiest lot
 Of all that ever pass'd my pen,
 So soon to be forgot!

Phæbus, if such be thy design,
 To place it in thy bow,
 Give wit, that what is left may shine
 With equal grace below.

VERSES *to a Friend on his Marriage.* By Mr. Rogers.

ON thee, blest youth! a father's hand confers
 The maid thy earliest, fondest wishes knew.
 Each soft enchantment of the soul is hers;
 Thine be the joys to firm attachment due.

As on she moves, with hesitating grace,
 She wins assurance from his soothing voice;
 And, with a look the pencil could not trace,
 Smiles through her blushes, and confirms the choice.

Spare the fine tremors of her feeling frame!
 To thee she turns—forgive a virgin's fears!
 To thee she turns with surest, tenderest claim;
 Weakness that charms, reluctance that endears!

At each response the sacred rite requires,
 From her full bosom bursts the unbidden sigh;
 A strange mysterious awe the scene inspires;
 And on her lips the trembling accents die.

O'er her fair face what wild emotions play!
 What lights and shades in sweet confusion blend!
 Soon shall they fly! glad harbingers of day,
 And settl'd sunshine on her soul descend!

Ah soon, thine own confess, extatic thought!
 That hand shall strew each stinty path with flowers;
 And thoe blue eyes, with mildest lustre fraught,
 Gild the calm current of domestic hours!

ELEGIAC BALLAD, *on an Act of Parliament relating to Marriages.*
 By Sir William Temple.

WAKE, all you dead! what ho! what ho!
 How soundly they sleep whose pillows lie low!

They

They mind not poor lovers, walking above,
On the decks of the world, in the storms of love.

No whisper, there, no glance, can pass,
Through wickets, or through panes of glass;
For the windows and doors are shut up and barr'd.—
Lie close in the church, and in the church-yard!

In every grave, make room! make room!
The world's at an end! we come! we come!

The state is, now, love's foe, love's foe;
Has seiz'd on his arms, his quiver, and bow;
Has pinion'd his wings, and fetter'd his feet;
Because he made way for lovers to meet.

But, oh! sad chance! the judge was old.
Hearts cruel grow when blood grows cold.
No man, being young, love's process would draw.
Ah! heavens! that love should be subject to law!

Lovers, go woo the dead, the dead!
Lie two in a grave! and to bed, to bed!

ADDRESS *from the Glacier Goddess to Dr. Darwin.* By Miss Williams.

NATIVE of that green isle, where Darwin waves
His magic wand o'er Nature's vernal reign,
Her airy essence, and her central caves,
Her fires electric, and her Nereid train.

Go, tell him, stranger, had his muse explor'd
My realms, new marvels had enchain'd her eye;
Go, tell him, in my sunless fanes are stor'd
Treasures no vulgar glance shall e'er descry.

Ye Nymphs of Fire! around your glowing brows
What lavish wreaths your poet loves to twine!
Know, partial bard! philosophy allows
That one bright chaplet might belong to mine!

Ah, why a vestal to a 'fiend'* transform,
Bid to my sleeps thy glitt'ring bands repair;
Direct, with cruel aim, their arrowy storm,
And change a goddess to the 'northern bear?'

* Botanic Garden, Canto 1st. v. 442.

Stay thy rash steps! my potent hand impels
 The rushing Avalanche to gulphs below!
 I can transfix thee numb'd, in icy cells,
 Or shroud thee in unfathom'd folds of snow!

Come not in hostile garb!—with softer art,
 With dearer power, my yeilding spirit seize,
 Wake thy rich lyre, and melt my gelid heart
 With incense sweeter than the western breeze.

Thy muse shall mount my Lammer-Geyer's wing,
 Pass o'er my untrod heights, with daring course,
 While the cold genii of each new-born spring
 For thee unlock the river's viewless source.

For thee my sylphs, with tender care, shall mark
 The printless pathway of the secret rills;
 And light, with lambent ray, the caverns dark
 Where chemic nature mystic wealth distils.

For thee, my sylphs, in distant lands, shall trace,
 Where, far diffus'd, my vivifying powers
 Awake, ungrateful bard, in blushing grace,
 To life and love, awake my wedded flowers.

For thee,—but ah, my pensive form he flies
 For nymphs of golden rocks, and florid hue!
 No charms have snow-white tints, or azure eyes.
 —She wept, and, folded in a cloud, withdrew.

THE ENTAIL, a Fable. *From the Works of the Earl of Oxford.*

IN a fair summer's radiant morn,
 A butterfly divinely born,
 Whose lineage dated from the mud
 Of Noah's or Deucalion's flood,
 Long hov'ring round a perfum'd lawn,
 By various gusts of odour drawn,
 At last establish'd his repose
 On the rich bosom of a rose.
 The palace pleas'd the lordly guest;
 What insect own'd a prouder nest?
 The dewy leaves luxurious shed
 Their balmy essence o'er his head,
 And with their silken tap'stry fold
 His limbs enthron'd on central gold.

He

He thinks the thorns embattled round
To guard his castle's lovely mound,
And all the bush's wide domain,
Subservient to his fancied reign.

Such ample blessings swell'd the fly !
Yet in his mind's capacious eye
He roll'd the change of mortal things,
To common fate of flies and kings.
With grief he saw how lands and honours
Are apt to slide to various owners ;
Where Mowbrays dwelt how Grocers dwell,
And how cits buy what barons sell.
" Great Phœbus, patriarch of my line,
Avert such shame from sons of thine !
To them confirm these roofs," he said ;
And then he swore an oath so dread,
The stoutest wasp that wears a sword,
Had trembled to have heard the word !
" If law can rivet down entails,
These manors ne'er shall pass to snails. .
I swear"—and then he smote his ermine—
" These tow'rs were never built for vermin."

A Caterpillar grovel'd near,
A subtle slow conveyancer,
Who, summon'd, waddles with his quill
To draw the haughty insect's will.
None but his heirs must own the spot,
Begotten, or to be begot :
Each leaf he binds, each bud he ties
To eggs of eggs of Butterflies.

When lo ! how fortune loves to teaze
Those who would dictate her decrees !
A wanton boy was passing by ;
The wanton child beheld the fly,
And eager ran to seize the prey :
But, too impetuous in his play,
Crush'd the proud tenant of an hour,
And swept away the Mansion Flow'r.

Account of Books for 1798.

An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales; with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To which are added, some Particulars of New Zealand; compiled, by Permission, from the MSS. of Lieutenant-Governor King. By David Collins, Esq. Judge-Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. Illustrated by Engravings. 1798. 4to.

FEW productions more naturally fix the attention of the generality of readers, than a well-written account of the foundation and progress of an infant colony. We are pleased with tracing new modes of life, divested of the forms which a long-established society imposes; and we become interested for those who are destined to encounter the dangers and difficulties, which are inseparable from attempts at introducing civilized establishments in the untrodden desert; or which is traversed only by untutored savages. The establishment of the English colony in New South Wales must have been attended with more than ordinary difficulties, arising from the character of those persons on whose exertions its success was to depend, and from the peculiar circumstances in which the new colonists were placed. Of such dangers

and difficulties, the copious volume before us affords a minute detail, which will, no doubt, be received by the public with that approbation to which the great industry and accuracy of the author entitle it. He has written it in the manner of a journal, comprehending the transactions of each month in their order, and it is brought down from the commencement of the colony in 1788, to the close of the year 1796. It is also illustrated by a chart of the three harbours of Botany Bay; and by twenty-three engravings of views in different parts of the settlement.

Captain Collins went out as judge-advocate, with the first fleet which sailed for New South Wales; and he completed his voyage in eight months and one week. On the 25th of January, 1788, the governor (captain Arthur Phillips) anchored in Port Jackson, the place selected for the settlement.

The spot chosen for this purpose, was at the head of the cove, near a run of fresh water, which stole silently along through a very thick wood, the stillness of which had then, for the first time, since the creation, been interrupted by the rude sound of the labourer's axe, and the downfall of its ancient inhabitants;—a stillness and tranquillity which, from that day, were to give place,

place to the voice of labour, the confusion of camps and towns, and the busy hum of its new possessors.' That these did not bring with them

'Minds not to be changed by time or place,'

was fervently to have been wished; and, if it were possible, that on taking possession of nature, as we had thus done, in her simplest, purest garb, we might not sully that purity by the introduction of vice, profaneness, and immorality. But this, though much to be wished, was little to be expected; the habits of youth are not easily laid aside, and the utmost we could hope in our present situation was to oppose the soft harmonising arts of peace and civilization to the baneful influence of vice and immorality.

In the evening of this day the whole of the party that came round in the Supply were assembled at the point where they had first landed in the morning, and on which a flag-staff had been purposely erected and an union jack displayed, when the marines fired several volleys; between which the governor and the officers who accompanied him drank the healths of his majesty and the royal family, and success to the new colony. The day, which had been uncommonly fine, concluded with the safe arrival of the Sirius, and the convoy from Botany Bay,—thus terminating the voyage with the same good fortune that had from its commencement been so conspicuously their friend and companion.

The disembarkation of the troops and convicts took place from the following day until the whole were landed. The confusion that ensued will not be wondered at, when it is

considered, that every man stepped from the boat literally into a wood. Parties of people were every where heard and seen variously employed; some in clearing ground for the different encampments; others in pitching tents, or bringing up such stores as were more immediately wanted; and the spot which had so lately been the abode of silence and tranquillity, was now changed to that of noise, clamour, and confusion; but after a time order gradually prevailed every where. As the woods were opened, and the ground cleared, the various encampments were extended, and all wore the appearance of regularity.

The public stock, consisting of one bull, four cows, one bull-calf, one stallion, three mares, and three colts (one of which was a stone-colt) were landed on the east point of the cove, where they remained until they had cropped the little pasturage it afforded; and were then removed to a spot at the head of the adjoining cove, that was cleared for a small farm, intended to be placed under the direction of a person brought out by the governor.

As soon as the hurry and tumult necessarily attending the disembarkation had a little subsided, the governor caused his majesty's commission, appointing him to be his captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, to be publicly read, together with the letters patent for establishing the courts of civil and criminal judicature in the territory; the extent of which, until this publication of it, was but little known even among ourselves. It was now found to extend from Cape York (the extremity of the coast to the northward),

ward), in the latitude of 20 deg. 37 min. south, to the South Cape (the southern extremity of the coast), in the latitude of 43 deg. 39 min. south; and inland to the westward, as far as 135 degrees of east longitude, comprehending all the islands adjacent in the Pacific ocean, within the latitudes of the above-mentioned capes.

The thefts and other enormities committed by the convicts almost immediately on their being landed, soon shewed a necessity for establishing courts of judicature; the constitutions and functions of which are particularly described by our author, who held the appointment of judge-advocate of the settlement, and had also a warrant from the admiralty constituting him judge-advocate to the marine detachment.

About the middle of February Lieut. King, of the *Sirius*, was sent off to Norfolk Island, where a settlement was to be formed, of which he was appointed superintendant and commandant.

The convicts at Sydney were now actively employed (by task-work) in clearing ground, and erecting buildings of various descriptions, and for sundry uses, among which was an observatory.

The latitude of the observatory was 33 deg. 52 min. 30 sec. S.

The longitude, from Greenwich, 151 deg. 19 min. 30 sec. E.

Governor Phillips, having been very much pressed for time when he first visited this harbour, had not thoroughly examined it. The completion of that necessary business was left to captain Hunter, who, with the first lieutenant of the *Sirius*, early in the month of February, made an accurate survey of it. It was then found to be far more ex-

tensive to the westward than was at first imagined, and captain Hunter described the country as wearing a much more favourable countenance toward the head or upper part, than it did immediately about the settlement. He saw several parties of the natives, and, treating them constantly with good humour, they always left him with friendly impressions.

It was natural to suppose that the curiosity of these people would be attracted by observing, that, instead of quitting, we were occupied in works that indicated an intention of remaining in their country; but during the first six weeks we received only one visit, two men strolling into the camp one evening, and remaining in it for about half an hour. They appeared to admire whatever they saw, and, after receiving each a hatchet (of the use of which the eldest instantly and curiously shewed his knowledge, by turning up his foot, and sharpening a piece of wood on the sole with the hatchet), took their leave, apparently well pleased with their reception. The fishing boats also frequently reported their having been visited by many of those people when hauling the seine, at which labour they often assisted with cheerfulness, and in return were generally rewarded with part of the fish taken.

Every precaution was used to guard against a breach of this friendly and desirable intercourse, by strictly prohibiting every person from depriving them of their spears, fozzigs, gum, or other articles, which we soon perceived they were accustomed to leave under the rocks, or loose and scattered about upon the beaches. We had, however,

great

great reason to believe, that these precautions were first rendered fruitless by the ill conduct of a boat's crew, belonging to one of the transports, who, we were told afterwards, attempted to land in one of the coves at the lower part of the harbour, but were prevented, and driven off with stones by the natives. A party of them, consisting of sixteen or eighteen persons, some time after landed on the island * where the people of the *Sirius* were preparing a garden, and with much artifice, watching their opportunity, carried off a shovel, a spade, and a pick-axe. On their being fired at, and hit on the legs by one of the people with small shot, the pick-axe was dropped, but they carried off the other tools.

To such circumstances as these must be attributed the termination of that good understanding which had hitherto subsisted between us and them, and which governor Phillips laboured to improve whenever he had an opportunity. But it might have been foreseen that this would unavoidably happen: the convicts were every where straggling about, collecting animals and gum to sell to the people of the transports, who at the same time were procuring spears, shields, swords, fishing-lines, and other articles, from the natives, to carry to Europe; the loss of which must have been attended with many inconveniences to the owners, as it was soon evident that they were the only means whereby they obtained or could procure their daily subsistence; and although some of these people had been punished for purchasing articles of the convicts, the

practice was carried on secretly, and attended with all the bad effects which were to be expected from it. We also had the mortification to learn, that M. De la Peyrouse had been compelled to fire upon the natives, at Botany Bay, where they frequently annoyed his people who were employed on shore. This circumstance materially affected us, as those who had rendered this violence necessary, could not discriminate between us and them. We were, however, perfectly convinced that nothing short of the greatest necessity could have induced M. De la Peyrouse to take such a step, as we heard him declare, that it was among the particular instructions that he received from his sovereign, to endeavour, by every possible means, to acquire and cultivate the friendship of the natives of such places as he might discover or visit; and to avoid exercising any act of hostility upon them. In obedience to this humane command, there was no doubt but he forebore using force until forbearance would have been dangerous; and he had been taught a lesson at Maonui, one of the *Isles des Navigateurs*, that the tempers of savages were not to be trusted too far; for we were informed, that on the very day and hour of their departure from that island, the boats of the two ships, which were sent for a last load of water, were attacked by the natives with stones and clubs, and M. De l'Angle, the captain of the *Astrolabe*, with eleven officers and men, were put to death; those who were so fortunate as to get off in the small boats that attended on the watering launches (which were destroyed)

* Since known by the name of Garden Island.

escaped with many wounds and contusions, some of which were not healed at the time of their relating to us this unfortunate circumstance. It was conjectured, that some one of the seamen, unknown to the officers, must have occasioned this outrage, for which there was no other probable reason to assign, as the natives, during the time the ships were at the island, had lived with the officers and people on terms of the greatest harmony. And this was not the first misfortune that those ships had met with during their voyage; for on the north-west coast of America they lost two boats with their crews, and several young men of family, in a furl.

We have now seen our countrymen fairly settled in their new domain, and shall therefore content ourselves in the remainder of our account of the present volume, merely to notice a few of the most remarkable transactions. The work is far too copious to admit of any satisfactory analysis, that could possibly be brought within the limits of our account.

The most striking parts of the narrative for some time are composed of contests with the natives, in which many of the convicts were wounded, and some lost their lives; but the captain seems to be of opinion, that the provocation was generally given by our people. The frequent offences and punishment of the convicts also occupy much of the narrative.

In November a new settlement was established at the head of the harbour of Port Jackson, and named Rose-Hill.

To a large bay on the north shore, contiguous to Sydney Cove, go-

vernor Phillips gave the name of Neutral Bay.

Early in the month of April, 1789, and throughout its continuance, the people whose business called them down the harbour daily reported, that they found, either in excavations of the rock, or lying upon the beaches and points of the different coves which they had been in, the bodies of many of the wretched natives of this country. The cause of this mortality remained unknown until a family was brought up, and the disorder pronounced to have been the small-pox. It was not a desirable circumstance to introduce a disorder into the colony, which was raging with such fatal violence among the natives of the country; but the saving the lives of any of these people was an object of no small importance, as the knowledge of our humanity, and the benefits which we might render them, would, it was hoped, do away the evil impressions they had received of us. Two elderly men, a boy, and a girl, were brought up, and placed in a separate hut at the hospital. The men were too far overcome by the disease to get the better of it; but the children did well from the moment of their coming among us. From the native who resided with us, we understand that many families had been swept off by this scourge, and that others, to avoid it, had fled into the interior parts of the country. Whether it had ever appeared among them before could not be discovered, either from him or from the children; but it was certain that they gave it a name (gal-gal-la); a circumstance which seemed to indicate a pre-acquaintance with it.

Of

Of the native boy and girl, who had been recovered from the small-pox, the latter was taken to live with the clergyman's wife, and the boy with Mr. White, the surgeon, to whom, for his attention during his cure, he seemed to be much attached.

While the eruptions of this disorder continued upon the children, a seaman belonging to the Supply, a native of North America, having been seen to see them, was seized with it, and soon after died; but its baneful effects were not experienced by any white person of the settlement, although there were several very young children in it at the time.

From the first hour of the introduction of the boy and girl into the settlement, it was feared that the native who had been so instrumental in bringing them in, and whose attention to them during their illness excited the admiration of every one that witnessed it, would be attacked by the same disorder; as on his person were found some of those traces of its ravages which are frequently left behind. It happened as the fears of every one predicted; he fell a victim to the disease, in eight days after he was seized with it, to the great regret of every one who had witnessed how little of the savage was found in his manner, and how quickly he was substituting in its place a docile, affable, and truly amiable deportment.

The frequent reduction of the rations, mentioned in this work, owing to scarcity of provisions, affords the mind of the reader a topic subject for contemplation. In the first five or six years of the colony, we often find the inhabi-

tants reduced to such an allowance of food as was barely sufficient to keep soul and body together; and, from the failure, by accident or other causes, of arrivals from England, the continuance even of that scanty allowance for a week longer was sometimes doubtful. Added to the inadequacy of the supply for fair consumption, great havoc was at some times made in the stores by armies of rats, and at others by the depredations of the slothful and dishonest.

Among the most striking traits in the conduct of this settlement, we observe the attention of governor Phillips to the morals and manner of the convicts: the promptitude with which he always cherished and rewarded the smallest advances towards reformation; and with what difficulty he brought himself to sanction capital punishments, where repentance, or probability of amendment, could be discerned. His benevolence shewed itself in a thousand instances, but perhaps in none more clearly than in times of scarcity: on one occasion, we find that he gave up 3 cwt. of flour, his private property, declaring, that he wished not to see any thing more at his table than the ration which was received in common from the public store, without any distinction of persons; and to this resolution he rigidly adhered, "wishing (as capt. Collins says) that if a convict complained, he might see that want was not unfelt even at Government-house."

On the 20th of April, 1790, the ration issued from the public store to each man for seven days, or to seven people for one day, was two pounds and a half of flour, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of pork;

pork; the two pounds of pork, when boiled, from the length of time it had been in store, shrunk away to nothing; and, when divided among seven people for their day's sustenance, barely afforded three or four morsels to each. What a ration for a labouring man! The inevitable consequences of this scarcity of provisions ensued: labour stood nearly suspended, for want of energy to proceed; and the countenances of the people plainly bespoke the hardships they underwent. A female convict, coming from Rose-Hill was robbed of her week's provisions; and, as it was impossible to replace them from the public store, she was left to subsist on what she could obtain from the bounty of others, who, though almost famish'd themselves, commiserated her situation.

Another female convict occasioned her own death, by overloading her stomach with flour and greens, of which she made a mess during the day, and ate heartily; but, not being satisfied, she rose in the night, eagerly finished it, and died in consequence.

On the 12th of May, a man dropped down at the store, whither he had repaired with others to receive his day's subsistence. Fainting with hunger, he was carried to the hospital, where he died the next morning. On being opened, his stomach was found quite empty. It appeared, that not having any utensil of his own wherein to cook his provisions, nor a share in any, he was frequently compelled, short as his allowance for the day was, to give a part of it to any one who would supply him with a vessel to dress his victuals; and at those times when he did not choose to

afford this deduction, he was accustomed to eat his rice and other provisions undressed, which brought on indigestion, and at length killed him.

On the 7th of September, governor Phillips was wounded by one of the natives, who, in a conference, mistook the intentions of the governor. The latter, meaning to take particular notice of this man, stepped forward to meet him, holding out both his hands. The savage, not understanding this civility, and perhaps thinking that he was going to seize him as a prisoner, lifted a spear from the grass with his foot, and fixing it on his throwing-stick, in an instant darted it at the governor. The spear entered a little above the collar-bone, and had been discharged with such force, that the barb of it came through on the other side. Fortunately, we find that the spear being extracted, his excellency was only temporarily disordered by the accident.

On the 3d of November, 1792, three warrants of emancipation passed the seal of the territory; one of which was in favour of a man whose name will be familiar to most of our readers; a man who, our author tells us, "whatever might have been his conduct when at large in society, had here not only demeaned himself with the strictest propriety, but had rendered essential services to the colony—George Barrington. He came out in the *Active*; on his arrival, the governor employed him at Toongabba, and in a situation which was likely to attract the envy and hatred of the convicts, in proportion as he might be vigilant and inflexible. He was first placed as a subordinate, and shortly after as a principal

al watchman; in which situation e was diligent, sober, and impartial; and had rendered himself so eminently serviceable, that the governor resolved to draw him from the line of convicts; and, with the instrument of his emancipation, he received a grant of thirty acres of land, in an eligible situation near Parramatta.* Here was not only a reward for past good conduct, but an incitement to a continuance of it; and Barrington found himself, through the governor's liberality, though not so absolutely free as to return to England at his own pleasure, yet enjoying the immunities of a free man, a settler, and a civil officer, in whose integrity much confidence was placed."

On the 11th of December, in the same year, governor Phillips quitted the island, in the Atlantic transport, for England, and the care of the settlement devolved on Francis Grose, esq. as lieutenant-governor.

This gentleman left the settlement on the 15th of November, 1794; and the direction of the colony was assumed, *pro tempore*, by the officer highest in rank then on service there, captain William Patterson, of the New South Wales corps.

Governor Hunter arrived in the *Reliance*, on the 7th of September, 1795, and took on him the government-in-chief of the settlement on the 11th of the same month.

Many of our readers will recollect, that when governor Phillips returned to England he was accompanied by two natives of New South Wales; their names, we find, were Ben-nil-long and Yem-me-ra-

wan-nie; "two men (says our author) who were much attached to his person, and who withstood, at the moment of their departure, the distress of their wives, and the dismal lamentation of their friends."

Of the former of those natives, we find a very neatly engraved portrait: and on this man's return to his own country, in company with governor Hunter, captain Collins makes the following remarks:

"On his first appearance, he conducted himself with a polished familiarity toward his sisters and other relations; but to his acquaintance he was distant, and quite the man of consequence. He declared, in a tone and with an air that seemed to expect compliance, that he should no longer suffer them to fight, and cut each other's throats, as they had done; that he should introduce peace among them, and make them love each other. He expressed his wish, that when they visited him at Government-house they would contrive to be somewhat more cleanly in their persons, and less coarse in their manners; and he seemed absolutely offended at some little indelicacies which he observed in his sister Car-rang-ar-rang, who came in such haste from Botany-Bay, with a little nephew on her back, to visit him, that she left all her habiliments behind her.

"Ben-nil-long had certainly not been an inattentive observer of the manners of the people among whom he had lived; he conducted himself with the greatest propriety at table, particularly in the observance of those attentions which are chiefly requisite in the presence of

* "He was afterwards sworn in as a peace-officer."

women. His dress appeared to be an object of no small concern with him; and every one who knew him before he left the country, and who saw him now, pronounced, without hesitation, that Ben-nil-long had not any desire to renounce the habits and comforts of the civilized life which he appeared so readily and so successfully to adopt.

"His inquiries were directed, immediately on his arrival, after his wife, Go-roo-bar-roo-bool-lo; and her he found with Caruey. On producing a very fashionable rose-coloured petticoat and jacket, made of a coarse stuff, accompanied with a gypsey bonnet of the same colour, she deserted her lover, and followed her former husband. In a few days, however, to the surprize of every one, we saw the lady walking unincumbered with clothing of any kind, and Ben-nil-long was missing. Caruey was sought for; and we heard that he had been severely beaten at Rose Bay by Ben-nil-long, who retained so much of our customs, that he made use of his fists instead of the weapons of his country, to the great annoyance of Caruey, who would have preferred meeting his rival fairly in the field, armed with the spear and the club. Caruey being much the younger man, the lady, every inch a woman, followed her inclination, and Ben-nil-long was compelled to yield her without any farther opposition. He seemed to have been satisfied with the beating he had given Caruey, and hinted that, resting for the present without a

wife, he should look about him, and at some future period make a better choice.

"His absences from the governor's house now became frequent, and little attended to. When he went out, he usually left his clothes behind, resuming them carefully on his return, before he made his visit to the governor."

In January, 1796, "some of the more decent class of prisoners, male and female, having some time since obtained permission to prepare a play-house* at Sidney, it was opened on Saturday, the 16th, under the management of John Sparrow, with the play of *The Revenge*, and the entertainment of *The Hotel*. They had fitted up the house with more theatrical propriety than could have been expected, and their performance was far above contempt. Their motto was modest and well chosen — "We cannot command success, but will endeavour to deserve it." Of their dresses, the greater part was made by themselves; but we understood that some veteran articles from the York theatre were among the best that made their appearance.

"At the licensing of this exhibition they were informed, that the slightest impropriety would be noticed, and a repetition punished by the banishment of their company to the other settlements: there was, however, more danger of improprieties being committed by some of the audience than by the players themselves. A seat in their gallery, which was by far the largest

* "The building cost upwards of one hundred pounds. The names of the principal performers were, H. Green, Sparrow (the manager), William Fowkes, G. H. Hughes, William Chapman, and Mrs. Davis. Of the men, Green best deserved to be called an actor."

place in the house, as likely to be the most resorted to, was to be procured for one shilling. In the payment of this price for admission, one evil was observable, which in fact could not well be prevented; in lieu of a shilling, as much flour, or as much meat or spirits, as the manager would take for that sum, was often paid at the gallery door. It was feared that this, like gambling, would furnish another inducement to rob; and some of the worst of the convicts, ever on the watch for opportunities, looked on the play-house as a certain harvest for them, not by picking the pockets of the audience of their purses or their watches, but by breaking into their houses while the whole family might be enjoying themselves in the gallery. This actually happened on the second night of their playing."

In March, 1796, we hear again of Ben-nil-long, who occasionally shook off the habits of civilized life, and in native nudity went for a few days into the woods with his friends. "He now sent in word, that he had had a contest with his bosom friend, Cole-be, in which he had been so much the sufferer, that until his wounds were healed he could not with any pleasure to himself appear at the governor's table. This notification was accompanied with a request, that his clothes, which he had left behind him when he went away, might be sent him, together with some victuals, of which he was much in want.

"On his coming among us again, he appeared with a wound on his mouth, which had divided the upper lip, and broke two of the teeth of that jaw. His features, never very pleasing, now seemed out of

all proportion, and his pronunciation was much altered. Finding himself badly received among the females (although improved, by his travels, in the little attentions that are supposed to have their weight with the sex), and not being able to endure a life of celibacy, which had been his condition from the day of his departure from this country until nearly the present hour, he made an attack upon his friend's favourite, Boo-re-a, in which he was not only unsuccessful, but was punished for his breach of friendship, as above related, by Cole-be, who sarcastically asked him, "if he meant that kind of conduct to be a specimen of English manners?"

On the 29th of September, 1796, our author left Port Jackson, for England, and his journal concludes with the following paragraph:

"The account of the English colony of New South Wales must here be closed, for a time, the writer being embarked in the *Britannia*, on his return to England. On reviewing the pages he has written, the question involuntarily arises in his mind, In what other colony, under the British government, has a narrator of its annals had such circumstances to record? No other colony was ever established under such circumstances. He has, it is true, occasionally had the gratification of recording the return of principle in some, whose want of that ingredient, so necessary to society, had sent them thither; but it has oftener been his task to show the predilection for immorality, perseverance in dissipation, and inveterate propensity to vice, which prevailed in many others. The difficulty, under such disadvantages, of establishing the blessings of a regular

lar and civil government must have occurred to every well-informed mind that has reflected on our situation. The duties of a governor, of a judge-advocate, and of other magistrates and civil officers, could not be compared with those in other countries. From the disposition to crimes, and the incorrigible characters of the major part of the colonists, an odium was, from the first, illiberally thrown upon the settlement; and the word "Botany Bay" became a term of reproach that was indiscriminately cast on every one who resided in New South Wales. But let the reproach light on those who have used it as such. These pages were written to demonstrate, that the bread of government has not been eaten in idleness by its different officers; and that if the honour of having deserved well of one's country be attainable by sacrificing a good name, domestic comforts, and dearest connections, in her service, the officers of this settlement have justly merited that distinction."

The next article in the volume presents us with the particulars of the state of Norfolk Island, drawn up from the papers of lieutenant-governor King; to which is added, some account of New Zealand, comprizing much curious and useful information.

To readers in general our author's copious Appendix will probably be the most interesting part of his work. He seems to have thought it expedient to keep his remarks on the habits, customs, &c. of the natives, unmixed with the transactions of the English settlers; and, in our opinion with great judgement, has reserved what pe-

culiarly regarded the islanders for a separate discussion.

The Appendix is divided into twelve parts, which treat of, 1. Government and Religion; 2. Stature and Appearance; 3. Habitations; 4. Mode of Living; 5. Courtship and Marriage; 6. Customs and Manners; 7. Superstition; 8. Diseases; 9. Property; 10. Dispositions; 11. Funeral Ceremonies; and 12. Language.

Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford; with original Correspondence, and authentic Papers, never before published; by William Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. F. A. S. 4to. 3 vol. 1798.

IT can scarcely be necessary for us to make any general or introductory remarks on the subject of these volumes. The importance of the period, of which they elucidate the history, is sufficiently obvious; and its near approximation to our own times renders any authentic documents respecting it more than usually interesting. In regard to the author of the work, also, he is so generally known in the literary world, and his reputation is so well established, that we need only observe that this publication will procure for him additional fame, on account of the industry and abilities which it exemplifies.

The first of these volumes, consisting of nearly 800 pages, contains the memoirs, and the two other volumes contain the papers and correspondence. The main subject of the work, comprehending Walpole's life of 69 years, and his

is administration of 27, is divided, by Mr. Coxe, into the following eight periods.—From his birth to the accession of George I. 1676-714.—Thence to the commencement of the South-Sea scheme in 720.—Thence to the death of George I. in 1727.—From the accession of George II. to the resignation of lord Townshend, 1727-730.—Thence to the dissolution of the parliament in 1734.—Thence to the death of queen Caroline in 1737.—Thence to the resignation of sir Robert Walpole in 1742; and thence to his death in 1745. The letters and other documents contained in the second and third volumes are, also, for the facility of reference, divided into eight periods;—applying to the subjects of the corresponding periods in the narrative.

In a prefatory explanation of the circumstances which led him to this undertaking, Mr. Coxe makes a full display of the ample unpublished materials which have enabled him, in treating the reigns of the first and second kings of the house of Hanover, to trace motives of action unknown to former historians, and to place, in a new light, the foreign and domestic transactions of the cabinet. The papers belonging to the different branches of the Walpole and Townshend families naturally make the principal figure in the list; but, anxious to hear those who opposed, as well as those who supported, the measures of sir Robert, Mr. Coxe applied for and obtained communications of the Stanhope, Middleton, Melcombe, and Egremont papers. These he has printed as he has found them, not omitting a single invective, but leaving the reader to judge be-

tween the partial calogiums of Hervey and the acrimonious reproaches of Bolingbroke.

Of printed authorities, Mr. Coxe says that he has principally consulted Tindal's, or rather Birch's continuation of Rapin. He regards Smollett as a careless or partial writer, who appears never to have examined the journals, and but superficially to have perused the parliamentary debates. Belsham he thinks a copyist of Smollett as to facts; although differing from him in speculations. Mr. Coxe has not relied on either as an authority.

In examining the Walpole and Orford papers, the author finds convincing proof of the authenticity and general accuracy of Chandler's parliamentary proceedings. From the year 1735, the speeches in parliament were given in the Gentleman's Magazine, by Guthrie, and in the London Magazine, by Gordon, both of whom constantly attended in the gallery of the house, and received information from members. From the year 1740, many of the debates in the Gentleman's Magazine were written by Dr. Johnson. His biographers, prone to credulity and wonder, have represented these speeches as fictitious; and Johnson is said to have confessed that they were chiefly the work of his own imagination: but the truth is, as Mr. Coxe asserts, that 'Johnson constantly received notes and heads of the speeches from persons employed by Cave, and particularly from Guthrie.'—'The present bishop of Salisbury,' adds Mr. Coxe, 'recollects that he has seen several of these notes, which Guthrie communicated to him on the very day on which he obtained them.'

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Of this vast mass of materials, printed and in manuscript, the author appears to us to have made a very judicious use. Walpole's speeches in parliament indeed, as well as those of his opponents, are given at greater length than is warranted by the example of the best modern historians; but it must be remembered, that the present memoirs are intended not merely to relate the general history of sir Robert's administration, but to display the character of the man; his prudence, his sagacity, his passionate love of peace, and his unwearied exertions, both in and out of parliament, for preserving that inestimable blessing. In the observation, therefore, stigmatising Thucydides, that "in his work more is said than done," be, in some measure, applicable to Mr. Coxe, let it not be forgotten, that the latter is also deserving of a place among those whom the Greeks distinguished as pragmatic historians; chiefly because the speeches, interwoven in their narratives, exhibited the practice, as well as the theory, of public business; illustrated the conduct of parties; explained the obstacles which lay in the way of great designs; and exemplified the manner in which those obstacles might be encountered and surmounted.

The first period of the history is from the year 1676 to 1714, which includes an account of lord Orford's family. He was the eighteenth male, in a lineal descent from the conquest, of a respectable family, which took its surname from the town of Walpole, in Norfolk. He was the third son of Robert Walpole, esq. and was born the 26th of August, 1676, at Boughton. He received the first rudiments of

learning at a private seminary at Massingham, in Norfolk, and completed his education on the foundation at Eton. On the 22d of April, 1696, he was admitted a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, but resigned his scholarship on the 25th of May, 1698, on becoming the heir of his father's estate, by the death of his elder brother. On leaving the university he returned home, and addicted himself to pursuits which had no reference to learning or politics. On the 30th of July, 1700, he married the daughter of sir John Shorter, lord mayor of London, a woman of exquisite beauty and accomplished manners; and the amusements of London succeeded the more active employments of the country. Soon after his marriage his father died, and he inherited the family estate, the rent-roll of which exceeded 2000*l.* a year.

On the death of his father he was elected member for Castle Rising, and sat for that borough in the two short parliaments, which assembled in the two last years of the reign of king William. He soon became an active member, particularly in what respected the county of Norfolk, and joined himself to the whig party, to which he adhered during life. On the accession of queen Anne he was again returned for Castle Rising, which he represented until he was advanced to the peerage. He now became a conspicuous figure in the house of commons, and was noticed by lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough. In 1705 he, with several of the whig party, was brought into office as one of the council to prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral of England. In the year 1705 he

he was instrumental in reconciling lord Godolphin to the whigs, and in 1708 succeeded sir John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, as secretary at war, on the recommendation of the duke of Marlborough. On the decease of sir Thomas Lyttleton he was appointed treasurer of the navy, which office, for a short time, he held with that of secretary at war.

In 1710 he was a manager for the impeachment of Sacheverel, and principally conducted that imprudent business in the house of commons. The event of this trial was different from what was expected, and the ministry, in consequence of intrigues and cabals, was soon after dismissed. Mr. Walpole might have continued in his office, to which he was solicited by Harley; but he rejected every advance made to him, and treated with contempt the threats thrown out against him. So unwilling was the new ministry to come to hostilities with him, that he was suffered to continue in his post of treasurer of the navy several months after his friends were completely dismissed.

His opposition to the new ministry was so violent and determined, that it was thought advisable to silence him by any means whatever; and Bromley, a tory member, declared, that his expulsion was the *unum necessarium*, as they could not carry on the business, if he was suffered to continue in the house. "It is no wonder, therefore," says Mr. Coxe, "that his enemies, who could command a majority, should find a plausible pretext. The commissioners of public accounts laid a charge of venality and corruption against him for forage contracts in Scotland, while

he was secretary at war. They accused him of having taken in two contracts, two notes of hand, one for 500 guineas, the other for 500*l*. the first of which had been paid, and a receipt given in his name, and of the other 400*l*. was paid. It appeared, on examination of the witnesses on oath, that the contractors, rather than admit into their partnership Robert Mann, agent for Walpole, who, according to the tenor of the original agreement, reserved a share for a friend to have the benefit of a fifth part, if not redeemed by the contractors with a sum of money, had preferred paying the 500 guineas and 500*l*. and that Mann had received the money for the first note, and had obtained the second note as a deposit for the sum specified to be paid.

In consequence of these reports, Walpole was heard in his own defence, though no particulars of his speech are preserved in the proceedings of parliament: after he had withdrawn, a warm debate took place, which lasted till past ten at night. His friends, on this occasion, supported him with so much zeal, that the house was divided four times in the same sitting; and the ministers, who carried all political questions in this session with only a trifling opposition, gained the motions for his condemnation and expulsion by small majorities. On the first division, in which Pultney (then his intimate friend, afterwards his most bitter opponent) was teller, to leave out the words "and notorious corruption," was negatived by a majority of 52. The main question passed in the affirmative by 57. The motion for committing him to the Tower by

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only 12; and his expulsion was decreed by 22. These small majorities sufficiently prove, either that Walpole possessed great personal influence in the house; or, that many of the tories considered his accusation a scandalous prosecution, and would not give their votes against him. The house, however, resolved, "That Robert Walpole, esquire, was guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption; that he should be committed prisoner to the Tower of London;" and on a subsequent motion, which was carried only by a majority of 20 votes, "That he should be expelled."

On the next morning, Walpole surrendered himself a prisoner, and was committed to the Tower. It was expected that he would have petitioned, and submitted himself to the censure of the house; but he refused making any concession, which would imply a consciousness of guilt, and he therefore remained a prisoner until the prorogation of parliament. In the mean time, a new writ being issued for Lynn, he was re-elected for that borough; but a petition being preferred against the return by Samuel Taylor, the opposing candidate, the commons resolved, "that, having been expelled this house for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption, when secretary at war, he was incapable of being re-elected a member to serve in the present parliament."

While he remained a prisoner, he was considered as a martyr to the cause of the whigs, and repeatedly visited by persons of the highest distinction and abilities; particularly by the duke and duchess of Marlborough, Godolphin, Sunderland,

Somers, and Pultney, and his apartment exhibited the appearance of a crowded levee.

During his confinement he had sufficient leisure to compose a clear and judicious vindication of himself, which was published under the title of "The Case of Mr. Walpole, in a Letter from a Tory Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country." In this masterly defence he fully justifies himself, and appeals to evidence taken upon oath, from the two principal charges,—high breach of trust, and notorious corruption.

The session was prolonged beyond the usual time for the purpose of retaining him in prison, from whence he was not released until the 8th of July, 1713. The remainder of this first period of his life was employed in writing, and otherwise opposing the ministry, in every way which offered itself.

The second period commences with the accession of George I. in 1714, and ends with the commencement of the South-Sea scheme in 1720. On the elevation of the new sovereign, the whigs immediately expelled their opponents, and took their places, and Mr. Walpole was appointed paymaster of the forces. The minister, who at this period took the lead, was Charles, viscount Townsend.

With this minister Mr. Walpole acted for two years, and, during that busy period, was very active against the ministers of the four last years of queen Anne. He drew up the report of the secret committee, was the chief manager of the impeachments, and, on the 11th of October, 1715, was appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

in the year 1716, the famous septennial bill was passed; a measure which appears to have had the approbation of the great lord Somers. The remainder of the time of the administration of lord Townsend was filled up with the intrigues of the duchess of Kendal, and some Germans, who came over with the king, and acted with intolerable rapacity. A coolness and difference of opinion soon took place between Walpole and Townsend, which ended in the dismissal of the latter.

The dismissal of lord Townsend created some discontent, and alarmed his opponents, who prevailed on him to accept the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, but without procuring from him any cordial support, and he was soon afterwards dismissed from his situation. On his event sir Robert Walpole resigned, and this was followed by an almost total change in the administration. The resigners immediately became oppositionists, and by his eloquence and influence the peerage-bill, a measure supported by the court, was rejected.

The third period of Mr. Coxe's Memoirs is from the year 1720 to 1727, and includes the history of the rise and progress of the South-Sea scheme, which occasioned so much ruin and confusion in the kingdom. In the settling this business sir Robert Walpole was an active agent, and, in the progress of it, again came into administration as paymaster of the forces. His conduct at this important crisis was moderate, firm, and conciliating, and his consequence was universally admitted by all parties. On the death of earl Stanhope, and the accusation of Sunderland, the re-establish-

ment of Townsend and Walpole took place; the former as secretary of state, and the latter as first lord of the treasury. The king appears to have had so firm a reliance on sir Robert, that, on an attempt to remove him, he declared, he had once parted with him against his inclination, but that he would never part with him again so long as he was willing to serve him. In this period Atterbury's plot occurred, of which a distinct account is given. In 1724, sir Robert Walpole was created a knight of the bath, and in 1726 was installed a knight of the garter. The intrigues of the court during this time are minutely detailed, and the return of lord Bolingbroke, and his efforts to supplant his antagonist, the minister, form not the least interesting part of this work. These are followed by an accurate report of the proceedings relative to Wood's halfpence, the simple narrative of which, stripped of the exaggerated dress in which the malignant wit of Swift has invested it, is reduced to a short compass.

The remainder of this period is employed in relating the tumults in Scotland, the treaties of Vienna and Hanover, and their consequences; the cabals of the duchess of Kendal and lord Bolingbroke to remove Walpole, with the death of the king.

The fourth period comprehends the history of the minister from the year 1727 to 1730, and includes his confirmation in his office by the new king; a character of sir Spencer Compton; the treaty of Seville; the claims of Spain for the restoration of Gibraltar; the history of the duke of Ripperda; and the disagreement

agreement of Townsend and Walpole, which ended in the retirement of the former.

The fifth period includes the transactions of four years, from 1730 to 1734, and contains accounts subsequent to the treaty of Seville; the origin and progress of the misunderstanding between the minister and Pultney; the state of the sinking fund, and the alienation of it; the excise-scheme, and the arguments for and against it, both in and out of parliament; and the state of foreign affairs during that time.

The sixth period of this work includes the transactions between the years 1734 to 1737, and comprehends the state of foreign affairs, and of the complicated negotiations carried on at that period; the riots at Edinburgh; the murder of captain Porteus, and the proceedings in consequence thereof; sir John Bernard's scheme for the reduction of interest; on the licentiousness of the stage; and the origin and progress of the playhouse-bill. In this detail we observe some inaccuracies. This is followed by a copious and interesting account of the origin and progress of the misunderstanding between the king and the prince of Wales, and concludes with a circumstantial narrative of the illness and death of the queen, and anecdotes relative to her.

The seventh period is not the least important series of the present work. It comprehends the events which took place from the death of the queen to the resignation of sir Robert in 1742, and includes a narrative of the leading circumstance which brought on the war with Spain; debates on a proposed reduction of the army; the prohibi-

tion of printing the debates; the case of captain Jenkins; the convention, and the debates thereon; the secession of the minority; the opposition of the duke of Argyll; an account of him; the declaration of war; the divisions in the cabinet, and the offer of sir Robert to resign in consequence. It also contains accounts of the meeting of parliament; and of the return of the seceders; the efforts of opposition; and the embarrassments of Walpole; the state of foreign affairs; the invasion of Silesia; the motion for the removal of sir Robert; and the conduct of William Shippen and others on that occasion.

Foreign affairs, and particularly those relating to Austria, succeed, and the period is wound up by the circumstances which led to, and the measures which brought on, the resignation of the minister, who was created earl of Orford on the 9th of February, 1742, two days before he quitted his office.

The dismissal of the minister had been against the opinion of his sovereign, and we accordingly find that his influence still remained, and he continued to be consulted on most affairs of importance. The remaining part of the work takes in the public transactions from the resignation of sir Robert until the time of his death, in 1745, and concludes with disquisitions on the principles of Walpole's administration; his public character; account of his publications; his private character, in the several articles of person, dress, address, temper, affability, gaiety, conversation, manners, unreservedness, consistency, profusion, hospitality, disinterestedness, love of field sports, social qualities

ties, neglect of men of letters, and conduct in retirement.

This work, on the whole, furnishes a great body of English history, affording both entertainment and information. Much new evidence is adduced; many facts are set in a new light; and many circumstances, which hitherto have been involved in obscurity, are now cleared up. The biographer has also availed himself of the materials intrusted to him with laudable industry, and without any very apparent partiality. He appears not to have concealed any thing from prejudice, and discovers little of party bias. As he is fuller and more copious than the historians who have preceded him, his work will be found more useful than any of his predecessors for the purpose of reference, relating to facts within the period to which he is confined; a period which, every day, becomes more important to be known by every Briton, and every lover of his country, who enjoys the blessings of the present constitution.

The Life of Edmund Burke, comprehending an impartial Account of his literary and political Efforts; and a Sketch of the Conduct and Character of his most eminent Associates, Co-adjutors, and Opponents, by Robert Bisset, L. L. D. 8vo. 1798.

IN our last volume, we expressed our dissatisfaction with Mr. McCormack's Life of Burke, and are glad to find in the present work (which we then announced as about to appear) that more has been done towards gratifying the rational curiosity of the reader without disgust-

ing him with the splenetic and personal abuse which disgraced the former work. Dr. Bisset may possibly be accused of running into the opposite extreme; at all events, it is the least blameable error.

Having, under the head of Characters, in this volume, so amply abridged the leading features of Mr. Burke's public and private life, we shall content ourselves with offering a few observations with respect to the work itself as a literary production.

Considering it, therefore, in this view, perhaps it does not add much to the doctor's former reputation, yet it possesses considerable merit. Though what may properly be called the life of Burke is involved in this composition with a great variety of extraneous matter, yet that matter is frequently amusing and instructive; and, taken all together, it affords something like a general idea of our history, during the period which it comprehends. Throughout the volume, indeed, we meet with the strongest proofs not only that the doctor has attentively studied whatever relates to the immediate subject of which he treats, but that he possesses a very considerable fund of general observation. The perusal of his book would however have been productive of more pleasure if it displayed less of a studied phraseology.

Of his learning, and of his critical skill, the doctor also seems too profuse: the analysis of Cicero's eloquence, and the comparison of it with that of Mr. Burke, might have been spared; and we cannot help thinking that his frequent review of the state of letters, at different periods, seems in a biographer rather an encroachment on the province

province of the historian; and more calculated to display his own knowledge than to illustrate his subject. Without imputing this design to Dr. Bisset, however, we will only farther remark, that had he appeared less learned, and been more simple, in this composition, it would probably have become a much greater favorite with the public.

A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World; in which the Coast of North-West America has been carefully examined and accurately surveyed. Undertaken, by his Majesty's Command, principally with a View to ascertain the Existence of any navigable Communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans; and performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver. 4to, 3 Vol. 1798.

THE advantages of a fur-trade with China, from the western coasts of North America, though for a considerable length of time known to the Russians, were very little understood and wholly unattempted by other European nations, before the voyage of captain Cook to those parts. The information obtained by that excellent navigator not only encouraged mercantile expeditions from most maritime countries, but revived the expectations of those who were advocates for the supposed existence of a north-west passage through America; and these expectations were strengthened by subsequent disco-

veries, attributed to some of the late enterprizing adventurers. To examine into the truth of these as well as of the more early accounts, and to complete a survey of the western coast of North America, from the latitude of 30° N. to 60° north, with the additional purpose of executing the articles of the convention made between the British and the Spanish courts, respecting Nootka Sound, were the proposed objects of the expedition of which the narrative is now before us. The voyage had been planned, and preparations for it had been made, some time before these disputes, between the courts of London and Madrid, arose, and was suspended till the adjustment of them was to take place.

The ill health of the late captain Vancouver, for some time previously to his decease, is assigned as the cause of the publication being so long delayed after the return of the ships. His brother Mr. John Vancouver, has performed the office of editor; and he lays before the public, in an advertisement prefixed to the first volume, the state of the work when the indisposition of his brother rendered him incapable of continuing his attention to it. From this advertisement, it appears that the first and second volumes, (the introduction excepted,) and as far as the 288th page of the third volume, were then printed, and had undergone his examination. He had also prepared the introduction, and a farther part of his journal, to page 408 of the last volume; which comprehended the whole of his geographical discoveries.

In the introduction is given an account of the equipment, and a copy of the admiralty instructions.

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dated March 8th, 1791, under which captain Vancouver sailed. By these orders, he was directed to proceed immediately to the Sandwich Islands in the north Pacific-ocean, there to remain during the ensuing winter; in the course of which it was intended that he should be joined by a vessel, to be dispatched from England, conveying to him the king's orders respecting the possessions on the coast of America that were to be restored to his majesty's subjects; agreeably to the convention above-mentioned; but, (say the instructions,) "if no such orders should be received by you previous to the end of January, 1792, you are not to wait for them at the Sandwich Islands, but to proceed, in such course as you may judge most expedient for the examination of the coast above-mentioned," &c.

The language of the instructions evinces that strong hopes were entertained of a communication being discovered, between the Atlantic-ocean and the sea, west of America.

The most liberal conduct and the greatest openness of communication were directed to be observed towards any vessels which might be met, belonging to other nations. It was calculated that the proposed survey would occupy two summers on the coast of America; and in the return, which was ordered to be by Cape Horn, it was recommended, if practicable, to examine the western coast of South America, beginning at the south point of the island of Chiloe, in latitude 44° south. That no cause of discontent nor of complaint might be given to the Spaniards, the commander was strictly charged that, in the execution of his instructions, he should not on any account (distress excep-

ted) touch at any port on the continent of America between the latitudes of 30° north and 44° south.

The vessels appointed for the expedition were named the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*. The former was a ship of 540 tons burthen, commanded by captain George Vancouver, carrying 10 guns, with a complement of 100 men:—The other was a brig, commanded by lieutenant (now captain) W. R. Broughton, carrying 4 guns and 45 men. A native of the Sandwich Islands, named Towereroo, who had been brought thence by one of our trading vessels in July, 1789, was sent on board by the admiralty, with orders to captain Vancouver, to convey him to his native land. This man, he says, 'while in England, lived in great obscurity, and did not seem in the least to have benefited by his residence in this country.'

On the 1st of April, 1791, they sailed from Falmouth; on the 10th of July they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; which place they left August 17th; and on the 26th of September, they made the south-west coast of New Holland, in latitude 35° south, and longitude 116° east. Having sailed 85 leagues along the coast, which in this part was but very imperfectly known before, they discovered a harbour to which was given the name of King George the Third's Sound; where they remained nearly a fortnight. They met with none of the natives, but found deserted huts. The most remarkable objects that they saw were black swans, of which the following account is given: 'As we proceeded to the upper part of the harbour, our attention was directed to

to several large black swans in very stately attitudes swimming on the water, and, when flying, discovering the under part of their wings and breasts to be white: this is all the description we were enabled to give of them, since they were excessively shy, and we very indifferent marksmen.'

After their departure from King George the Third's Sound, bad weather prevented their keeping near the coast, which they only saw in detached parts. Towards the end of October they passed Van Dieman's land, and on the 3d of November, anchored in Dusky Bay, in the south island of New Zealand. This place, which, in the former voyages, had been found inhabited, appeared now entirely deserted. In a three days' excursion, several spots, formerly the residence of the natives, were visited: but no traces of people were seen, nor any circumstance which in the least indicated that the country was at present inhabited.—The vessel left Dusky Bay on the 22d, and during the next night they were separated by a gale, and did not meet again till their arrival at Otaheite. After their separation, the Chatham discovered land in latitude $43^{\circ} 48' S.$ and longitude 183° east.

This new discovered land is of considerable magnitude: the part which they saw extended nearly 40 miles from east to west; and the appearance of the country, according to the description given, is very promising. In many respects, the natives resemble those of New Zealand; from which country they are distant about 100 leagues: but their skins were destitute of any marks, and they had the appearance of being cleanly in their persons. Their

dressess were of seal or sea-bear skin, and some had fine woven mats fastened round the waist. 'They seemed a cheerful race, our conversation frequently exciting violent bursts of laughter amongst them. On our first landing, their surprize and exclamations can hardly be imagined; they pointed to the sun, and then to us, as if to ask, whether we had come from thence.' Their arms were spears, clubs, and a small weapon resembling the New Zealand patoo.—The bay in which lieutenant Broughton landed, he named Skirmish Bay.

A small island was likewise found by the Discovery, in the passage to Otaheite, in latitude $27^{\circ} 36' S.$ and longitude $215^{\circ} 49' E.$ inhabited by a people, who, on account of their language and their resemblance to the Friendly Islanders, captain Vancouver says, were evidently of the Great South-Sea nation. Nevertheless, their language (as appears in the narrative) was so little understood by our navigators, that, though they exerted their whole skill in endeavouring to obtain from the natives the name of their island, they were each unable to comprehend the other's meaning; and the name of Oparro was adopted, as the one which captain Vancouver thought had the best chance of being right. A very material difference, which was likewise observed between these islanders and the inhabitants of the other islands with which we are acquainted in the South Seas, was, that not any of these people were tattooed.—Of the island, captain Vancouver says, 'Its principal character is a cluster of high craggy mountains, forming, in several places, most romantic pinnacles, with perpendicular cliffs nearly

early from their summits to the sea; the vacancies between the mountains would more probably be termed chasms than vallies.' The circumstance most worthy of observation, however, was that,

'The tops of six of the highest hills bore the appearance of fortified places, resembling redoubts; having a sort of block-house, in the shape of an English glass-house, in the centre of each, with rows of palisadoes a considerable way down the sides of the hills, nearly at equal distances. These, over-hanging, seemed intended for advanced works, and apparently capable of defending the citadel by a few against a numerous host of assailants. On all of them, we noticed people, as if on duty, constantly moving about. What we considered as block-houses, from their great similarity in appearance to that sort of building, were sufficiently large to lodge a considerable number of persons, and were the only habitations we saw. Yet from the number of canoes that in so short a time assembled round us, it is natural to conclude, that the inhabitants are very frequently afloat, and to infer from this circumstance that the shores, and not those fortified hills which appeared to be in the centre of the island, would be preferred for their general residence.'

Above thirty canoes were seen. The island was estimated to be $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, and no other appeared in sight. Whether the fortified places, here described, were intended for defences of the islanders against each other, or against attacks from some more powerful neighbours, could only be conjectured: but the latter idea seems the most probable.—It was not ascer-

tained whether this island afforded anchorage:—but appearances were thought favourable for that purpose near the N. W. part.

On the 30th of December, the *Discovery* anchored at Otaheite, and rejoined the *Chatham*, which had arrived there a few days before.

The natives of Otaheite received our voyagers in the most friendly and cordial manner. The original intention of the commander was to have waited here no longer than was necessary to procure a small supply of fresh provisions; and then to have proceeded without farther loss of time to the Sandwich Islands, agreeably to the instructions received from the admiralty: those islands lying nearly a month's sail from Otaheite, and the end of January being the time limited for the expectation of a vessel from England with additional instructions. The present situation, however, appeared to possess so much ease and convenience, that it was determined to remain, and here to finish whatever repairs were necessary, in preparation for the American coast.

Some months previously to captain Vancouver's arrival here, the British ship of war the *Pandora*, which had been sent in quest of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, had left Otaheite; and nothing was known there concerning Mr. Christian, and his remaining companions, since that period: but it appears that, while they lived at Otaheite, they assisted the chiefs in their wars; and captain Vancouver relates, that he frequently saw the 'objects of their particular regard, by whom they have children.'

Captain Vancouver gives a full and not unentertaining account of the political views and enterprizes of

of some of the chiefs: but, in his relation, he sometimes speaks of them with all the respect due to royal personages, and at others treats them with too little ceremony.—It was remarked that many alterations had taken place in the manners, customs, and even persons of these people, since the time of captain Cook's last visit to them: The wives of the chiefs, but no other women, were privileged to eat with the men. On the accession of the present chief to the Maro, or girdle of royalty.

‘ A very considerable alteration took place in their language, particularly in the proper names of all the chiefs, to which, however, it was not solely confined, but extended to no less than forty or fifty of the most common words which occur in conversation, and bearing not the least affinity whatever to the former expressions.

‘ This new language every inhabitant is under the necessity of adopting; as any negligence or contempt of it is punished with the greatest severity. Their former expressions were, however, retained in their recollection; and, for our better communication, were, I believe, permitted to be used in conversation with us, without incurring displeasure.’

Here it is proper to mention a custom, remarked, in former voyages, to have been in very common practice among the natives of the South-Sea Islands, in their intercourse with Europeans, of adopting such pronunciation of their own language as was in use and best understood by the new-comers, for the convenience of more ready communication; this adoption, no doubt, being attended with much

less trouble than the endeavour to correct. So far has this practice been known to prevail, that, when ships have been visited by people from the more distant parts of an island, it became necessary to have recourse to the natives with whom they had been longest acquainted, to act as interpreters between them.

The vessels quitted Otabeite on the 24th of January, 1792; and on the 1st of March they arrived in sight of the Sandwich Islands, among which they remained till the 16th. They heard no tidings of the store-ship which they expected to have called here for them,—but received information that no vessels had arrived since the preceding autumn, when one British and three American traders had touched at the islands. Towereroo, the native, whom they carried from England, was left at Owhyhee, under the protection of a chief named Tianna, who had visited China, and of whom mention is made in the narrative of captain Meares's voyage. On the 9th, the ships anchored at one of the islands, named Attowai, where they found part of the crew of an American trader, who had been left here by their commander, for the purpose of collecting sandal wood and pearls: with the former of which the islands abound, and a great price is given for it in India.

Many of these islanders, from their commerce with the European vessels which have been employed in the American fur-trade, are provided with fire-arms; which they are more desirous of obtaining in return for their refreshments than any other European commodity. Some of the chiefs produced written

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en certificates of good behaviour, with recommendations from the commanders of trading vessels: but many of these directed that strangers, in their intercourse with the natives, should observe the greatest circumspection, and keep constantly on their guard; and for these cautions, our people learnt there had been very sufficient reason, attempts having been made by the natives to capture several vessels, one of which, an American schooner, unfortunately became their prey, and the crew were all, except one man, put to death.—At Attowai, the chiefs proposed to visit captain Vancouver's ship; but, before they would venture on board, they required hostages.

Seeds of different kinds were left with the natives; and there is every probability of their thriving, as these people are very intelligent and careful in their husbandry. Among other instances of their ingenuity, an aqueduct was seen on a well-constructed wall of stone and clay, 24 feet high, for the purpose of watering their plantations.

April 17th, the ships made the American coast in latitude $39^{\circ} 15'$ N. and stood to the northward, keeping in sight of the shore, and preserving their station during the nights, that no part of the coast might be passed unobserved.

When the ships had proceeded along the coast as far as $47^{\circ} 37'$ N. they fell in with an American vessel, named the Columbia, commanded by Mr. Robert Gray, the same person who had formerly commanded a sloop called the Washington; and of whose discoveries mention is made in the admiralty instructions to captain Vancouver. The information which they ob-

tained from Mr. Gray differs very materially from what was published concerning him in England; it is thus related:

"It is not possible to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted, that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop Washington. In contradiction to which, he assured the officers, that he had penetrated only 50 miles into the straits in question, in an E. S. E. direction; that he found the passage 5 leagues wide; and that he understood, from the natives, that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he had acquired respecting this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had entered at. The inlet he supposed to be the same that De Fuca had discovered, which opinion seemed to be universally received by all the modern visitors."

Another piece of intelligence obtained from Mr. Gray was, that he had been off the mouth of a river in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$ N. which he had, for nine days, endeavoured to enter, but was at length obliged to relinquish his purpose in consequence of a constant strong out-set. This opening captain Vancouver had seen as he sailed by that part of the coast, but he had deemed it inaccessible; not on account of a current, but from breakers, which seemed to him to extend quite across the entrance.—The land which they had hitherto passed is described as presenting a prospect of great fertility, and abounding with woods: but, excepting the place at which a few canoes

came off to them, as already mentioned, no inhabitants were seen on the whole extent of the coast: nor did they meet 'with any circumstance that, in the most distant manner, indicated a probability of the country being inhabited.' Where they had now arrived, however, several villages were seen scattered along the shore; and on the evening of the 29th of April, they were off the entrance of the celebrated straits of Juan de Fuca.

An adequate, or even an intelligible, idea of the survey in which captain Vancouver and his companions were now engaged, can only be obtained by an examination and comparison of the charts with the narrative. As they advanced within the opening of the straits, their progress was greatly retarded by the number of inlets into which the entrance branched in every direction; and most of these were examined by the boats, which were frequently absent from the ships on this service for several days together. In the midst of their labours, they were surprised by the sight of two Spanish vessels of war, employed, like themselves, in surveying this inlet, the examination of which had been begun by them in the preceding year. By the officers of these vessels, captain Vancouver was informed that the commandant at Nootka waited his arrival there, 'in order to negotiate the restoration of those territories to the crown of Great Britain;' and measures of mutual assistance were concerted between the captains of the two nations, for the prosecution of the survey, in which each agreed to communicate to the other their discoveries. Not one of the many arms of the inlet, nor of the chan-

nels which they explored in this broken part of the coast, was found to extend more than a hundred miles to the eastward of the entrance into the strait. After having surveyed the southern coast, on which side a termination was discovered to every opening, by following the continued line of the shore, they were led to the northward, and afterward towards the N. W. till they came into the open sea through a different channel, from the strait of Juan de Fuca, by which they had commenced this inland navigation.

Thus it appeared, that the land forming the north side of that strait is part of an island, or of an archipelago, extending nearly 100 leagues in length from S. E. to N. W. and on the side of this land, most distant from the continent, is situated Nootka-Sound. The most peculiar circumstance of this navigation is the extreme depth of water, when contrasted with the narrowness of the channels. The vessels were sometimes drifted about by the currents, during the whole of a night, close to the rocks, without knowing how to help themselves, on account of the darkness, and the depth being much too great to afford them anchorage.

In the course of this survey, the voyagers had frequent communications with the natives, whom they met sometimes in canoes and sometimes at their villages. In their transactions with Europeans, they are described as 'well versed in the principles of trade, which they carried on in a very fair and honorable manner.' In other respects, they were less honest. At one village, 200 sea otter-skins were purchased of them by the crews of the vessels

in the course of a day; and they had many more to sell in the same place, as also skins of bears, deer, and other animals. One party of Indians, whom they met, had the skin of a young lioness; and these spoke a language different from that used in Nootka-Sound. Venison was sometimes brought for sale; and a piece of copper, not more than a foot square, purchased one whole deer and part of another. Among other articles of traffic, two children, six or seven years of age, were offered for sale. The commodities most prized by the natives were fire-arms, copper, and great coats. Beads and trinkets they would only receive as presents, and not as articles of exchange. Many of them were possessed of fire-arms. In one part, it is related, that, after a chief had received some presents, 'he, with most of his companions, returned to the shore; and, on landing, fired several muskets, to shew, in all probability, with what dexterity they could use these weapons, to which they seemed as familiarized as if they had been accustomed to fire-arms from their earliest infancy.'

The dresses of these people, besides skins, are a kind of woollen garments; the materials composing which are explained in the following extract:

'The dogs belonging to this tribe of Indians were numerous, and much resembled those of Pomerania; though, in general, somewhat larger. They were all shorn as close to the skin as sheep are in England; and so compact were their fleeces, that large portions could be lifted up by a corner without causing any separation. They were composed of a mixture of a coarse kind of

wool, with very fine long hair, capable of being spun into yarn. This gave me reason to believe, that their woollen clothing might in part be composed of this material mixed with a finer kind of wool from some other animal, as their garments were all too fine to be manufactured from the coarse coating of the dog alone.'

Of other animals alive, deer only were seen in any abundance by our people.

The number of inhabitants computed to be in the largest of the villages, or towns, that were discovered, did not exceed six hundred. Captain Vancouver conjectured the small-pox to be a disease common, and very fatal, among them: many were much marked; and most of these had lost the right eye.—Their method of disposing of their dead is very singular:

'Baskets were found suspended on high trees, each containing the skeleton of a young child; in some of which were also small square boxes filled with a kind of white paste, resembling such as I had seen the natives eat, supposed to be made of the faranne root; some of these boxes were quite full, others were nearly empty; eaten probably by the mice, squirrels, or birds. On the next low point, south of our encampment, where the gunners were airing the powder, they met with several holes, in which human bodies were interred, slightly covered over, and in different states of decay, some appearing to have been very recently deposited. About half a mile to the northward of our tents, where the land is nearly level with high-water mark, a few paces within the skirting of the wood, a canoe was found suspended be-

tween two trees, in which were three human skeletons.

'On each point of the harbour, which, in honour of a particular friend, I call Penn's Cove, was a deserted village; in one of which were found several sepulchres formed exactly like a centry-box. Some of them were open, and contained the skeletons of many young children tied up in baskets; the smaller bones of adults were likewise noticed, but no one of the limb-bones could here be found, which gave rise to an opinion, that these, by the living inhabitants of the neighbourhood, were appropriated to useful purposes, such as pointing their arrows, spears, or other weapons.'

However honourably these people have been represented in their conduct as traders, it appeared on several occasions that it was unsafe to depend on their good-will alone; and some instances occurred of their making every preparation for an attack, from which they desisted only on being doubtful of the event: yet immediately on relinquishing their purpose, they would come with the greatest confidence to trade, appearing perfectly regardless of what had before been in agitation. The boats, as already noticed, were frequently at a great distance from the ships; and on such occasions, when large parties of Indians have first seen them, they generally held long conferences among themselves before they approached the boats; probably for the purpose of determining the mode of conduct which they judged it most prudent to observe.

On the 9th of August, the vessels had again reached the open sea, and proceeded along the coast to the northward. On the 17th, in latitude of 52° N. they met a British

trading vessel, which had lately left Nootka: from whom they learnt that the *Dædalus* store-ship had arrived from England; and a letter, which was sent to captain Vancouver, informed him of the unfortunate death of lieutenant Hergeff, her commander, who had been killed by the inhabitants of Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, with Mr. William Gooch, the astronomer. In consequence of this intelligence, captain Vancouver determined to abandon, for the present season, the farther prosecution of the survey to the northward, and to make the best of his way towards Nootka-Sound; at which port he anchored on the 28th.

The time, at Nootka, was fully occupied by negotiation concerning the territories, of which restitution was to have been made by the Spaniards. Diplomatic history, however, is a kind of forbidden ground; and, as the subject of this does not afford much matter of entertainment, it may be sufficient to remark that, with great mutual civilities, very little progress was made towards an adjustment; till at length it was agreed by both parties to refer the business back to their respective courts.

The ships steered along the coast to the S. E. towards the river mentioned to them by Mr. Gray, commander of the *Columbia*, in latitude 46° 10' N. which river is distinguished in the chart by the name of *Columbia*. On the 17th they were off its mouth, within which the *Chatham* entered: but the *Discovery* was prevented by the currents and broken water, and on the 21st was forced to sea by bad weather. Captain Vancouver continued his course to the southward, leaving the *Chatham*

Chatham in Columbia river, and on the 14th arrived at Port St. Francisco. This settlement is described to be in a very unimproved state. 'Except its natural pastures, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or other civilized nation.' The character drawn of the natives is by no means a flattering picture: — 'under the middle size, ill made, their faces ugly, presenting a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance,—the same horrid state of uncleanness and laziness seemed to pervade the whole,' &c. Captain Vancouver visited the mission of St Clara, (of which he gives a description,) 18 leagues distant from St. Francisco; in which journey, though the country presented a prospect of luxuriant fertility, 'there was neither house, hut, nor any place of shelter, excepting such as the spreading trees afforded.' Oaks were seen in great abundance. On his return to St. Francisco, captain Vancouver found that the Chatham had arrived there.

Lieutenant Broughton, who was left in the entrance of Columbia river, when he saw the Discovery forced to sea, judiciously determined to take advantage of his situation, and proceeded to examine the river. The navigation was so interrupted by shoals, that, in the course of a few leagues, the vessel had twice taken the ground. This determined Mr. Broughton to continue his examination in boats; and accordingly, after having fixed the Chatham in a place of safety, he set out with his cutter and launch. They advanced in an eastern and southern direction, for seven days, following what appeared to be the main branch of the river: for seve-

ral other rivers fell into this. During the first part of the time, they had some assistance from the flood tides: but latterly they had found the current constantly running towards the sea, though the rise and fall of the tide was very discernible by the shores. They had met with people in their way up, and at one time 'were surrounded by twenty three canoes, carrying from three to twelve persons each, all attired in their war-garments, and in every other respect prepared for combat,' —but, after having discoursed with some friendly Indians who had before joined the English, they laid aside their war-dress, and with great civility exchanged some of their arms, and other articles, for such things as were presented to them, 'but would neither part with their copper swords, nor a kind of battle-axe made of iron.' Some of these strangers advised the voyagers to go no farther, making signs that, if they persisted, they would meet people who would cut off their heads. This was on the fourth day of their expedition. At the end of the 7th day, the rapidity of the stream increasing against them, and their provisions being nearly expended, Mr. Broughton found it impracticable to proceed farther. The breadth of the river here was a quarter of a mile, with soundings across from 6 to 2 fathoms. Some of the natives, from whom they endeavoured to procure intelligence, made signs which Mr. Broughton understood to mean that, higher up the river, they would meet with waterfalls, but that the source was very distant.—Such are the particulars of the interesting information gained by Mr. Broughton concerning Columbia river.

The observations made by captain Vancouver, respecting port St. Francisco, open another field for conjecture.

‘The little we had seen (says he) of Port St. Francisco, enabled us to decide that it was very extensive in two directions: one spacious branch took its course east and south-eastward to a great distance from the station we had quitted in the morning: the other, apparently of equal magnitude, led to the northward. In this were several islands.’—‘Near the branch leading to the east and south-eastward before-mentioned is situated the mission of St. Clara. These gentlemen informed me, that this branch had been thoroughly examined, but that the branch leading to the north never had.’—‘The port having been established by Spain, I did not consider it prudent to prosecute its examination without sufficient authority for so doing.’

Here it may be remarked, that it does not appear, in the narrative, that permission was demanded to make examination: but captain Vancouver states that the weather was not favourable for such an undertaking.

Leaving Port St. Francisco, the ships sailed to Monterey, another Spanish settlement. The *Dædalus* was now dispatched to New South Wales; and captain Vancouver wrote to request of governor Phillips, that she might be sent back to him at Nootka, with a supply of twelve months provisions and stores. This ship was also ordered to call in her way at Otaheite, for some English seamen who had been cast away in the ship *Matilda*, of London, on a ledge of rocks out of sight of any land; after

which accident, the crew, in their boats, found their way to Otaheite. From that island, the second mate and two of the men had proceeded, in an open whale-boat, towards New South Wales, a distance of nearly 1200 leagues. Whether they succeeded in this hazardous and extraordinary undertaking, we do not find in the sequel. The commander of the *Matilda*, with four others, had taken their passage from Otaheite, on board the *Jenny*, of Bristol; which vessel captain Vancouver met at Nootka-Sound.

Lieutenant Broughton was left at Monterey, with accounts for the board of admiralty, of all their transactions up to that time, with surveys, &c. Sen. Quadra promising to accommodate him with a passage by the way of New Spain to England. On the 13th of January, 1793, the ships sailed from Monterey, and, on the 18th, steered from the American coast towards the Sandwich Islands.

The year 1792 is concluded by captain Vancouver with a relation of the circumstances attending the death of lieutenant Hergeft, the late commander of the *Dædalus* transport, and of the discoveries made by that officer.

We left the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* steering from the American coast, towards the Sandwich Islands. They arrived off the eastern part of Owhyhee, February 12th, 1793; when the two vessels separated, for the purpose of surveying each a side of the island, it being settled that they should meet again at Karakakooa Bay, on the western side. None of the natives came near the *Discovery* till the next morning, when a canoe paddled from the shore to them.

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The people in this canoe reported that a general *taboo* (interdiction) had prevented the inhabitants from coming to the ship.

These visitors, however, regardless of the *taboo*, sold a hog, and other refreshments, for some iron; and it afterwards appeared that the chiefs, when it suited their purposes, scrupled not to dispense, occasionally, with the restrictions of the *taboo*, if it was not of a religious nature.

When the ships were nearly ready for sea, a grand entertainment was given by the king of Owhyhee, at which, besides many other formalities, was represented a battle. In some particulars of this representation, we see a striking resemblance to the manners of the ancients. The arms used were wooden lances, or javelins, blunted for the occasion; with long spears, by the natives called *pallaloo*, which were never to be quitted but in case of death, or defeat; and the performance began by the opposed parties advancing towards each other with reproachful speeches and gestures, and then throwing the lances.

The whole account of this exhibition is very entertaining, and, if nothing more were known of these islanders, would sufficiently evince that they are a hardy and warlike people. Many hurts and slight wounds were received in the course of these exercises, which were borne with the utmost cheerfulness and good humour.

The ships left the islands on the 30th of March, and on the 26th of April, were in sight of Cape Mendocino, on the coast of New Albion. May 2d, they anchored in Porto de la Trinidad, latitude $41^{\circ} 3' N$. Here they took in wood and water:

but as a harbour, or a place affording shelter for shipping, they found it to be very inferior to what they had expected from the description given in the journal of Don Francisco Maurelli; a translation of which has been presented to the public by the hon Daines Barrington. The identity of the port, captain Vancouver says, could not be doubted; for,

At Trinidad, they found an Indian village, and the natives visited the ships. They were of a lower stature than any tribe of Indians before seen by our voyagers, but stoutly made.

From Porto de la Trinidad, they proceeded northward, and on the 20th of May, anchored in Nootka, where they stopped only three days. The Spaniards were increasing their fortifications at this place, but they gave every assistance in their power for the accommodation of the two ships.

May the 26th, they arrived in Fitzhugh's Sound, and recommenced their examination at the part at which it had been discontinued in the preceding year. The survey now made, in most of its circumstances, resembled the former. They found the same kind of broken coast, with inlets and channels almost innumerable; and the same extraordinary depth of water close to the shores, and in places inclosed all round with land. One instance occurs, in which, in a channel only a mile in width, 'they traversed repeatedly from shore to shore, without finding bottom with 185 fathoms of line, though within half a ship's length of the rocks.'—From the end of May to the 21st of September, the time occupied in this year by the northern survey, they advanced

but little more than four degrees northward, leaving off between the 56th and 57th degree of north latitude. The greater part of the survey was, as formerly, performed in boats; in which, besides the hardships of being continually exposed to the weather, our people ran great risks from the dispositions of the natives; the behaviour of some of the tribes which they met being extremely ferocious.

In one of the most intricate parts of their navigation, they met three English vessels. The intelligence imparted to captain Vancouver, by Mr. Brown, who commanded them, is the most important matter relative to the object of the voyage, that occurred during the season:

‘He very obligingly communicated to me every information he had been able to obtain. The principal circumstance was that of his having sailed up a large opening, whose southern entrance was in latitude 51° 45’.

‘This is probably the same as that laid down in Sen. Caamanoe’s chart, named *Istrecho de Almirante Fuentes*. Mr. Brown found it extend to the north-westward, with several arms branching from it in various directions to the latitude of 50° 20’; where, in a south-westerly direction, it again communicated with the north pacific. He had understood, from the natives, that there was in this neighbourhood a very extensive inland navigation, communicating with a sea to the northward, that employed the inhabitants nearly three months in reaching its extent, where they traded for whale-oil, sea-otter skins, and other marine productions. This inland navigation Mr. Brown supposed to be in an extensive arm, ly-

ing from hence towards the N.N.E. about nine leagues distant; the entrance of which he had visited, and found it spacious and large, but had not penetrated any distance into it. At its south-east point of entrance a small branch extended to the south-eastward, up which he proceeded with his sloop and schooner about six miles, where they anchored before a village of the natives.’

Two days after the receipt of this information, they arrived at the entrance of an opening in the continental shore, which they believed to be the one described by Mr. Brown. The account of the coast and of the survey is here not sufficiently intelligible: but, perhaps, it was not possible to make it wholly clear. Captain Vancouver speaks of a number of openings seen, in the following manner: ‘The branch of the inlet we were now navigating was not of greater width, nor did it appear likely to become more extensive, than that to the westward of us just discovered. This made it uncertain which to consider as the main branch. Four other openings had been passed on the eastern shore, whose extent had not yet been ascertained.’ It is evident that, on the plan laid down for the survey, every branch should (in its turn) be regarded as the main branch, till experience had proved the contrary. This part of the narrative is defective in method: but the word *yet*, in the preceding extract, implies that it was not intended that any opening should be passed unexamined. On applying to the charts, we see the line of continuation unbroken, except by two or three rivers, which are represented as not affording any reasonable prospect of a navigable communication; and no

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one of the channels, which they explored, carried them far in an easterly direction. In this service, captain Vancouver was absent from the ship, examining with the boats, at one time 23 days, having traversed from their outlet to their return above 700 geographical miles. The captain's boat was attacked by a party of Indians, and two of his men were wounded. On this occasion, an old woman, in one of the Indian canoes, gave directions, encouraged them to the attack, and seemed to be their principal leader. Indeed, the situation of our people was at one time extremely perilous, and principally owing to their own neglect.

But, says captain Vancouver, having been so long accustomed to a series of tranquil intercourse with the several different tribes of Indians we had met with, our apprehensions of any molestation from them were totally done away; and that attentive wariness which had been the first object of my concern on coming amongst these rude nations, had latterly been much neglected. For although we had now more arms than we were provided with during the preceding summer, namely, two wall-pieces cut short for the purpose of being more handy in the boats, each of which was loaded with a dozen pistol balls, yet these, as well as some of our muskets, had been so neglected by disuse, that they were unserviceable on this pressing emergency.

The launch, under the direction of lieutenant Swaine, had fortunately been more on its guard against the natives, and came up very opportunely to the captain's assistance.

While captain Vancouver was absent on this survey, another party, with two boats, went to examine some openings to the eastward, which had been passed in the ships. As channels in this direction are of the most importance to the main object of their survey, we think it necessary to take notice of a river discovered in 55° N. latitude, in a shoal bay on the eastern side of the entrance of an arm of the sea, by captain Vancouver, named Observatory Inlet. The river is described to be a small opening in a shallow bank, not exceeding in width a ship's length; but the water had suddenly deepened from five feet to two and five fathoms, and through this narrow entrance the tide, both flood and ebb, rushed with great force. At the latter part of the ebb, however, the water was perfectly fresh, though not more than four miles from the main arm of the sea.

After the 20th of September, they returned to the southward, keeping at a distance from the continent, and to the westward of the land named Queen Charlotte's Islands. On the 5th of October, they anchored at Nootka; whence, continuing to the southward, they called at Port St. Francisco, and at Monterey:—but it now appeared to captain Vancouver that the attention and friendly disposition of the Spaniards had been quite exhausted in the preceding year. His reception was such as convinced him that he was not a welcome visitor; and he therefore left these places, and continued to the southward, keeping the American shore in sight. At other Spanish settlements near the sea-coast, he experienced more friendly

friendly treatment, and obtained such supplies as he wanted.

This part of America is represented as a most fruitful country, very thinly inhabited. 'The number of the natives, at this period, who were said to have embraced the Roman Catholic persuasion, under the discipline of the Franciscan and Dominican orders of missionaries of New Albion, and throughout the peninsula of California, amounted to about twenty thousand, and they were estimated at an eighth or tenth of the whole native population of those countries.' The whole of the military establishment in this extent of territory is said not to exceed 400 men.

'The natives (says captain Vancouver) are not, nor can they be rendered tributary, because they possess no tribute to offer.' This is making very little account of a country which is fertile almost beyond example, and of which the coasts abound with sea-otters. All the labour of the natives, who are subject to the Spanish jurisdiction, is under the immediate direction and control of the missionaries, who act wholly under the authority of the Spanish government. Besides, we are told by M. de la Pérouse, that it was the plan of the viceroy at Mexico, to reserve for government the exclusive trade of sea-otter skins; of which, that unfortunate navigator says, the Spanish settlements furnish 10,000 annually, and are capable of furnishing, if the Spaniards choose to be at the trouble of collecting them, 50,000 annually. This surely may be esteemed as tribute.

Having finished the examination of the coast of New Albion, as far

as to the 30th degree of latitude, the voyagers departed from the American coast, and steered towards the Sandwich Islands. On the 9th of January, 1794, they were again in sight of Owhyhee; and on the next morning, before the ships got into harbour, the friendly Tamaah-maah came off to welcome them. By the reports of the masters of some trading vessels then at Owhyhee, it appears that, in their conduct towards strangers, the islanders had latterly been more orderly and civil, and evinced a better disposition towards them than had ever before been experienced. This may chiefly be attributed to the mild character of their present ruler, Tamaah-maah: but that some of the credit ought to be placed to the account of the good understanding which captain Vancouver made it his study to cultivate with the chiefs, an extraordinary transaction which shortly afterward took place will sufficiently prove.

About a week after the arrival of our voyagers at Owhyhee, a meeting of chiefs, summoned from the different districts (by captain Vancouver called the grand council of the island), took place, to deliberate on 'its cession to the crown of Great Britain, which was unanimously desired.' This is the first mention of the subject that we find; and nothing farther, relative to it, occurs, till above a month afterward, when it is thus resumed: 'The domestic affairs of Tamaah-maah being settled, his mind was more at liberty for political considerations; and the cession of Owhyhee to his Britannic majesty became now an object of his serious concern. On my former visit, it

had been frequently mentioned, but was at that time disapproved of by some of the leading chiefs, who contended, that they ought not voluntarily to surrender themselves, or acknowledge their subjection, to the government of a superior foreign power, without being completely convinced, that such power would protect them against the ambitious view of remote or neighbouring enemies. During our absence, this subject had been most seriously discussed by the chiefs in the island; and the result of their deliberations was, an unanimous opinion, that, in order to obtain the protection required, it was important that Tamaahmaah should make the surrender in question formally to me, on the part of his majesty; that he should acknowledge himself and people as subjects of the British crown; and that they should supplicate that power, to guard them against any future molestation.

Under a conviction of the importance of these islands to Great Britain, in the event of an extension of her commerce over the Pacific Ocean, and in return for the essential services we had derived from the excellent productions of the country, and the ready assistance of its inhabitants, I lost no opportunity for encouraging their friendly dispositions towards us, notwithstanding the disappointments they had met from the traders, for whose conduct I could invent no apology; endeavouring to impress them with the idea, that, on submitting to the authority and protection of a superior power, they might reasonably expect they would in future be less liable to such abuses.

‘ These people had already become acquainted with four commercial nations of the civilized world; and had been given to understand, that several others, similar in knowledge and in power, existed in those distant regions from whence these had come. This information, as may reasonably be expected, suggested the apprehension, that the period was not very remote, when they might be compelled to submit to the authority of some one of these superior powers; and, under that impression, they did not hesitate to prefer the English, who had been their first and constant visitors.

‘ On a due consideration of all the circumstances (says captain Vancouver) I felt it to be an incumbent duty to accept, for the crown of Great Britain, the proffered cession; and I had therefore stipulated, that it should be made in the most unequivocal and public manner.’ For this purpose, on the 25th of February, Tamaahmaah, with the chiefs of many of the districts of the island, assembled on board the *Discovery*; all the officers of the two ships being present.

‘ Tamaahmaah opened the business in a speech, which he delivered with great moderation and equal firmness. He explained the reasons (already stated) that had induced him to offer the island to the protection of Great Britain; and recounted the numerous advantages that himself, the chiefs, and the people, were likely to derive by the surrender they were about to make. He enumerated the several nations that, since captain Cook’s discovery of these islands, had occasionally resorted hither, each of which was too powerful

powerful for them to resist; and, as these visitors had come more frequently to their shores, and their numbers seemed to increase, he considered, that the inhabitants would be liable to more ill treatment, and still greater impositions than they had yet endured, unless they could be protected against such wrongs, by some one of the civilized powers with whose people they had become acquainted; that at present they were completely independent, under no sort of engagement whatever, and were to make choice of that state which in their opinion was most likely, by its attention to their security and interests, to answer the purpose for which the proposed surrender was intended. For his own part, he did not hesitate to declare the preference he entertained for the king of Great Britain, to whom he was ready to acknowledge his submission; and demanded to know who had any objection to follow his example.

Several other chiefs likewise spoke. In all their speeches,

‘ Their religion, government, and domestic economy, were noticed; and it was clearly understood, that no interference was to take place in any of these respects. That the chiefs and priests were to officiate with the same authority as before, and that no alteration in these particulars was in any degree thought of or intended.’ — ‘ These preliminaries being fully discussed, the king repeated his former proposition, which was now unanimously approved, and the whole party declared their assent by saying, that they were no longer *Tanato no Owhyhee*, but *Tanato no Brittonnee*. (That they were no longer men

of Owhyhee, but men of Britain.) This being made known to the people in the surrounding canoes, the same expressions were repeated by them.’

Some officers were then sent on shore, who ‘ displayed the British colours, and took possession of the island in the name of his majesty.’ The ships now fired a salute, and the following inscription on copper was deposited at the royal residence:

‘ On the 25th of February, 1794, Tamaahmaah, king of Owhyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the island, assembled on board his Britannic majesty’s sloop. *Discovery*, in Karakakooa bay, and in the presence of George Vancouver, commander of the said sloop; lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his majesty’s armed tender, the *Chatham*; and the other officers of the *Discovery*; after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owhyhee to his Britannic majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Great Britain.’

On the 14th of March, the ships left the Sandwich Islands, and stood to the northward towards the American coast, for the third season. Early in April they entered Cook’s Inlet; and, by the middle of May, their examination of it was finished. No branch, nor river, communicating with this inlet, which in appearance promised so fair, was found to penetrate more than a very few miles beyond what, on the first entrance, had been discovered by captain Cook. Several Russian settlements were seen, and some of them were visited. In a conversation with the Russians, captain Vancouver observes, ‘ they seemed to use every endeavour to impress us with an idea, that the Americans

American continent, and adjacent islands, as far to the eastward as the meridian of Kaye's Island, belonged exclusively to the Russian empire.' As the ships quitted the inlet, they met a party of Indians in 200 canoes, each canoe carrying two persons, 'almost all men grown,' so that this must have been one of the most considerable tribes of Americans that they had seen. The natives in the neighbourhood of the Russian settlements were remarkably civil; and the behaviour of the Russians to the natives is represented as mild and friendly.

From Cook's Inlet they continued their survey, examining Prince William's Sound; the different branches of which were all found to terminate at no great distance from the Sound. At Port Etches, near the eastern point of the entrance into Prince William's Sound, was a settlement, consisting of 100 Russians. This was said to be their easternmost establishment, 'but their boats make excursions along the exterior coasts as far as Cape Suckling, and their galliots much farther.' A party of ten Russians, with no fewer than 900 of the natives from Cook's Inlet and its neighbourhood, were met by the ships at Port Mulgrave, a distance of more than 100 leagues. Their object was to collect skins. They had very few articles of trade except beads; and it is not very probable that so large a party should confine themselves to such means only as traffic afforded, for which they were so indifferently provided, in order to procure what they wanted. The Russians, it appears, had, a short time before, been involved in a serious dispute with the eastern natives: but with the circumstances

our people did not become acquainted. When the ships arrived near Cross Sound, the natives who visited them were very differently disposed towards strangers, from those who had been seen in Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound. From a canoe which came off, no one would venture into the ships without a hostage being first sent into the canoe.

On the 19th of August, the voyagers had completed their survey from Cook's Inlet, to the part of the coast at which they broke off in the preceding year. To the harbour in which the ships lay at this time, was given the name of Port Conclusion. It is observable of this season, that the survey was commenced more early, and that a greater range of coast was examined, than in either of the former years.

'I have considered it essential (says captain V.) to the illustration of our survey, to state very exactly not only the track of the vessels when navigating these regions, but likewise those of the boats when so employed, as well when I was present myself, as when they were conducted by Mr. Whidbey or Mr. Johnstone, on whom the execution of that laborious and dangerous service principally fell, and to whom I feel myself indebted for the zeal with which they engaged in it on all occasions. The perusal of these parts of our voyage to persons not particularly interested, I am conscious, will afford but little entertainment; yet I have been induced to give a detailed account, instead of an abstract, of our proceedings, for the purpose of illustrating the charts accompanying this journal; of shewing the manner in which our time day by day had

had been employed; and, for the additional purpose, of making the history of our transactions on the north-west coast of America, as conclusive as possible, against all speculative opinions respecting the existence of a hyperborean or mediterranean ocean within the limits of our survey.'

The ships now steered for Nootka Sound, where they found a new governor, Sen. Alava; who informed them "that his appointment to this government had taken place, for the particular purpose of finishing the pending negotiation, respecting the cession of these territories."—"The present governor, however, was still unprovided with the necessary credentials: but on his departure from St. Blas, in June, these documents were hourly expected, and a vessel was kept waiting there in readiness to be dispatched, provided they arrived in time for her reaching Nootka before the 19th of October." No credentials appeared during captain Vancouver's stay at Nootka: but, while the ships were at Monterey, to which place they went from Nootka, dispatches arrived from the viceroy of Mexico. As no part of what was communicated to captain Vancouver required his presence at Nootka, he determined on making the best of his way towards England.

In proceeding to the southward from Monterey, they kept near enough to the continent to determine the latitudes and longitudes of some of the principal capes: but no part of the American coast, seen to the southward of 30° N. latitude, appears in any of the charts accompanying the account of the voyage.

At the islands called Maria's Islands, between Cape St. Lucas and Cape Corientes, their boats landed. These islands produce great quantities of the *Lignum vitæ*: 'some, which was cut close to the beach and brought on board, worked up full eight inches in diameter at the heart. This wood was very ponderous, of a close black grain, and extremely hard.' At the island of Cocos, the ships procured wood and water. The geographical descriptions of former navigators differ so widely in the accounts both of the situation and extent of this island, that captain Vancouver thinks it probable that there exists another island not far from this, to which some of the descriptions belong.

After having left Cocos Island, the *Discovery* sprang her mainmast: in consequence of which it was determined to steer for Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili. About the same time, captain Vancouver discovered, to his utter astonishment and surprise, that the scurvy began to make its appearance among some of the crew: which is attributed to the cook's having, contrary to orders, given the skimmings of the boiled salted meat to the ship's company, to mix with their pease. The first skimming of meat generally contains a considerable mixture of filth, and it is probable that the cook was not very nice in keeping the fat clear of the dirt: but it is not to be concluded that the fat of meat, which has been long salted, has a greater tendency to produce scurvy than the lean, the juices of which commonly decay the soonest. They had at this time been four years from England, and four months from Monterey, the last place at which they had obtained

tained fresh provisions; and notwithstanding this appearance of the scurvy, they arrived in port without its occasioning any serious mischief, and they did not lose a single man by that disease during the whole voyage.

On the 25th of March, 1795, the ships anchored in Valparaiso bay. The governor, on being made acquainted with the occasion of their arrival, so far from expressing any jealousy or uneasiness, received them in a friendly manner, and gave directions for their being accommodated with every assistance that the place would afford. Don Amb. Higgins de Vallener, the president and captain-general of the province of Chili, likewise honoured the commanders with an invitation to St. Jago de Chili, the capital.

Not being able to obtain a new mainmast at Valparaiso, the voyagers repaired the sprung mast as well as circumstances would admit. The main yard was likewise discovered to be sprung. On account of these defects, and of the southern winter season being far advanced, captain Vancouver did not think it prudent to navigate near the coast towards Cape Horn. The survey of this part was therefore not attempted.

The ships left Valparaiso on the 6th of May. After having sailed round Cape Horn, a search was made for Isle Grande, said to be in 45° 30' S. latitude, but without success. July 3, they anchored at St. Helena. 'I had the inexpressible happiness (says captain Vancouver) of seeing all my officers and men return to a British settlement, after an absence from England of more than four years and a quarter, perfectly well in health, and with

constitutions apparently unimpaired by the extremely laborious service in which they had been so long employed, and to which without a murmur they had, at all times, and in all climates, uniformly submitted with great zeal and alacrity.' The Chatham being much smaller than the Discovery, and not so well able to encounter the roughness of a winter's passage round Cape Horn, her crew had not fared so well: but she did not, in the course of the whole voyage, lose a single man, 'either in consequence of ill health, or from any accident whatever.'

A scarcity of rain, for three successive years, had caused great mischief and want at St. Helena. Several of the bread-fruit plants, which had been left by captain Bligh, on his return from the South Seas, had fallen to decay.—While the ships remained here, a Dutch East India-man, not knowing that we had commenced hostilities against them, stood into the bay, and captain Vancouver sent his boats and took possession of her as a prize.

The remaining part of the voyage contains little that is peculiar, or worthy of remark.

In October (1795) both the vessels arrived safely in the Thames, after an absence of four years and a half.

The labours of this voyage have much lessened the grounds of reasonable hope that any navigable water-communication exists, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, through the continent of America:—but that they are, 'as conclusive as possible,' will not, by many, be readily admitted. Whatever contempt may be shewn for closet discoveries, they have certainly some support

support, while there remain openings without any ascertained termination, for the indulgence of speculative fancies concerning a N. W. passage. It may likewise be argued that, as the river Columbia and Port des Français were passed by captain Vancouver, if not without being noticed, without being thought worthy of examination, so might other openings equally have escaped observation; and this may seem the more probable, as the entrances both into Columbia river and Port des Français are so narrow, that, at a very moderate distance from the land, their appearance would be too inconsiderable to attract notice. The river Columbia was found navigable, and appeared to continue so, at the most advanced station to which it was explored; and several navigable branches, or rivers, which fell into it, were seen; for the examination of which there was no opportunity. That this river may have communication with some of the lakes already known, is not very improbable. The natives reported that it extended to a great distance inland. There is, however, very little prospect, even if a depth of water sufficient should be found to continue, that it would be practicable for ships to navigate upwards, against so strong and constant a current.

The arm of the sea within Cross Sound, named Lynn Canal, though not navigable for large ships, had

the appearance of continuing much farther navigable for small vessels; which, with the circumstance of its situation, ('approaching nearer,' captain Vancouver observes, 'to those interior waters of the continent, which are said to be known to the traders and travellers from the opposite side of America, than we had found the waters of the North Pacific penetrate in any former instance,') makes it an object of consideration. In the mention of unexamined openings, Port St. Francisco must not be omitted; and this, if we may judge from the account given in the narrative, is not among the least promising.

The strongest circumstances against the probability of a communication by water, through North America, is the following, noticed in the concluding paragraph of captain Vancouver's account:

'In all the parts of the continent on which we landed, we no where found any roads or paths through the woods, indicating the Indians on the coast having any intercourse with the natives of the interior part of the country, nor were there any articles of the Canadian or Hudson's bay traders found amongst the people with whom we met, on any part of the continent or external sea-shores of this extensive country.'

On the whole, we must be allowed to repeat, that the prospect is considerably lessened, but, that, it is by no means yet proved that a N. W. passage does not exist.

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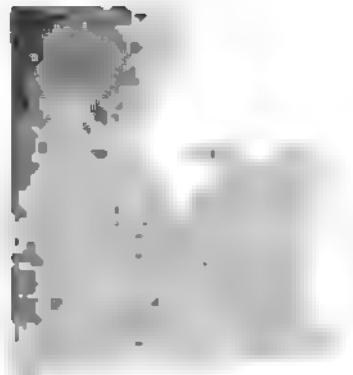
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| Page | 9, | Col. 2, | Line 9. | <i>after "one," insert side.</i> |
| 15, | 2, | 15, | <i>for lend, read bend.</i> | |
| 32, | 1, | <i>last line,</i> | <i>for Glani, read Glaris; and for Un, read Uri.</i> | |
| 37, | 1, | 20, | <i>for national, read natural.</i> | |
| 42, | 1, | 3, | <i>f. b. after utmost, insert efforts.</i> | |
| 47, | 1, | 7, | <i>f. b. for president, read precedent.</i> | |
| 65, | 2, | 1, | <i>for improprieties, read impropriations.</i> | |
| 76, | 1, | 11, | <i>for commended, read commanded.</i> | |
| 78, | 1, | 3, | <i>f. b. for tædal, read scederal.</i> | |
| 99, | 1, | 12, | <i>f. b. dele not.</i> | |
| 117, | 2, | 21, | <i>before constitution, insert Ligurian.</i> | |
| 148, | 1, | 3, | <i>after whole, insert fleet.</i> | |



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